COLLECTED WORKS OF KOREAN BUDDHISM

5

華嚴

HWAŎM II

SELECTED WORKS

Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

COLLECTED WORKS OF KOREAN BUDDHISM

VOLUME 5

華嚴

HWAŎM II
SELECTED WORKS

Collected Works of Korean Buddhism, Vol. 5

Hwaŏm II: Selected Works

Edited and Translated by Richard D. McBride II
Published by the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism
Distributed by the Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought
45 Gyeonji-dong, Jongno-gu, Seoul, 110-170, Korea / T. 82-2-725-0364 / F. 82-2-725-0365

First printed on June 25, 2012
Designed by ahn graphics ltd.
Printed by Chun-il Munhwasa, Paju, Korea

This project has been supported by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Republic of Korea.

ISBN: 978-89-94117-08-9
ISBN: 978-89-94117-17-1 (Set)

Printed in Korea

COLLECTED WORKS OF KOREAN BUDDHISM

VOLUME 5

華嚴

HWAŎM II
SELECTED WORKS

TRANSLATED, ANNOTATED, AND EDITED BY

RICHARD D. MCBRIDE II

Preface to *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*

At the start of the twenty-first century, humanity looked with hope on the dawning of a new millennium. A decade later, however, the global village still faces the continued reality of suffering, whether it is the slaughter of innocents in politically volatile regions, the ongoing economic crisis that currently roils the world financial system, or repeated natural disasters. Buddhism has always taught that the world is inherently unstable and its teachings are rooted in the perception of the three marks that govern all conditioned existence: impermanence, suffering, and non-self. Indeed, the veracity of the Buddhist worldview continues to be borne out by our collective experience today.

The suffering inherent in our infinitely interconnected world is only intensified by the unwholesome mental factors of greed, anger, and ignorance, which poison the minds of all sentient beings. As an antidote to these three poisons, Buddhism fortunately also teaches the practice of the three trainings: *śīla*, or moral discipline, the endurance and self-restraint that controls greed; *samādhi*, the discipline of meditation, which pacifies anger; and *prajñā*, the discipline of wisdom, which conquers ignorance. As human beings improve in their practice of these three trainings, they will be better able to work compassionately for the welfare and weal of all sentient beings.

Korea has a long history of striving to establish a way of life governed by discipline, compassion, and understanding. From the fifth century C.E. onward, the Korean saṅgha indigenized both the traditional monastic community and the broader Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. Later, the insights and meditative practices of the Seon tradition were introduced to the peninsula and this practice lineage lives on today in meditation halls throughout the country. Korea, as a land that has deep affinities with the Buddhist tradition, has thus seamlessly transmitted down to the present the living heritage of the Buddha's teachings.

These teachings begin with Great Master Wonhyo, who made the vast and profound teachings of the Buddhadharma accessible to all through his

various "doctrinal essentials" texts. Venerable Woncheuk and State Preceptor Daegak Uicheon, two minds that shined brightly throughout East Asia, left us the cherished legacy of their annotated commentaries to important scriptures, which helped to disseminate the broad and profound views of the Mahāyāna, and offered a means of implementing those views in practice. The collected writings of Seon masters like Jinul and Hyujeong revealed the Seon path of meditation and illuminated the pure land that is inherent in the minds of all sentient beings. All these works comprise part of the precious cultural assets of our Korean Buddhist tradition. The bounty of this heritage extends far beyond the people of Korea to benefit humanity as a whole.

In order to make Korea's Buddhist teachings more readily accessible, Dongguk University had previously published a fourteen-volume compilation of Korean Buddhist works written in literary Chinese, the traditional lingua franca of East Asia, comprising over 320 different works by some 150 eminent monks. That compilation effort constituted a great act of Buddhist service. From that anthology, ninety representative texts were then selected and translated first into modern vernacular Korean and now into English. These Korean and English translations are each being published in separate thirteen-volume collections and will be widely distributed around the world.

At the onset of the modern age, Korea was subjected to imperialist pressures coming from both Japan and the West. These pressures threatened the continuation of our indigenous cultural and religious traditions and also led to our greatest cultural assets being shuttered away in cultural warehouses that neither the general public nor foreign-educated intellectuals had any interest in opening. For any people, such estrangement from their heritage would be most discomforting, since the present only has meaning if it is grounded in the memories of the past. Indeed, it is only through the self-reflection and wisdom accumulated over centuries that we can define our own identity in the present and ensure our continuity into the future. For this reason, it is all the more crucial that we bring to the attention of a wider public the treasured dharma legacy of Korean Buddhism, which is currently embedded in texts composed in often impenetrable literary Chinese.

Our efforts to disseminate this hidden gem that is Korean Buddhism

reminds me of the simile in the *Lotus Sūtra* of the poor man who does not know he has a jewel sewn into his shirt: this indigent toils throughout his life, unaware of the precious gem he is carrying, until he finally discovers he has had it with him all along. This project to translate and publish modern vernacular renderings of these literary Chinese texts is no different from the process of mining, grinding, and polishing a rare gem to restore its innate brilliance. Only then will the true beauty of the gem that is Korean Buddhism be revealed for all to see. A magnificent inheritance can achieve flawless transmission only when the means justify the ends, not the other way around. Similarly, only when form and function correspond completely and nature and appearance achieve perfect harmony can a being be true to its name. This is because the outer shape shines only as a consequence of its use, and use is realized only by borrowing shape.

As Buddhism was transmitted to new regions of the world, it was crucial that the teachings preserved in the Buddhist canon, this jewel of the Dharma, be accurately translated and handed down to posterity. From the inception of the Buddhist tradition, the Buddhist canon or "Three Baskets" (*Tripiṭaka*), was compiled in a group recitation where the oral rehearsal of the scriptures was corrected and confirmed by the collective wisdom of all the senior monks in attendance. In East Asia, the work of translating Indian Buddhist materials into literary Chinese –the lingua franca for the Buddhist traditions of China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam– was carried out in translation bureaus as a collective, collaborative affair.

Referred to as the "tradition of multi-party translation," this system of collaboration for translating the Indian Sanskrit Buddhist canon into Chinese typically involved a nine-person translation team. The team included a head translator, who sat in the center, reading or reciting the Sanskrit scripture and explaining it as best he could with often limited Chinese; a philological advisor, or "certifier of the meaning," who sat to the left of the head translator and worked in tandem with him to verify meticulously the meaning of the Sanskrit text; a textual appraiser, or "certifier of the text," who sat at the chief's right and confirmed the accuracy of the preliminary Chinese rendering; a Sanskrit specialist, who carefully confirmed the accuracy of the language

of the source text; a scribe, who transcribed into written Chinese what was often initially an oral Chinese rendering; a composer of the text, who crafted the initial rendering into grammatical prose; the proofreader, who compared the Chinese with the original Sanskrit text; the editor, who tightened up and clarified any sentences that were vague in the Chinese; and finally the stylist, who sat facing the head translator, who had responsibility for refining the final rendering into elegant literary Chinese. In preparing these vernacular Korean and English renderings of Korean Buddhist works, we have thought it important to follow, as much as possible, this traditional style of Buddhist literary translation that had been discontinued.

This translation project, like all those that have come before it, had its own difficulties to overcome. We were forced to contend with nearly-impossible deadlines imposed by government funding agencies. We strained to hold together a meager infrastructure. It was especially difficult to recruit competent scholars who were fluent in literary Chinese and vernacular Korean and English, but who had with the background in Buddhist thought necessary to translate the whole panoply of specialized religious vocabulary. Despite these obstacles, we have prevailed. This success is due to the compilation committee which, with sincere devotion, overcame the myriad obstacles that inevitably arose in a project of this magnitude; the translators both in Korea and abroad; the dedicated employees at our committee offices; and all our other participants, who together aimed to meet the lofty standard of the cooperative translation tradition that is a part of our Buddhist heritage. To all these people, I would like to express my profound gratitude.

Now that this momentous project is completed, I offer a sincere wish on behalf of all the collaborators that this translation, in coming to fruition and gaining public circulation, will help illuminate the path to enlightenment for all to see.

Kasan Jikwan (伽山 智冠)
32nd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism
President, Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought
October 10, 2009 (2553rd year of the Buddhist Era)

On the Occasion of Publishing *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*

The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, together with Buddhists everywhere, is pleased to dedicate to the Three Jewels –the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha– the completed compilation of the Korean and English translations of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism.* The success of this translation project was made possible through the dedication of Venerable Kasan Jikwan, former president of the Jogye Order and president of the Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought. Both the Korean and English translations are being published through the labors of the members of the Compilation Committee and the many collaborators charged with the tasks of translation, editing, and proofreading the compilation.

The thirteen volumes of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* are the products of nearly 1,700 years of Buddhist history in Korea. These Buddhist works are the foundation and pillar of Korean thought more broadly. This compilation focuses on four towering figures in Korean Buddhism: Venerable Wonhyo, posthumously named State Preceptor Hwajaeng, who was renowned for his doctrinal thought; Venerable Uisang, great master of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and pedagogical role model who was respected for his training of disciples; Venerable Jinul, also known as State Preceptor Bojo, who revitalized Seon Buddhism through the Retreat Society movement of the mid-Goryeo dynasty; and Venerable Hyujeong, also known as State Preceptor Seosan, who helped to overcome national calamities while simultaneously regularizing Korean Buddhist practice and education.

Through this compilation, it is possible to understand the core thought of Korean Buddhism, which continued unbroken through the Three Kingdoms, Goryeo, and Joseon periods. Included are annotated translations of carefully selected works introducing the Hwaeom, Consciousness-Only, and Pure Land schools, the Mahāyāna precepts, Seon Buddhism, the travel journals of Buddhist pilgrims, Buddhist cultural and historical writings, and the epitaphs of great monks.

This work is especially significant as the fruition of our critical efforts

to transform the 1,700 years of Korean Buddhist thought and practice into a beacon of wisdom that will illuminate possible solutions to the many problems facing the world today. Śākyamuni Buddha's teachings from 2,600 years ago were transmitted centuries ago to the Korean peninsula, where they have continuously guided countless sentient beings towards truth. *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* contains a portion of the fruits realized through Koreans' practice of the Buddha's wisdom and compassion.

With the successful completion of this compilation, we confirm the power of the Jogye Order executives' devotion and dedication and benefit from their collective wisdom and power. So too can we confirm through the thought of such great masters as Wonhyo, Uisang, Jinul, Hyujeong and others a key feature of Buddhism: its power to encourage people to live harmoniously with each other through mutual understanding and respect.

The current strengthening of the traditions of Buddhist meditation practice and the revitalization of the wider Korean Buddhist community through education and propagation derive in large measure from the availability of accurate, vernacular translations of the classics of the sages of old, so that we too may be imbued with the wisdom and compassion found in their writings. When the lessons of these classics are made available to a contemporary audience, they can serve as a compass to guide us toward mutual understanding so that we may realize the common good that unifies us all.

Compilation of this thirteen-volume English-language edition of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* is an especially monumental achievement. To take on the task of translating these classics into English, global experts on Korean Buddhism were recruited according to their areas of expertise and were asked to consult with the scholars preparing the new Korean translations of these texts when preparing their own renderings. Though some English translations of Korean Buddhist texts have been made previously, this is the first systematic attempt to introduce to a Western audience the full range of Korean Buddhist writing. The compilation committee also sought to implement strict quality control over the translations by employing a traditional multiparty verification system, which encouraged a sustained collaboration between the Korean and English teams of translators.

This English translation of the *Collected Works* will serve as the cornerstone for the world-wide dissemination of knowledge about the Korean Buddhist tradition, which has heretofore not garnered the recognition it deserves. Together with international propagation efforts, Korean traditional temple experiences, and the temple-stay program, the English translation of the *Collected Works* will make an important contribution to our ongoing efforts to globalize Korean Buddhism. To facilitate the widest possible dissemination of both the Korean and English versions of this compilation, digital editions will eventually be made available online, so that anyone who has access to the Internet will be able to consult these texts.

Among all types of giving, the most precious of all is the gift of Dharma, and it is through sharing these teachings that we seek to spread the wisdom and compassion of Korean Buddhism, as well as the spirit of mutual understanding and unity, to people throughout the world. Our efforts to date have been to secure the foundation for the revitalization of Korean Buddhism; now is the time for our tradition to take flight. *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* appears at an opportune moment, when it will be able to serve as a guiding light, illuminating the way ahead for Korean Buddhism and its emerging contemporary identity.

To all those who worked indefatigably to translate, edit, and publish this collection; to the compilation committee, the researchers, translators, proofreaders, editors, and printers; and to all the administrative assistants associated with the project, I extend my deepest appreciation and thanks. Finally, I rejoice in and praise the indomitable power of Venerable Jikwan's vow to complete this massive compilation project.

With full sincerity, I offer this heartfelt wish: may all the merit deriving from this monumental work be transferred to the Buddhas, the bodhisattvas, and all sentient beings.

Haebong Jaseung (海峰 慈乘)
33rd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism
President, Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought
January 20, 2010 (2554th year of the Buddhist Era)

Preface to the English Edition of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*

Buddhism has nearly a 1,700-year history in Korea and the tradition continues to thrive still today on the peninsula. Buddhism arrived in Korea from India and China by at least the fourth century C.E. and the religion served as the major conduit for the transmission of Sinitic and Serindian culture as a whole to Korea. But Korean Buddhism is no mere derivative of those antecedent traditions. Buddhists on the Korean peninsula had access to the breadth and depth of the Buddhist tradition as it was being disseminated across Asia and they made seminal contributions themselves to Buddhist thought and meditative and ritual techniques. Indeed, because Korea, like the rest of East Asia, used literary Chinese as the lingua franca of learned communication (much as Latin was used in medieval Europe), Korean Buddhist writings were disseminated throughout the entire region with relative dispatch and served to influence the development of the neighboring Buddhist traditions of China and Japan. In fact, simultaneous with implanting Buddhism on the peninsula, Korean monks and exegetes were also joint collaborators in the creation and development of the indigenous Chinese and Japanese Buddhist traditions. *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* seeks to make available in accurate, idiomatic English translations the greatest works of the Korean Buddhist tradition, many of which are being rendered for the first time into any Western language.

The thirteen volumes of this anthology collect the whole panoply of Korean Buddhist writing from the Three Kingdoms period (ca. 57 C.E.–668) through the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910). These writings include commentaries on scriptures as well as philosophical and disciplinary texts by the most influential scholiasts of the tradition; the writings of its most esteemed Seon adepts; indigenous collections of Seon *gongan* cases, discourses, and verse; travelogues and historical materials; and important epigraphical compositions. Where titles were of manageable length, we have sought to provide the complete text of those works. Where size was prohibitive, we have instead offered representative selections from a range

of material, in order to provide as comprehensive a set of sources as possible for the study of Korean Buddhism. The translators and editors also include extensive annotation to each translation and substantial introductions that seek to contextualize for an English-speaking audience the insights and contributions of these works.

Many of the scholars of Korean Buddhism active in Western academe were recruited to participate in the translation project. Since the number of scholars working in Korean Buddhism is still quite limited, we also recruited as collaborators Western specialists in literary Chinese who had extensive experience in English translation.

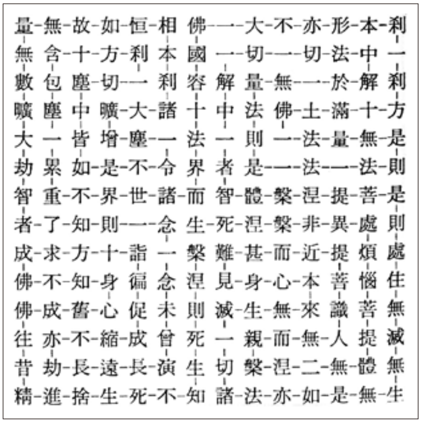
We obviously benefitted enormously from the work of our Korean colleagues who toiled so assiduously to prepare the earlier Korean edition of these *Collected Works*. We regularly consulted their vernacular Korean renderings in preparing the English translations. At the same time, virtually all the Western scholars involved in the project are themselves specialists in the Buddhist argot of literary Chinese and most already had extensive experience in translating Korean and Chinese Buddhist texts into English. For this reason, the English translations are, in the majority of cases, made directly from the source texts in literary Chinese, not from the modern Korean renderings. Since translation always involves some level of interpretation, there are occasional differences in the understanding of a passage between the English and Korean translators, but each translator retained final authority to decide on the preferred rendering of his or her text. For most of the English volumes, we also followed the collaborative approach that was so crucial in preparing the Korean translations of these *Collected Works* and held series of meetings where the English translators would sit together with our Korean counterparts and talk through issues of terminology, interpretation, and style. Our Korean collaborators offered valuable comments and suggestions on our initial drafts and certainly saved us from many egregious errors. Any errors of fact or interpretation that may remain are of course our responsibility.

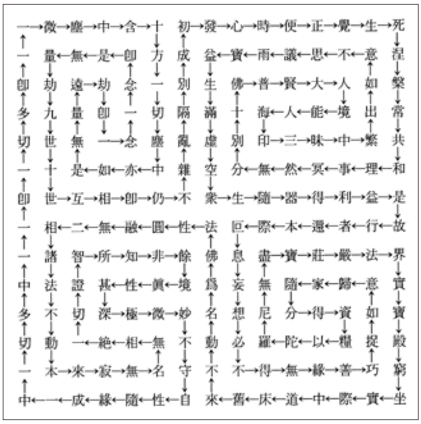
On behalf of the entire English translation team, I would like to express our thanks to all our collaborators, including our translators Juhn Young

Ahn, Robert Buswell, Michael Finch, Jung-geun Kim, Charles Muller, John Jorgensen, Richard McBride, Jin Y. Park, Young-eui Park, Patrick Uhlmann, Sem Vermeersch, Matthew Wegehaupt, and Roderick Whitfield; as well as our philological consultants Chongdok Sunim, Go-ok Sunim, Haeju Sunim, Misan Sunim, Woncheol Sunim, Byung-sam Jung, and Young-wook Kim. We are also appreciative to Ven. Jaseung Sunim, the current president of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, for his continued support of this project. Our deepest gratitude goes to Ven. Jikwan Sunim (May 11, 1932–January 2, 2012), one of the most eminent monks and prominent scholars of his generation, who first conceived of this project and spearheaded it during his term as president of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Jikwan Sunim's entire career was dedicated to making the works of Korean Buddhism more accessible to his compatriots and better known within the wider scholarly community. It is a matter of deep regret that he did not live to see the compilation of this English version of the *Collected Works*.

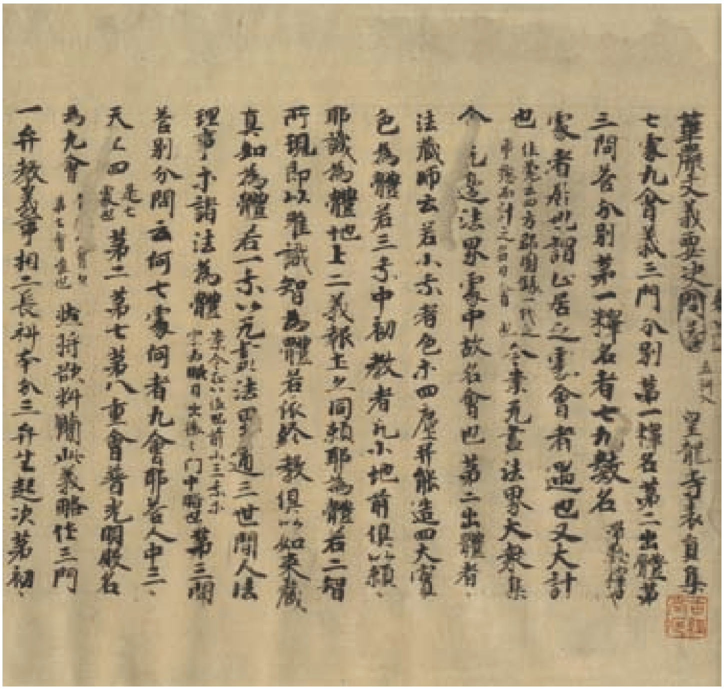
Finally, it is our hope that *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* will ensure that the writings of Korean Buddhist masters will assume their rightful place in the developing English canon of Buddhist materials and will enter the mainstream of academic discourse in Buddhist Studies in the West. Korea's Buddhist authors are as deserving of careful attention and study as their counterparts in Indian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese Buddhism. This first comprehensive collection of Korean Buddhist writings should bring these authors the attention and sustained engagement they deserve among Western scholars, students, and practitioners of Buddhism.

Robert E. Buswell, Jr.
Distinguished Professor of Buddhist Studies, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)
Chair, English Translation Editorial Board, *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*
May 20, 2012 (2556th year of the Buddhist Era)





Above: The seal-diagram of Myŏnghyo's *Haein sammae ron*.
Below: Ŭisang's "Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm" (*pŏpkye toin*).



P'yowon's *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap.*
(from Chŏng Chaeyŏng, "Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap e taehan munhŏnhakchŏk yŏn'gu" 華嚴文義要決問答에 대한 文獻學的 研究 [Research on the literary history of the *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap*], *Kugyŏl yŏn'gu* 口訣研究 23 (August 2009).



Scroll portrait of Ŭich'ŏn, State Preceptor Taegak (in the possession of Sŏnam Monastery).



Left: Ŭich'ŏn's funerary stele at Yŏngt'ong Monastery.
Right: A rubbing of the funerary stele at Yŏngt'ong Monastery.



Gaoli Monastery 高麗寺 in Hangzhou, China. This recently rebuilt monastery is on the site of Huiyin Monastery 慧因寺, where Ŭich'ŏn studied with Huayan Master Jingyuan from 1085 to 1086. Because the royal family of Koryŏ continued to patronize Huiyin Monastery after Ŭich'ŏn's return to Koryŏ, the monastery popularly became known as Gaolisi, literally "monastery of Koryŏ," for the remainder of the Song period and beyond.



大覺國師文集卷第一

序

新集圓宗文類序
新編諸宗教藏總錄序
刊定成唯識論單科序
八師經後序
消災經宣釋詳定記
新集圓宗文類序

大華嚴之爲敎也一眞妙蘊洞徹旗詮
通果之心源聲普賢之行遍識生靈之大
本稱性之極談者歟自景煥龍宮風行
乎聖賢繼踵述作連鑣有終南祖師杜順
者歎曰大哉法界之經也自非登地何
能敎其文見其法哉吾設其門以示之於
是乎法界觀門以授高弟智儼尊者儼師
習之變之爲五敎演之爲十玄及乎賢首



Above and below: Pages from Ŭich'ŏn's *Taegak kuksa munjip*.





Above and below: Pages from Ch'ewŏn's *Paekhwa toryang parwonmun yakhae.*

Table of Contents

Preface

This book contains works from Korea's Hwaŏm tradition traditionally considered by scholars to be outside the mainstream of Korea's Hwaŏm intellectual tradition. The foundational scripture of the tradition, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* or *Huayan jing* 華嚴經, often called the *Flower Garland Sūtra* in English, provides a compelling vision of reality and a comprehensive Buddhist worldview. Few books have been written on the Hwaŏm (Huayan in Chinese) tradition in English. This is perhaps due to the difficulty of rendering Hwaŏm doctrines, theories, and concepts, which encompass the full spectrum of Mahāyāna Buddhist intellectual thought, into readable and understandable English. The Hwaŏm tradition has been and continues to be of seminal importance to Korea's intellectual and practice-oriented Buddhist traditions.

I thank the Chogye Order, the Ven. Yi Jikwan Sŭnim, and all the participants in both the Korean and English translation projects for their initiative in establishing the Collected Works of Korean Buddhism series and for their dedication in bringing this material to a wide audience of readers. I have benefited greatly from the Korean translations of the several works contained in this volume, as well as the detailed annotations, which were made by Professor Jung Byung Sam of Sookmyung University and his translation team, my Korean counterparts in this volume of Hwaŏm thought. I also thank the Ven. Chŏngdŏk Sŭnim and the Ven. Misan Sŭnim, who, along with Professor Jung checked the accuracy of my translations against modern Korean translations and offered advice and support in the translation process. They are all well-skilled in English along with being first-rate scholars. I also thank my mentor, Professor Robert E. Buswell, Jr., of UCLA, for having confidence in my abilities enough to invite me to be the editor of the two volumes on Hwaŏm thought in the Collected Works of Korean Buddhism series and for being accessible to answer questions associated with rendering concepts into good English translations. I also thank Joanne Sandstrom for editorial suggestions and her helping to make

the text consistent. Finally, I would like to thank Prof. Kim Sang-hyun and all of my colleagues at Dongguk University for their encouragement and support. Because of his familiarity with the materials, Professor Kim has been able to understand the great difficulties I have faced in translating and annotating these works into English and has offered sympathy and support in many ways. In the end, I hope the reader will be indulgent with my effort and moderate with regard to the remaining shortcomings, and that future scholars of Korean will build upon this early attempt to present Korean intellectual Buddhism in English.

Lā‘ie, on the island of Oahu, Hawai‘i
Richard D. McBride II

Abbreviations and Conventions

Ch.	Chinese
HPC	*Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛教全書 [Complete works of Korean Buddhism]. 12 vols. Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulpansa, 1979[–2000].
K	*Koryŏ taejanggyŏng* 高麗大藏經 [Korean Buddhist canon]. Edited by Sugi 守其, 1236–1251. Photolithic reprint. Modern edition in 47 vols. Seoul: Tongguk University Press, 1976.
Kor.	Korean
Jpn.	Japanese
Skt.	Sanskrit
T	*Taishō shinshū dai zōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon]. Edited by Takakasu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932 [–1935].
X	*Xuzangjing* 續藏經 [Hong Kong reprint of *The Kyoto Supplement to the Canon* (*Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經), Kyoto, 1905–1912]. 150 vols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Buddhist Association, 1967. [Sequential numbers of texts established according to listing in *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 昭和法寶總目錄, vol. 2].

Transcriptions of Asian languages follow the systems now commonly used in the scholarly community: Pinyin for Chinese; revised Hepburn for Japanese; and McCune-Reischauer for Korean. Despite the government's promulgation in 2000 of still another Revised Romanization system for Korean, this new system has yet to enjoy widespread usage outside Korea, and its transcription rules have still not been rigorously honed for academic writing. Since this book is intended principally for a non-Korean audience, I have decided to stick with the better-known McCune-Reischauer system, which has been the system of choice in the West for over seventy years, and

which offers more accurate and I believe more elegant transcriptions.

Proper names are transcribed according to the nationality of the person or site or the provenance of the text. For the sake of consistency, the names of Buddhist schools and technical terms are generally given according to their Korean pronunciation and Chinese pronunciation. When the reference clearly applies only to Chinese or Japanese schools, however, I have used the corresponding national transcription.

Citations from the *Taishō shinshū dai zōkyō* (Taishō Edition of the Buddhist Canon) are listed in the following manner: title (with Sanskrit title, if relevant, in parentheses) and roll number, Taishō serial number, Taishō volume number, page number, register (a, b, or c), and, if applicable, line number(s)—e.g., *Da Tang xiyu ji* 9, T 2087.51.946c4–5.

Citations from the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* (Complete Works of Korean Buddhism) are listed as follows: title and roll number, volume number, page number, register (a, b, c, or d), and, if applicable, line numbers(s)—e.g., *Samguk yusa* 4, HPC 6.316c4 –5.

Citations from traditional East Asian historical or literary works are listed in the following manner: title of the work and roll or chapter number: page, and, if applicable, register (a or b) and/or line number(s)—e.g., *Samguk sagi* 38.375.

All Buddhist terminology that appears in Webster's Third New International Dictionary I regard as English and leave unitalicized. This includes such technical terms as dhāraṇī, stūpa, and tathāgatagarbha. For a convenient listing of a hundred such words, see Roger Jackson, "Terms of Sanskrit and Pali Origin Acceptable as English Words." *Journal of the International Association of Asian Studies* 5 (1982): 141–142. In rendering Buddhist technical terms, where the Chinese is a translation I translate; where it is a transcription, I transcribe. East Asian personal names appear with family names first. For the English translations of official titles I have followed those given in Charles O. Hucker's *Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* for the Northern dynasties, Sui, Tang, and Silla. For Silla titles not found in Hucker I have developed my own translations based on his model. Following the advice of Robert Buswell, I have generated some

of my own English translations of official Buddhist titles for the Northern Chinese dynasties and Silla (e.g., Buddhist Overseer [Ch. *datong* or *tong*, Kor. *sŭngt'ong* or *kukt'ong*]). Aristocratic rank titles found in ancient Korean society have usually been transliterated only because of the difficulty in assigning concise English meanings to these terms.

Sexagesimal cycle dates are treated in the following manner: If the source text is Chinese, I transliterate the sexagesimal year using Chinese pronunciation (e.g., *jiazi*); but if the source is Korean, I transliterate it using Korean pronunciation (e.g., *kapcha*). In both cases the transliteration will be followed by an approximation to Western calendrical dates in parentheses following Xue Zhongsan 薛仲三. *Liangqiannian Zhong-Xi li duizhao biao* 兩千年中西曆對照表 (A Sino-Western Calendar for Two thousand Years). Revised edition. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan chuban, 1957. Reprint, Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1993.

Finally, the literary Chinese (Hanmun 漢文) texts of the works translated herein are derived from the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛教全書 edition, as reproduced in the Korean-language counterpart to this volume prepared by Prof. Jung Byung Sam et al. In accordance with general policy for this series, I have imported the Hanmun text of these works directly from this Korean edition and follow exactly the paragraph divisions adopted there, following changes adopted by Prof. Jung, in order to facilitate comparisons between the vernacular Korean and English renderings.

華嚴

HWAŎM II
SELECTED WORKS

I

THE HISTORY OF HWAŎM THOUGHT IN SILLA: AN INTRODUCTION

By Jung Byung-Sam

Translated by Richard D. McBride II

1. *The History of Korean Buddhism and Hwaŏm Thought*

The intellectual understanding of Buddhism, which began in India and was accommodated in China, deepened during the Northern and Southern dynasties period (ca. 317–589). Following upon the continual research of Prajñā-Śūnyatā (*bore kongguan*, Kor. *panya konggwan* 般若 空觀) thought, the thought of the Madhyamaka (*zhongguan,* Kor. *chunggwan* 中觀) lineage increased in understanding, and research on the Yogācāra consciousness-only (*weishi*, Kor. *yusik* 唯識; Skt. *citta-mātra*, *vijñāpti-mātra*) lineage, centered on the *Shelun* 攝論 (*Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*, T 1593) and the *Dilun* 地論 (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*, T 1522), deepened. Also, research on the *Foxing lun* 佛性論 (Treatise on Buddha-nature, T 1610), which served as the basis for Tathāgatagarbha thought (*rulaizang*, Kor. *yŏraejang* 如來藏), became more lively and exciting. At the end of the sixth century, the Sui 隋 dynasty (581–617) unified the Northern and Southern dynasties. This age saw the rise of the Tiantai school 天台宗 (Kor. Ch'ŏnt'aejong) of the eminent exegete Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), who synthesized the intellectual fruits and systematized the doctrinal learning and meditative practice of the Northern and Southern dynasties period and set the stage for the growth of sectarian Buddhism. After the founding of the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907) in the first half of the seventh century, the Faxiang school 法相宗 (Kor. Pŏpsangjong) was formed, based on the introduction of new Yogācāra texts by the famous pilgrim exegete Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664). Inheriting the Yogācāra thought of the Northern and Southern dynasties, Fazang 法藏 (643–712) achieved greatness with the Huayan school 華嚴宗 (Kor. Hwaŏmjong), surpassing all others in Chinese Buddhism with the intellectual fruits of his doctrinal learning. These trends in Chinese Buddhism were introduced to the Buddhist traditions of Silla and were immensely influential.

The Buddhism of the Unified Silla period 統一新羅 (668–935) was built upon the foundation of the Yogācāra doctrinal learning of Silla Buddhism during the Three Kingdoms period (traditional dates, 57 B.C.E.–668 C.E.) and developed as a result of the accommodation of Sinitic Madhyamaka, or

the Three Treatise tradition (Sanlun, Kor. Samnon 三論), and Tiantai learning that had developed in the Korean states of Koguryŏ 高句麗 and Paekche 百濟. Research on Buddhist doctrine deepened during the Unified Silla period, and intellectual interest in the new Buddhism of Sui and Tang China, such as the new Yogācāra and Huayan schools, reached its zenith. Silla's Hwaŏm thought was one of the fruits of this intellectual outpouring.

The Hwaŏm tradition was introduced to Silla during the Three Kingdoms period by the noble monk Chajang 慈藏 (d. ca. 650–655). In the Unified Silla period, Ŭisang (625–702) established a system of Hwaŏm thought, and from the time he imparted his system to his disciples it became an important line of Buddhist doctrinal learning in Silla. Responding to the accommodation to the Son 禪 traditions in the late Silla period (780–935), the Hwaŏm tradition reequipped itself intellectually in the early Koryŏ 高麗 period (918–1392) centered on the scholarship of Kyunyŏ 均如 (923–973), and it assumed a central role in the doctrinal philosophies of Ŭich'ŏn 義天 (1055–1101) and Chinul 知訥 (1158–1210). Hwaŏm thought also became the nucleus in the trend toward the revival of Buddhist doctrinal learning in the late Chosŏn 朝鮮 period (1392–1910) during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From this we can say that Hwaŏm thought has continually held a central position in Korean Buddhist thought. Therefore, an appreciation of Hwaŏm learning serves as an important basis for understanding Korean Buddhist thought. In order to comprehend Hwaŏm thought, which has been the root of Korean Buddhist thought, we will examine the fruits of research into Hwaŏm thought in Silla.

2. *Ŭisang's Hwaŏm Thought*

The intellectual understanding of Hwaŏm thought in Korea began with Chajang. Studying the Buddhadharma abroad in China during the reign of Queen Sŏndŏk 善德 (632–647), Chajang obtained a supernatural resonance associated with his faith in the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī on Mt. Wutai and continually made this experience known. After returning to Silla he turned

his own house into a monastery and lectured on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* at the dharma assembly celebrating its completion (*naksŏnghoe* 落成會). Although this narrative was continually embellished in later times, we can conjecture that the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was introduced to Silla at the end of the Three Kingdoms period.[1]

The monk who took the initiative in Hwaŏm learning in the Unified Silla period, which saw the establishment of Silla Buddhist philosophy, was the nobly born Ŭisang. After excising the core expression "the one vehicle of the Avataṃsaka" (*Hwaŏm ilsŭng* 華嚴一乘) and "the conditioned-arising of the dharma realm" (*pŏpkye yŏn'gi* 法界緣起, Skt. *dharmadhātu pratītyasamutpāda*), Ŭisang composed a poem on the dharma realm in two hundred ten logographs, crafted this symbolically into the configuration of a seal-diagram, and ordered its contents as the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 一乘法界圖 (Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm of the One Vehicle). By this means he systematized intellectual thought on the one vehicle of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.[2] Although this work inherited the intellectual tradition of Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668), it was also influenced by the doctrinal learning of the *Dilun* tradition of earlier times and it was also related to early Chan 禪 thought. The *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, which was shaped by this original thought employed the form of a revolving text poem (*huiwenshi*, Kor. *hoemunsi* 回文詩), a genre that was in vogue at that time in China, to provide the symbolic effect of connecting the beginning and the end. It also used the new technology of the woodblock printing emphasized in the production and ritual use of dhāraṇī.[3]

1 Yi Haenggu 李杏九, "Silla Hwaŏm ŭi ch'ojo ko: Chajang pŏpsa ŭi Hwaŏm sasang" 新羅 華嚴의 初祖考: 慈藏法師의 華嚴思想 [A study on the early patriarch of Silla's Hwaŏm tradition: The Hwaŏm thought of Dharma Master Chajang], *Tongguk nonjip* 東國論集 13 (1994): 3–26.

2 Cho Myŏnggi 趙明基, *Silla Pulgyo ŭi inyŏm kwa yŏksa* 新羅佛敎의 理念과 歷史 [Ideology and history of Silla Buddhism] (Seoul: Sint'aeyangsa, 1962).

3 Ishii Kōsei 石井公成, *Kegon shisō no kenkyū* 華厳思想の研究 [Research on Huayan thought] (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1996).

The *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* also explained the core teaching of the theory on the conditioned arising (*yŏn'gi*, dependent origination, Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*) of the dharma realm according to the Avataṃsaka—viz. all are in one and one is in all and the one is precisely all and all are precisely one, the law of dependent origination of mutual interpenetration and mutual identity (*sangip sangjŭk*, Ch. *xiangru xiangji* 相入相卽)—by means of comparisons such as the analogy of ten coins (*susipchŏn* 數十錢). Also its contents are the doctrine of mutual interpenetration and mutual identity of the one and all, minute particles of dust and the ten directions, one thought-moment and measureless kalpas, the initial arousal of the mind and complete enlightenment, and saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. The completion of these comprise the four categories of the principle and function (*iyong* 理用) of dhāraṇī, phenomena (*sa* 事), world systems and time (*sesi* 世時), and position (*wi* 位). Ŭisang appended a text on practice delineating practices for benefiting others to these practices for self-benefit and perfected the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to's* strong practical characteristic. Although the opinion has been presented that the *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* was actually written by Zhiyan rather than Ŭisang and that the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* is merely Ŭisang's analysis of it,[4] that it is indeed clearly Ŭisang's work has been reconfirmed twice.[5]

Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought that appears in the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* may be divided into his theory of doctrinal classification (*kyop'an* 敎判), his theory of mind consciousness (*simsik* 心識), his theory of the mutual identity between principle and principle (*iisangjŭk* 理理相卽), his theory of the ten mysteries

---

4 Yao Chang-shou 姚長壽, "Bōzan sekikyō ni okeru Kegon tenseki ni tsuite" 房山石経における華厳典籍について [On the Huayan literature in the Fangshan lithic canon], in *Chūgoku Bukkyō sekikyō no kenkyū* 中國佛教石経の研究 [Research on Chinese Buddhist lithic canons], ed. Kegasawa Yasunori 気賀澤保規 (Kyoto: Kyōdo Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppansha 京都大学学術出版社, 1996), 411–437.

5 Chŏn Haeju 全海住, "Ichijō hōkai zu no chosha ni tsuite" 一乘法界圖の著者について [On the author of the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*], *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 94 (1999): 229–231; Satō Atsushi 佐藤厚, "Ilsŭng pŏpkye to ŭi teksŭtŭ munje" 일승법계도의 텍스트 문제 [Textual problems with the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*), *Pulgyo ch'unch'u* 佛敎春秋 15 (August 1999): 135–149.

and six characteristics (*siphyŏn yuksang* 十玄六相), his theory of severing delusion and practicing the Way, and so forth.[6] The most original features of Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought among these appear to be his emphasis on dhāraṇī procedures, his theory of the ten coins, and his explication of the six characteristics. Although Ŭisang's doctrinal classification and theory on the conditioned arising of mysteries of the ten approaches (*sipmun hyŏn* 十門玄) and so forth succeed to the intellectual theories of Zhiyan, he describes an original viewpoint that secures and important doctrinal meaning of the theory of conditioned arising along with his meaning of the middle path in his theory of the ten coins and six characteristics. Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought stressed actual practice, and this appears in his deployment of the cults of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya based on the foundation of the scriptures and treatises in the Hwaŏm order, which were completed in the form of literary arts and thought and complied with the social stability that was sought after in Korean society during the Unified Silla period. The conditioned arising of the dharma realm of the mutual interpenetration and mutual identity (*sangip sangjŭk* 相入相卽) of the one and the many, the core doctrine of Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought, was put into practice socially in Ŭisang's Hwaŏm school by means of logic symbolizing equality and harmony.[7] The dhāraṇī procedure on the conditioned arising of the real emphasized by Ŭisang seems to display characteristics of faith that place importance on actual practice.[8] The meaning of the middle path, a distinctive feature of Ŭisang's thought, is the kernel that recognizes the one vehicle and the three vehicles by means of the middle path and the two sides (*ibyŏn* 二邊). Although all relative/matching/countering dharmas carry their own form, they display the middle-level structure that acknowledges that the middle path is just as

6 Sakamoto Yukio 坂本幸男, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū* 華嚴教學の研究 [Research on Huayan doctrinal learning] (Kyōto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1956).

7 Jung Byung Sam (Chŏng Pyŏngsam) 鄭炳三, *Ŭisang Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 의상 화엄사상 연구 [Research on Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought] (Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1998; rpt. 2001).

8 Jin Young You (Chin Yŏngyu) 陳永裕, *Kegon kanhō no kisoteki kenkyu* 華厳観法の基礎的研究 [Basic research on Huayan meditative methods] (Seoul: Minch'ang Munhwasa, 1995).

it is.[9] This middle-level structure is symbolic of the process by which one's understanding of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* deepens. From Samantabhadra to the Buddha, one gradually enters the profound parts of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, and finally one's understanding displays the structure of obtaining the dharma nature.[10] Ŭisang's distinctive theory on the mutual identity between principle and principle, just like his general viewpoint, is not referring to non-differentiated uniformity (*mubunje* 無分齊) of principle, but refers to the complete interfusion of all things in the conditioned arising of the Avataṃsaka as a means of intending to manifest the original nature from the standpoint of individual phenomena (*sa* 事).[11] To Ŭisang, the conditioned arising of the dharma realm is the cause of the lack of differentiation between principle and phenomena and is the mutual identity and mutual interfusion (*sangjŭk sangyung* 相卽相融) that arises. Although mutual identity (*sangŭk*) is important, mutual interpenetration (*sangip*) is not.[12]

From the point that it is a view of conditioned arising in which the six characteristics are perfectly interfused with respect to the ocean seal samādhi, Ŭisang's *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* exhibits the spirit of the ocean seal samādhi based on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* from the standpoint of practice and synthesis.[13] If

---

9 Satō Atsushi, "Gishō no chūdōgi" 義湘の中道義 [The meaning of middle way to Ŭisang], *Tōyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō* 東洋大学大学院紀要 32 (February 1996): 157–169(L).

10 Satō Atsushi , "Gishō-kei Kegon bunken ni mieru ronri: jūsōteki kyōri kaishaku" 義湘系華厳文献に見える論理: 重層的教理解釈 [Logic as seen in the Hwaŏm literature of Ŭisang's lineage: Graduated doctrinal analysis], *Kankoku Bukkyōgaku* SEMINAR韓国仏教学SEMINAR 7 (November 1998): 136–157(L).

11 See Sakamoto Yukio, *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū*; Oda Kenyū 織田顯祐, *Ch'ogi Hwaŏm sasangsa* 초기화엄사상사 [Early Hwaŏm thought], trans. T'aegyŏng 태경 (Yi Sŏni 이선이) (Seoul: Pulgyo Sidaesa, 2007).

12 Ōtake Susumu 大竹晋, *Yuishikisetsu o chūshin to shita shoki Kegonkyōgaku no keykyū: Chigon·Gishō kara Hōzō e* 唯識説を中心とした初期華厳教学の研究: 智儼·義湘から法蔵へ [Research on the doctrinal learning of early Huayan centered on the theory of consciousness-only: From Zhiyan and Ŭisang to Fazang] (Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan, 2007).

13 Rhi Ki-yong (Yi Kiyŏng) 李箕永, *Han'guk Pulgyo yŏn'gu* 韓國佛教研究 [Research on Korean Buddhism] (Seoul: Han'guk Pulgyo Yŏn'guwŏn, 1982).

seen from the viewpoint of unconditioned arising thought (*sŏnggi sasang* 性起思想), Ŭisang's dharma of unconditioned arising is closely related to the practical structure of the *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* that seeks to exhibit the world system of the unconditioned arising of the true nature (*silsŏng* 實性) of things, and it was composed connected to his view of dharma nature, his theory on the attainment of Buddhahood in times long past (*kurae sŏngbul* 舊來成佛), and his theory on the ocean seal samādhi.[14] Ŭisang presented a middle path between dharma nature (*pŏpsŏng* 法性) and Buddha nature (*pulsŏng* 佛性), the whole (*ch'ongsang* 總相) and parts (*pyŏlsang* 別相), and time and space (*sigong* 時空), and he displayed a middle-of-the-path view of emptiness.[15] Ŭisang's conception of interfusion was possessed of the faith in practical cultivation related to the cult of Avalokiteśvara by means of the concept of perfect interfusion structured by the logic of the view of the crosswise exhaustion of the dharma realm (*hoengjin pŏpkye kwan* 橫盡法界觀) that bears the propensity toward the penetration of unconditioned arising (*sŏnggi ch'wiip* 性起趣入).[16]

Although Ŭisang's conception of perfect interfusion also possesses the viewpoint that was suitable to support a system of centralized authoritarian rule centered on autocratic royal power, the relationship between the mutual interpenetration and mutual identity of the one and the many in the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* can also be understood from the viewpoint that emphasizes harmony and equality.[17]

14 Chŏn Haeju, *Ŭisang Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu* 義湘華嚴思想史研究 [Research on the history of Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought] (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1992).

15 Sin Hyŏnsuk 辛賢淑, "Pŏpkye-do ki rŭl t'onghae pon Ŭisang ŭi konggwan" 法界圖記를 통해 본 義湘의 空觀 [Ŭisang's view of śūnyatā as seen through his *Pŏpkye to ki*], *Pulgyo hakpo* 佛教學報 26 (1989): 145–180.

16 Kim Doo Jin (Kim Tujin) 金杜珍, *Ŭisang: kŭ ŭi saengae wa Hwaŏm sasang* 의상-그의 생애와 화엄사상 [Ŭisang: His life and Hwaŏm thought] (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1995).

17 Kim Sang-hyun (Kim Sanghyŏn) 金相鉉, *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu* 新羅華嚴思想史研究 [Research on the history of Hwaŏm thought in Korea] (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1991).

3. *Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm Thought*

Wŏnhyo acknowledged the existing meaning and significance of the scriptures and treatises and held a position of synthesis in which he sought to understand all views systematically. Wŏnhyo widely identified the dharma approach of the dharma realm as the dharma approach of the sudden teaching (*ton'gyo* 頓教) of unsurpassed perfection and fullness and saw that it is seen exhibiting boundless (*mubyŏn* 無邊) practices and virtues (*haengdŏk* 行德). However, the dharma approach of the dharma realm that is without obstacles and hindrances refers to there being absolutely no hindrances between all dharmas large and small (*taeso* 大小) spacially, hurriedness and leisure (*ch'oksa* 促奢) temporally, dynamism and quietism (*tongjŏng* 動靜) in the aspect of movement, all the categories of the one and the many (*ilta* 一多) quantitatively. In Wŏnhyo's fourfold doctrinal classification, the doctrine of perfect fullness (*wŏnman'gyo* 圓滿教), which holds the highest position, is precisely that endowed with the universal dharma (*pobŏp* 普法). The universal dharma is the mutual interpenetration and mutual identity and unimpeded interfusion of the one and all, just like one minute speck of dust and all world systems, one *kṣaṇa* (thought-moment) and all the kalpas in the three time periods. Just like this, all dharmas being completely devoid of hindrances in all categories spacially and temporally were placed as the zenith of Wŏnhyo's thought on the Hwaŏm world system of the dharma approach of the dharma realm that is without obstacles and hindrances.[18] Wŏnhyo placed his intellectual foundation in research on the *Qixin lun* 起信論 (Awakening of faith), he was indebted to the doctrinal learning of the She lun tradition and to the learning of the Three Treatises (Samnon, Madhyamaka), and he established original Hwaŏm thought on the universal dharma and he gave more concrete shape to such things as the ten kinds of causes (*sipchong in* 十種因), the analogy of ten coins (*susip chŏn yu* 數十錢喩), the theory of the six

18 Ko Ikchin 高翊晋, *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa* 韓國古代佛教思想史 [History of Korean Buddhist thought in ancient Korea] (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1989).

characteristics, the fourfold doctrinal classification system, and the theory of the dharma realm. Although Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought was accommodated partially into Ŭisang's thought, it exerted a greater influence on Fazang.[19]

4. *Hwaŏm Thought and the Hwaŏm Tradition in the Mid-Silla Period*

Ŭisang lectured on his Hwaŏm thought centered on his *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* to many disciples in such places as Pusŏk Monastery 浮石寺, Mt. T'aebaek 太白山, and Mt. Sobaek 小白山, and his approach became the mainstream Hwaŏm thought in Silla. His most representative disciples were known as his ten great disciples: Ojin 悟眞, Chit'ong 智通, P'yohun 表訓, Chinjŏng 眞定, Chinjang 眞藏, Toyung 道融, Yangwŏn 良圓, Sangwŏn 常元, Nŭngin 能仁, Pŏmch'e 梵體, and Tosin 道身.

P'yohun was an eminent disciple who developed a new interpretation of Hwaŏm materials following Ŭisang's guidance. However, an examination of the traces of his activity during the reign of King Kyŏngdŏk 景德 (742–765) show that he may not have been a direct disciple.[20] Chinjŏng, a scion of the underprivileged class, was a disciple who took the initiative under the guidance of his master. Chit'ong (b. 655) comprehended Hwaŏm as a household slave; his *Ch'udong ki* 錐洞記 (Record of Awl Grotto) (also called *Ch'uhyŏl mundap* 錐穴問答 [Questions and Answers at Awl Cave] or Yoŭi mundap 要義問答 [Questions and Answers on the Essential Meaning]) recorded his master's lectures as a practitioner of visualization practices. Tosin left behind his *Tosin chang* 道身章 (Tosin's Composition) (also called *Ilsŭng*

---

19 Sŏk Kiram 石吉岩, "Wŏnhyo ŭi pobŏp Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu" 元曉의 普法華嚴思想 研究 [Research on Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought of the universal dharma] (Ph.D. diss., Dongguk University, 2003).

20 Kim Poksun 金福順, *Silla Hwaŏmjong yŏn'gu* 新羅華嚴宗研究 [Research on the Hwaŏm school of Silla] (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1990).

mundap 一乘問答 [Questions and Answers on the One Vehicle]), which recorded Ŭisang's lectures. These writings, which are partially preserved in other works, are very important materials that record questions and answers and intellectual theories of Ŭisang, Zhiyan, and their disciples.[21] Although the contents of these literary works are similar to the *Huayan jing wenda* 華嚴經問答 (Questions and Answers on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, T 1873), which is attributed to Fazang, there are several differences of great and small magnitude. If we look at the *Tosin chang*, a certain quantity of which remains, although it succeeds to Ŭisang's thought, we can know that he pursued his own original thought.[22] Aside from the foregoing, Sangwŏn preserved many questions and answers from the lectures of his master Ŭisang. Yangwŏn left behind annotation on the Ilsŭng pŏpkye to. Continuing after these, Sillim 神琳, Pŏbyung 法融, and others inherited Ŭisang's tradition and carried it forward through the end of the eighth century.

The *Huayan jing wenda*, which provides a total assessment of the importance of the conception of unconditioned arising, was known to be a composition of Fazang during that time. However, its literary style, quoted and cited literature, and thought on such things as the concept that "the extreme fruit returns to the mind [of the one vehicle]" (*kŭkkwa hoesim* 極果迴心)—that is, after the adherents of the three vehicles attain Buddhahood they return to the one vehicle, or the return to sentience/passions (*panjŏng* 反情) that attaches importance to expedient means (*upāya*)—displays several points of commonality with the thought of Ŭisang's lineage.[23] From the standpoint of accord between the contents of the *Ch'udong ki* (or *Chit'ong ki* 智通記 [Record of Chit'ong]), which recorded the lectures of Ŭisang, and the *Huayan jing wenda*, the latter has been seen as a variant edition of the

21 See Kim Sang-hyun, *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu*.

22 Pak Sŏyŏn 朴書延, "Tosin chang ŭi Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu" 『道身章』의 華嚴思想 研究 [Research on the Hwaŏm thought of *Tosin's Composition*] (Ph.D. diss., Dongguk University, 2003).

23 Ishii Kōsei, *Kegon shisō no kenkyū.*

Ch'udong ki.[24] However, although the interpretation of the dharma on the conditioned arising of the one vehicle in the *Huayan jing wenda* is the same as that of the *Tosin chang*, it also displays differences with the literature of Ŭisang's lineage because, with respect to the theory of the ten buddhas (*sibul* 十佛), there are differences between its analysis of the ten buddhas and that of Ŭisang's lineage centered on ordinary being's bodies being five feet (*och'ŏk* 五尺) in length—the reputed size of the Buddha Śākyamuni's body—as mentioned in the *Kogi* 古記 (Old record).[25]

The specific doctrinal character of the Hwaŏm of Ŭisang's lineage was collected in the *Taegi* 大記 (Great Record), *Pŏpki* 法記 (Dharma Record), and *Chin'gi* 眞記 (True Record), which are annotations of the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* and can be found in the compiled and edited *Popkye to ki ch'ongsurok* 法界圖記叢髓錄 (Comprehensive Variorum on the *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm*) and Kyunyŏ's *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to wŏnt'ŏng ki* 一乘法界圖圓通記 (Perfect and Comprehensive Record of the *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm of the One Vehicle*). The *Ch'ongsurok* provides an overview of the lively theoretical debate of the Hwaŏm thought of Ŭisang's lineage through the late Silla period and makes known facts that had been transmitted incessantly generation after generation. Since there are citations to Kyunyŏ's writings, it is thought to have been edited in the mid or late Koryŏ period. Thus, the *Ch'ongsurok* passed through the editing process twice. In the first process the annotated commentaries *Taegi*, *Pŏpki*, and *Chin'gi* were collected and then related supplementary material was appended. The second editorial process brought the variorum to its present constitution.[26] It is thought that

---

24 Kim Sang-hyun, "Ch'udong ki wa kŭ ibon Hwaŏm-gyŏng mundap" 『錐洞記』와 그 異本『華嚴經問答』 [*The Record of Awl Grotto* and its variant version *Questions and Answers on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], *Han'guk hakpo* 韓國學報 84 (September 1996): 28–45; reprinted in *Silla ŭi sasang kwa munhwa* 신라의 사상과 문화 [Silla thought and culture], by Kim Sang-hyun (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1999), 338–353.

25 Pak Sŏyŏn, "Silla Ŭisang-gye chŏsul kwa Hwaŏm-gyŏng mundap" 新羅 義相系 저술과『華嚴經問答』 [Writings in the lineage of Ŭisang of Silla and the Questions and Answers on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra], Han'guk Pulgyohak 韓國佛教學34 (2003): 179–211.

26 See Kim Sang-hyun, *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu*.

the sequential order of the three annotated commentaries is *Pŏpki, Chin'gi,* and *Taegi* and that Kyunyŏ wrote his *Wŏnt'ong ki* based particularly on the *Taegi*.[27]

The Hwaŏm of Ŭisang's lineage manifests tendencies that show original thought different from Chinese Huayan. The concept of no abode (*muju* 無住), just like no self-nature (*mu chasŏng* 無自性), as the basis of mutual identity and mutual interpenetration was widely accommodated from Ŭisang's direct disciples through to Kyunyŏ.[28] The theory of the five ocean seals (o haein 五海印), which is thought to have been completed in Ŭisang's lineage, displays the influence of the Chan/Sŏn tradition, the *Di lun*, and the learning of the Three Treatises. This shows the absolute centrality of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in Ŭisang's instruction and shows it as a distinctive feature of the analysis of visualizing the mind (*kwansim sŏk* 觀心釋) with the scriptural text.[29] Just like this, the concepts of the attainment of Buddhahood long ago, no abode, and so forth that were emphasized in the Hwaŏm of Ŭisang's lineage are distinctive features not seen in Chinese Huayan.

In the Hwaŏm of Ŭisang's lineage there are instances in which it seems that Wŏnhyo's thought did not exert any influence on it.[30] For example, because truth was understood as a concrete thing like the five-foot length

27 Satō Atsushi, "Ichijō hōkai zu entsuki kaidoku ni okeru futatsu no mondai"『一乗法界図円通記』解読における二つの問題 [Two problems in deciphering the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to wŏnt'ong ki*], *Tōyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō* 東洋大学大学院紀要 30 (February 1994): 191–203(L).

28 Satō Atsushi, "Gishō-kei Kegon shisō ni okeru mujū" 義湘系華厳思想における無住 [No abode in the Hwaŏm thought of Ŭisang's lineage], *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 94 (47, no. 2) (March 1999): 84–87.

29 Ishii Kōsei, "Chōsen Kegon no tokushitsu: Gishōkei no mirarae Zenshū to Chiron kyōgaku no eikyō" 朝鮮華厳の特質—義湘系のみられ禅宗と地論教学の影響 [Special characteristics of Korean Hwaŏm: The influence of Chan Buddhism and the doctrinal learning of the *Dilun* as seen in Ŭisang's lineage]. In *Ronshū Tōdaiji no rekishi to kyōgaku* 論集東大寺の歴史と教学 [Compilation of essays on the history and doctrinal learning of Tōdaiji], comp. GBS Jikkō Iinkai GBS 実行委員会 [GBS Publication Committee] (Nara: Tōdaiji and Hatsubai Hōzokan, 2003), 47–55.

30 See Ko Ikchin, *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa.*

of the body of a saint, Ŭisang's lineage intended to draw a distinction with the *Qixin lun*, which understands by means of conjectural principles like the one mind and so forth, and understood things differently from Wŏnhyo's lineage.[31]

The ten monasteries for the propagations of the teaching that were constructed by the Hwaŏm school in Ŭisang's tradition through the late Silla period speak by proxy of Hwaŏm's great age of prosperity. Pusŏksa 浮石寺, Hwaŏmsa 華嚴寺, Haeinsa 海印寺, Pŏmŏsa 梵魚寺, Okch'ŏnsa 玉泉寺, Pimarasa 毘摩羅寺, Mirisa 美理寺, Pogwangsa 普光寺, Powŏnsa 普願寺, Kapsa 岬寺, Hwasansa 華山寺, Kuksinsa 國神寺, Ch'ŏngdamsa 青潭寺, and so forth are those places. The topology of these Hwaŏm monasteries was different in some extent according to the time period.

5. *Various Developments in the Hwaŏm of Silla*

Ŭisang's lineage, which inherited Ŭisang's Hwaŏm, is seen to have been divided by Sillim, Pŏbyung, Sunŭng 順應, and so forth, and to have subdivided into the Pusŏksa lineage, the P'yohun lineage, and the Haeinsa lineage, and so forth. Furthermore, followers of the Hwaŏm tradition in Silla, the contents of whose thought was different from that of the disciples of Ŭisang's direct lineage, multiplied and are understood as comprising several offshoots.

First, we may divide the offshoots into the mainstream that succeeded to Ŭisang and other streams of thought that did not. The non-mainstream traditions have been divided by scholars into the Wŏnhyo lineage, which was an amalgamation of the *Avataṃsaka* and the *Awakening of Faith* following

31 Satō Atsushi, "Gishō-kei Kegon gakuha no kihon shishō to Daijō kishinron hihan: Gishō to Gangyō no taironkiji no haigo ni arumoto" 義湘系華厳学派の基本思想と『大乗起信論』批判 義湘と元暁の対論記事の背後にあるもの [The basic thought of Ŭisang's Hwaŏm sect and criticism of the *Dasheng qixin lun*: Background to the accounts of the confrontational discussion between Ŭisang and Wŏnhyo]. *Tōyōgaku kenkyū* 東洋学研究 37 (March 2000): 51–82.

the fusion of Wŏnhyo and Fazang's thought;[32] the non-Ŭisang lineage, which may be subdivided into three, the Wŏnhyo lineage, the Odaesan 五臺山-Chirisan 智異山-Ch'ŏn'gwansan 天冠山 lineage, and other outliers;[33] and the Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 lineage.[34]

When Fazang's disciple Sŭngjŏn returned from China in the 690s, he brought some of his master's writings, such as the *Tanxuan ji* 探玄記 (Record of Exploring the Mysteries [of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]), along with a personal letter from Fazang to Ŭisang. Simsang 審詳 (d. 742), also, was a student under the guidance of Fazang. He crossed over to Japan and became the founder of the Japanese Kegon school 華嚴宗.

The monk Yŏn'gi 緣起 of Hwaŏmsa took the initiative in commissioning a handwritten manuscript (*sagyŏng* 寫經) of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in 754. His leaving behind such works as *Kaejong kyŏrŭi* 開宗決疑 (Uncovering the Core Teachings and Resolving Doubts), *Hwaŏm-gyŏng yogyŏl* 華嚴經要決 (Secrets of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*), *Chillyu hwanwŏllak to* 眞流還源樂圖 (Seal-diagram on Returning to the Origin of Bliss in the True Current), and writings related to the *Qixin lun* give the appearance of his idea's being related to Wŏnhyo's thought. Aside from Yŏn'gi, the monks Chŏnghaeng 正行, Chŏnghyŏn 定玄, Yŏnggwan 靈觀, and others were active at Hwaŏmsa.

The monk Pŏphae 法海 was active at Hwangnyongsa in 754, the thirteenth year of King Kyŏngdŏk, and Chihae 智海 lectured on the *Avataṃsaka* during the reign of King Wŏnsŏng 元聖 (r. 785–798). During the declining years of King Kyŏngdŏk (about 759), the monk Wŏnp'yo 元表, who founded Porimsa 寶林寺, was a Hwaŏm practitioner active in the cult of the Bodhisattva Heavenly Crown (Ch'ŏn'gwan posal 天冠菩薩). Pŏmyŏ 梵如, who was a youth clerical inspector in 787, the third year of King Wŏnsŏng, wrote *Hwaŏm-gyŏng yogyŏl* 華嚴經要決 (Secrets of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*) in six rolls, and Pŏmsu 梵修 lectured on Chengguan's 澄觀 (ca. 720/38–

32 See Ko Ikchin, *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa*.

33 See Kim Sang-hyun, *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu*.

34 See Kim Poksun, *Silla Hwaŏmjong yŏn'gu*.

837/838) *Huayan shu* 華嚴疏 (Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*) in 799, the first year of King Sosŏng 昭聖 (r. 799–800).

Materials of one substream that shows a different brand of thought from Ŭisang's Hwaŏm are complete. The monk P'yowŏn 表員 of Hwangnyongsa, who was active in the mid-eighth century, collected all the intellectual theories on important subjects in Hwaŏm thought and compiled his *Hwaŏm-gyŏng munŭi yogyŏl mundap* 華嚴經文義要決問答 (Questions and Answers on the Secrets of the Textual Meaning of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*). P'yowŏn addressed such varying issues as the problems of when the sūtra was preached and the buddhas who preached with respect to the structure of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, important doctrinal theories of Hwaŏm such as the six characteristics, the analogy of ten coins, conditioned arising, exploring the mysteries, the universal dharma, and so forth; and such issues as true thusness and suchness (*yŏyŏ* 如如) as the nature of truth, the problem of the dharma realm, the problems of the theory of the one vehicle and doctrinal classification, and the path of practice for bodhisattvas in the Mahāyāna. P'yowŏn bundled these into eighteen themes and explained each theme systematically by "analyzing the name" (*sŏngmyŏng* 釋名), "revealing the essential point" (*ch'ulche* 出題), and "questions and answers" (*mundap* 問答). P'yowŏn studied the eighty-roll *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in a full-scale manner, clarified the origin of the conditioned arising of the dharma realm, and universally understood the concept of dharma realm and doctrinal classification held by each successive generation. He also possessed a thorough knowledge of the precepts and the positions of bodhisattva practice.[35] P'yowŏn did not give primacy to Ŭisang's thought, which was the mainstream Hwaŏm learning of Silla. Although Fazang's thought was the foundation of his intellectual approach, he primarily cited the intellectual

35 Kim Indŏk 金仁德, "P'yowŏn ŭi Hwaŏmhak" 表員의 華嚴學 [P'yowŏn's Hwaŏm learning], in *Han'guk Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 韓國華嚴思想研究 [Research on Korean Hwaŏm thought], ed. Pulgyo Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 佛教文化研究院 [Buddhist Culture Research Center] (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1982), 107–151.

theories of Wŏnhyo, Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523–592), Anlin 安廪 (fl. sixth century), and others. Fusing the thought of Fazang and Wŏnhyo, P'yowŏn was a Hwaŏm exegete in Wŏnhyo's lineage and not Ŭisang's lineage.[36] Just like this, the fusion of Fazang's and Wŏnhyo's thought constituted an intellectual current that passed through the line of Taehyŏn 大賢, P'yowŏn, and Kyŏndŭng 見登.[37] Although P'yowŏn accommodated the doctrinal learning of Fazang for the most part, he showed originality in his selective accommodation of the theories of other thinkers in accordance with his intellectual objectives. For example, with respect to the meaning of the one vehicle (*ilsŭng ŭi* 一乘義), he adopted and adapted the doctrinal classification of Jingying Huiyuan and Wŏnhyo above the fivefold doctrinal classification of Fazang.[38]

An attempt to synthesize the thought of Wŏnhyo and the Ŭisang lineage may be glimpsed in the *Kŏnnap'yoha ilsŭng suhaengja pimil ŭigi* 健拏標訶一乘修行者秘密義記 (Commentary on the Secrets of the Practitioners of the One Vehicle of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*), which is thought to have been composed in the late Silla–early Koryŏ period. This book was based on the thought of the *Avataṃsaka* and the *Awakening of Faith*, with a flavoring of esoteric and thaumaturgic elements. This attempt at synthesis was systematically unsuccessful and shows, at the same time, the great intellectual labor and boundaries that could not be acceded later.[39]

---

36 See Ko Ikchin, *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa*.

37 Yoshizu Yoshihide吉津宜英, *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū* 華厳一乗思想の研究 [Research on the thought of the one vehicle of the Avataṃsaka] (Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1991).

38 Kim Ch'ŏnhak 金天鶴, trans. and annot., *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap* 華嚴經文義要訣問答 [Questions and answers on the secrets of the textual meaning of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*] (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1998).

39 Satō Atsushi, "Kendahyōka ichijō shugyō himitsugiki no kishoteki kōsatsu"『健拏標訶一乗修行者秘密義記』の基礎的考察 [A basic study of the *Jiannabiaohe yisheng xiuxingzhe mimi yiji/ Kŏnnap'yoha ilsŭng suhaengja pimil ŭigi*], *Tōyōgaku kenkyū* 東洋学研究 39 (March 2002): 147–178; Ch'oe Yŏnsik 崔鉛植, "*Kŏnnap'yohe ilsŭng suhaengja pimirŭi ki* wa Namal Yŏch'o Hwaŏmhak ŭi il-tonghyang"『健拏標訶一乘修行者 秘密義記』와 羅末麗初 華嚴學의 一動向 [*The Commentary of the*

Myŏnghyo 明皛 composed the *Haein sammae ron* 海印三昧論 (Treatise on the ocean seal samādhi), and although it shares the same form as Ŭisang's *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* from the standpoint of form, its analysis shares the same mutual understanding as the *Qixin lun*. Accordingly, it seems to belong to a lineage similar to that of Wŏnhyo, as seen in its identification of the *Avataṃsaka* with the *Awakening of Faith*, more than the lineage of Ŭisang.[40] Although both the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* and the *Haein sammae ron* use the form of a seal-diagram (*toin* 圖印) and identify it with the inclination/aspiration toward the attainment of Buddhahood from the standpoint of contents, Ŭisang distinguishes the Hwaŏm of the perfect teaching as the arrival at Buddhahood long ago (*kuraebul* 舊來佛) because of the unconditioned arising of the dharma nature and Myŏnghyo claimed the attainment of Buddhahood long ago (*kusŏngbul* 舊成佛) as a result of the conditioned arising of the mutual identity of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa (*saengsa chŭk yŏlban* 生死卽涅槃).[41]

Kyŏndŭng was known to have composed the *Hwaŏm ilsŭng sŏngbul myoŭi* 華嚴一乘成佛妙義 (The profound Meaning of the Attainment of Buddhahood According to the One Vehicle of the Avataṃsaka) and the *Kisillon tongi ryakchip* 起信論同異略集 (A Brief Anthology of Similarities and Differences in the *Qixin lun*), which clarify the meaning of the attainment of Buddhahood according to his Hwaŏm thought. Kyŏndŭng's citations

---

Secrets of Practitioners of the One Vehicle of the Gaṇḍavyūha and Hwaŏm learning in late Silla and early Koryŏ], *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 韓國史研究 126 (September 2004): 37–81.

40 See Rhi Ki-yong, *Han'guk Pulgyo yŏn'gu*.

41 See Chŏn Haeju, "Ilsŭng pŏpkye to wa Haein sammae ron ŭi pigyo yŏn'gu" 一乘法界圖와 海印三昧論의 比較研究 [A study comparing the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* and the *Haein sammae ron*], in *Kasan Yi Chigwan sŭnim hwagap kinyŏm nonch'ong: Han'guk Pulgyo munhwa sasangsa* 伽山李智冠스님華甲紀念論叢: 韓國佛教文化思想史 [Festschrift commemorating the sixtieth birthday of the Venerable Monk Kasan, Yi Chigwan], 2 vols., ed. Kasan Yi Chigwan Sŭnim Hwagap Kinyŏm Nonch'ong Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe 伽山李智冠스님華甲紀念論叢刊行委員會 [Committee for the Publication of the Festschrift Commemorating the Sixtieth Birthday of the Venerable Monk Kasan, Yi Chigwan] (Seoul: Kasan Pulgyo Muhwa Chinhŭngwŏn, 1992), 1:427–448.

were concentrated on the works of Fazang, his analysis of the meaning of the attainment of Buddhahood according to the *Avataṃsaka* was patently different from the bounds of the Yogācāra doctrine of the three vehicles, and his thought was an amalgamation and accommodation of the thought of Wŏnhyo and Fazang.[42] However, Kyŏndŭng was equally familiar with the Hwaŏm of Ŭisang's lineage and the Hwaŏm of the non-Ŭisang lineages, and he was active in Japan. Also, some scholars suggest that his *Kisillon tongi ryakchip* is the work of Chigyŏng 智憬 (Jpn. Chikei).[43]

6. *Hwaŏm and Chan/Sŏn*

Since the ninth century, the Chan of the Southern school was accommodated in Silla on a full scale. As the Buddhist world was being reformed and modified, the doctrinal learning of the mid-Silla period, which had been centered on Hwaŏm and Yogācāra, lost its bases of support. The social basis was greatly reduced as a result of change in its support base and problems in the conception of thought itself due to the ideation of doctrinal learning. On the one hand, enjoying royal patronage, the Hwaŏm tradition responded to this by initiating ceremonies and rituals to cherish the memory of the founding patriarchs of the Hwaŏm thought of Silla, such as Zhiyan and Ŭisang and by promoting the activities of religious societies (*kyŏlsa* 結社) to commission handwritten manuscripts of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra.*

The activities of religious societies evolved from the center of Haeinsa. The monks Hyŏnjun 賢俊 and Kyŏrŏn 決言 organized the Religious Society for Recompensing Grace (Poŭn kyŏlsa 報恩結社) in 884 for cherishing the memory of Zhiyan, and in 886 they organized a religious society focused on

42 See Ko Ikchin, *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa*.

43 Ch'oe Yŏnsik, "Silla Kyŏndŭng ŭi chŏsul kwa sasang kyŏnghyang" 新羅 見登의 저술과 思想傾向 [The writings and intellectual trends of Silla's Kyŏndŭng], *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 韓國史研究 115 (2002): 1–37.

the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* to pray for the repose of the soul of King Hŏn'gang 憲康 (r. 875–886). Kyŏrŏn lectured on the Buddhadharma to pray for the repose of the soul of King Wŏnsŏng at Koksa 鵠寺 at the invitation of King Kyŏngmun 景文 (r. 861–875) in 861, and he lectured on the *Jiaofen ji* 敎分記 (Record of doctrinal distinctions). In 895, because Haeinsa was invaded by marauders, the monks organized a monastic army (*sŭnggun* 僧軍) for the protection of the monastery under the initiative of the monk Sŭnghun 僧訓. The scholar-official Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠 (857–d. after 908) spent his declining years in residence at Haeinsa and occupied himself with works commending the virtue of Fazang.[44]

In response to the rise of the Sŏn traditions, one thing that came out of the effort to establish the true identity of Korean Hwaŏm and emphasize the doctrine, organization, and faith of the Hwaŏm tradition was the formation of the *Sinjung kyŏng* 神衆經 (Sūtra on the Divine Assembly). The *Sinjung kyŏng* was crafted at Haeinsa, which had risen to become the primary center of the Hwaŏm school in the second half of the ninth century. It was constructed on a strong system of collaboration with the monastery in a regional society based on battlefields and the monastic armies. To satisfy their religious demands, the names of the forty classes of beings in the divine assembly, the names of the fifty-three spiritual mentors of the "Entry into the Dharma Realm" chapter, and the names of the thirty-nine chapters of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* were added together to form the *Sinjung kyŏng*. Following Hŭirang 希朗 of Haeinsa's cooperation with Wang Kŏn 王建 (877–943, r. 918–943), the founder of the Koryŏ dynasty, the *Sinjung kyŏng* was transmitted on to Koryŏ times and was well known to Kyunyŏ.[45]

In the Later Three Kingdoms period (ca. 892–935), two lineages of

44 See Kim Sang-hyun, *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu*.

45 Nam Tongsin 南東信, "Namal Yŏch'o Hwaŏm chongdan ŭi taeŭng kwa (*Hwaŏm*) *Sinjung kyŏng* ŭi sŏngnip" 羅末麗初 華嚴宗團의 대응과 (華嚴) 神衆經의 성립 [The establishment of the (*Hwaŏm*) *Sinjung kyŏng* and the response of the Hwaŏm school in late Silla and early Koryŏ], *Oedae sahak* 外大史學 5 (1993): 143–174.

Hwaŏm intellectual traditions coexisted at Haeinsa. The first, that of Hŭirang, became the field of merit for Wang Kŏn, and the other, that of Kwanhye 觀惠, became the field of merit for Kyŏnhwŏn 甄萱 (fl. 892–936), the king of Later Paekche 後百濟. Hŭirang's was called the Northern Peak (Pugak 北岳) lineage, and it succeeded to the intellectual tradition of Pusŏksa on Mt. T'aebaek, taking the lead of the orthodox transmission of the Hwaŏm learning of Ŭisang's lineage. Kwanhye's was called the Southern Peak (Namak 南岳) lineage, which succeeded to the intellectual tradition of Hwaŏmsa on Mt. Chiri. There are many scholarly opinions regarding the Northern and Southern Peak lines, but the general view is to see the Southern Peak as the Yŏn'gi lineage of Hwaŏmsa, which was based on the *Avataṃsaka* and the *Awakening of Faith*, and to see the Northern Peak as the Ŭisang lineage of Pusŏksa, which was centered on the commentaries to the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*.[46] The Hwaŏm learning of the late Silla period may be characterized by the evolution of different views regarding some thirty-odd concepts of Hwaŏm doctrinal learning, such as the three teachings (*samgyo* 三敎), exhaustibility and inexhaustibility (*chin pujin* 盡不盡), the six characteristics, the Pure Land, unconditioned arising, and the making of offerings (*kongyang* 供養).[47] By means of his arrangement of these, Kyunyŏ accomplished a synthesis of the Hwaŏm school and reconstituted its intellectual system.

7. *The Hwaŏm Thought of Kyunyŏ of Koryŏ*

Kyunyŏ (923–973), clearly recognizing the internal problems of the Hwaŏm school, which had been divided intellectually since the late Silla period, and its tension with the Sŏn traditions, reestablished its intellectual system to

46 Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn 崔柄憲, "Koryŏ sidae Hwaŏmhak ŭi pyŏnch'ŏn" 高麗時代華嚴學의 變遷 [The transformation of Hwaŏm learning in the Koryŏ period], *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 韓國史研究 30 (1980): 61–76.

47 Yi Yŏngsu 李永洙, "Kinnyo taishiden no kenkyū (ka-ni)" 均如大師伝の研究 (下二) [Research on the Life of Great master Kyunyŏ pt. 3, n. 2], *Tōyōgaku kenkyū* 東洋学研究 18 (March 1984): 75–84.

respond to these kinds of problems.

Kyunyŏ produced the *Pŏpkye to wŏnt'ong ki* 法界圖圓通記 (Perfectly comprehensive record of the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*) and the *Sipku chang wŏnt'ong ki* 十句章圓通記 (Perfectly comprehensive record of the essay on the ten passages), which are annotated commentaries of Silla Hwaŏm on the important works of the early Hwaŏm founders Zhiyan, Ŭisang, and Fazang. He also left behind such works as the *Kyobun ki wŏnt'ong ch'o* 敎分記圓通鈔 (Perfect and comprehensive excerpts on the record of doctrinal distinctions), the *Chigwi chang wŏnt'ong ch'o* 旨歸章圓通鈔 (Perfectly Comprehensive Excerpts on the *Composition on Taking Refuge in the Profound Meaning*), and the *Sambo chang wŏnt'ong ki* 三寶章圓通記 (Perfectly Comprehensive Record on the Composition on the Three Jewels), which were annotated commentaries on the works of Fazang, the great sage of Chinese Huayan. Altogether Kyunyŏ wrote an enormous amount of material reaching ten titles in sixty-five rolls. Kyunyŏ cited the scholarly views of Zhiyan, Ŭisang, and Fazang in these writings and made them the basis of his own personal theories.

Although Kyunyŏ's Hwaŏm thought affirms the Silla Hwaŏm tradition in the Hwaŏm thought of Ŭisang, Kyunyŏ amends it by merging it with the Huayan thought of Fazang. There are many instances in which Kyunyŏ deciphers following the analysis of Fazang in a holistic contextual system; however, when he embarks upon more specific analysis he presents Fazang's analyses along with other views and expresses his own personal opinions on the basis of these. In this respect, his attitude is something that appears to be just like the attitude found in the Hwaŏm writings of Silla. On the basis of the establishment of original thought like this, Kyunyŏ planned to construct the topology of Hwaŏm in early Koryŏ society.

Kyunyŏ was not only interested in the arrangement of Hwaŏm thought, he composed eleven native songs (*hyangga* 鄕歌) called the "Songs on the Ten Vows of Samantabhadra" (*Pohyŏn sibwŏn ka* 普賢十願歌), and he intended to use them to preach to the masses on the practical application of the practices and vows of Samantabhadra (*Pohyŏn haengwŏn* 普賢行願). Ever since the time of Ŭisang, the tradition of Silla Hwaŏm had considered practical application

and practices to be more important than the cultivation of doctrinal learning, and the fruits of this approach needed to be reconsolidated in the intellectual Buddhism of the late Silla period. Kyunyŏ realized this at the same time that he showed interest in actual practice by his pursuit of the practices of Samantabhadra. Like this, the Hwaŏm thought of Kyunyŏ placed centrality on the concept of the interfusion of nature and characteristics (*sŏngsang yunghoe* 性相融會), a basic characteristic of early Hwaŏm doctrinal learning. While supplementing the margins of Silla Hwaŏm leaning, which had a weakness in this theoretical aspect, he raised its standard to a higher level.[48]

A distinctive feature of Kyunyŏ's Hwaŏm thought is exhibited in his theory of doctrinal classification. Kyunyŏ developed an original theory on the absoluteness of the one vehicle of the distinctive teaching (*pyŏlgyo ilsŭng chŏltae ron* 別教一乘絶對論), under which only the Avataṃsaka-sūtra is the highest teaching, the perfect teaching, and the remainder comprise the four inferior teachings (*hasagyo* 下四教). Along with this he also developed the theory of the one vehicle of suddenness and perfection (*tonwŏn ilsŭng non* 頓圓一乘論), which emphasizes for the second time the superiority of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* over other sūtras that come under the gradual teaching (*chŏmgyo* 漸教). Through these theories on doctrinal classification, although Kyunyŏ emphasized the appropriateness and superiority of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and Hwaŏm thought, by claiming that all dharmas are subsumed in Hwaŏm thought, he intended to emphasize the topology of the Hwaŏm tradition, which had greatly atrophied after the late Silla period. In addition, Kyunyŏ described the core teaching of Hwaŏm thought as the ten mysteries and six characteristics. He emphasized visualization procedures enabling one to understand by means of the analysis of one's body with practices to master these core teachings.[49] Kyunyŏ's emphasis on the one vehicle of suddenness

48 See Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn, "Koryŏ sidae Hwaŏmhak ŭi pyŏnch'ŏn."

49 Ch'oe Yŏnsik, "Kyunyŏ Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu: Kyop'an-non ŭl chungsim ŭro" 均如 華嚴思想 研究 – 教判論을 중심으로 [Research on the Hwaŏm thought of Kyunyŏ: Centered on his theory of doctrinal classification] (Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University, 1999).

and perfection was a product of consciousness that penetrates all root-capacities in the Hwaŏm world system by means of developing the theory of the teaching of commonality (*tonggyo ron* 同教論), which is theoretical about root-capacities at the same time, although it is founded on the dichotomy of the perfect teaching and the four inferior teachings. Furthermore, these kinds of consciousness described by Kyunyŏ were established by the application of the systematized Chinese Huayan theories of such exegetes as Fazang and Chengguan and by the succession of the deliverance-oriented intellectual traditions of the Silla Hwaŏm of Ŭisang's lineage, just like the *Tosin chang*. By accepting the influence of Tosin and Chengguan and recognizing the *Lotus Sūtra*, Kyunyŏ was to prepare logic differentiating his views from the theory of root-capacity in Ŭisang's lineage. In his Hwaŏm learning Kyunyŏ sought to construct a predominant religion that embraced all living beings even down to those of middling and inferior root-capacities. Kyunyŏ's Hwaŏm learning liberated living beings through the circulation of his compositions of native songs.[50]

---

50 Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Kyunyŏ Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu: kŭn'giron ŭl chungsim ŭro* 균여 화엄사상 연구: 根機論을 중심으로 [Research on the Buddhist thought of Kyunyŏ: Centered on his root capacity theory] (Seoul: Ŭnjŏng Pulgyo Munhwa Chinhŭngwŏn, 2006; rpt. Seoul: Haejoŭm, 2006)

Bibliography

Cho Myŏnggi 趙明基. *Silla Pulgyo ŭi inyŏm kwa yŏksa* 新羅佛敎의 理念과 歷史 [Ideology and history of Silla Buddhism]. Seoul: Sint'aeyangsa, 1962.

Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn 崔柄憲. "Koryŏ sidae Hwaŏmhak ŭi pyŏnch'ŏn" 高麗時代華嚴學의 變遷 [The transformation of Hwaŏm learning in the Koryŏ period]. *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 韓國史硏究 30 (1980): 61–76.

Ch'oe Yŏnsik 崔鉛植. "*Kŏnnap'yohe ilsŭng suhaengja pimirŭi ki* wa Namal Yŏch'o Hwaŏmhak ŭi iltonghyang" 『健拏標訶一乘修行者 秘密義記』와 羅末麗初 華嚴學의 一動向 [*The Commentary of the Secrets of Practitioners of the One Vehicle of the Gaṇḍavyūha* and Hwaŏm learning in late Silla and early Koryŏ]. *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 韓國史硏究 126 (September 2004): 37–81.

————. "Silla Kyŏndŭng ŭi chŏsul kwa sasang kyŏnghyang" 新羅 見登의 저술과 思想傾向 [The writings and intellectual trends of Silla's Kyŏndŭng]. *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 韓國史硏究 115 (2002): 1–37.

————. "Kyunyŏ Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu: Kyop'an-non ŭl chungsim ŭro" 均如 華嚴思想硏究 – 敎判論을 중심으로 [Research on the Hwaŏm thought of Kyunyŏ: Centered on his theory of doctrinal classification]. Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University, 1999.

Chŏn Haeju 全海住. "Ilsŭng pŏpkye to ŭi chŏja e taehan chaego" 一乘法界圖의 著者에 대한 再考 [A reconsideration regarding the authorship of the *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm of the One Vehicle*]. *Han'guk Pulgyohak* 韓國佛敎學 13 (1988): 107–135.

————. "Ilsŭng pŏpkye to wa Haein sammae ron ŭi pigyo yŏn'gu" 一乘法界圖와 海印三昧論의 比較硏究 [A study comparing the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* and the *Haein sammae ron*]. In *Kasan Yi Chigwan sŭnim hwagap kinyŏm nonch'ong: Han'guk Pulgyo munhwa sasangsa* 伽山李智冠스님華甲紀念論叢: 韓國佛敎文化思想史 [Festschrift commemorating the sixtieth birthday of the Venerable Monk Kasan, Yi Chigwan], 2 vols., ed. Kasan Yi Chigwan Sŭnim Hwagap Kinyŏm Nonch'ong Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe 伽山李智冠스님華甲紀念論叢刊行委員會 [Committee for the Publication of the Festschrift Commemorating the Sixtieth Birthday of the Venerable

Monk Kasan, Yi Chigwan], 1:427–448. Seoul: Kasan Pulgyo Muhwa Chinhŭngwŏn, 1992.

———. *Ŭisang Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu* 義湘華嚴思想史研究 [Research on the history of Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought]. Seoul: Minjoksa, 1992.

———. "Ichijō hōkai zu no chosha ni tsuite" 一乘法界圖の著者について [On the author of the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*]. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 94 (1999): 229–231.

Ishii Kōsei 石井公成. "Chōsen Kegon no tokushitsu: Gishōkei no mirarae Zenshū to Chiron kyōgaku no eikyō" 朝鮮華厳の特質—義湘系のみられ禅宗と地論教学の影響 [Special characteristics of Korean Hwaŏm: The influence of Chan Buddhism and the doctrinal learning of the *Dilun* as seen in Ŭisang's lineage]. In *Ronshū Tōdaiji no rekishi to kyōgaku* 論集東大寺の歴史と教学 [A compilation of essays on the history and doctrinal learning of Tōdaiji], comp. GBS Jikkō Iinkai GBS 実行委員会 [GBS Publication Committee], 47–55. Nara: Tōdaiji and Hatsubai Hōzokan, 2003.

———. *Kegon shisō no kenkyū* 華厳思想の研究 [Research on Huayan thought]. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1996.

Jin Young You (Chin Yŏngyu) 陳永裕. *Kegon kanhō no kisoteki kenkyu* 華厳観法の基礎的研究 [Basic research on Huayan meditative methods]. Seoul: Minch'ang Munhwasa, 1995.

Jung Byung Sam (Chŏng Pyŏngsam) 鄭炳三. *Ŭisang Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 의상 화엄사상 연구 [Research on Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought]. Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1998. Rpt. 2001.

Kim Ch'ŏnhak 金天鶴, trans. and annot. *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap* 華嚴經文義要決問答 [Questions and answers on the secrets of the textual meaning of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]. Seoul: Minjoksa, 1998.

———. *Kyunyŏ Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu: kŭn'giron ŭl chungsim ŭro* 균여 화엄사상 연구: 根機論을 중심으로 [Research on the Buddhist thought of Kyunyŏ: Centered on his root capacity theory]. Seoul: Ŭnjŏng Pulgyo Munhwa Chinhŭngwŏn, 2006; Rpt. Seoul: Haejoŭm, 2006.

Kim Doo Jin (Kim Tujin) 金杜珍. *Ŭisang: kŭ ŭi saengae wa Hwaŏm sasang* 의상 – 그의 생애와 화엄사상 [Ŭisang: His life and Hwaŏm thought]. Seoul:

Minŭmsa, 1995.
———. *Silla Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 신라화엄사상연구 [Research on the Hwaŏm thought of Silla]. Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2002.
Kim Indŏk 金仁德. "P'yowŏn ŭi Hwaŏmhak" 表員의 華嚴學 [P'yowŏn's Hwaŏm learning]. In *Han'guk Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 韓國華嚴思想研究 [Research on Korean Hwaŏm thought], ed. Pulgyo Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 佛教文化研究院 [Buddhist Culture Research Center], 107–151. Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1982.
Kim Poksun 金福順. *Silla Hwaŏmjong yŏn'gu* 新羅華嚴宗研究 [Research on the Hwaŏm school of Silla]. Seoul: Minjoksa, 1990.
Kim Sang-hyun (Kim Sanghyŏn) 金相鉉. "Ch'udong ki wa kŭ ibon Hwaŏm-gyŏng mundap" 『錐洞記』와 그 異本『華嚴經問答』[*The Record of Awl Grotto* and its variant version *Questions and Answers on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]. *Han'guk hakpo* 韓國學報 84 (September 1996): 28–45. Reprinted in *Silla ŭi sasang kwa munhwa* 신라의 사상과 문화 [Silla thought and culture], by Kim Sang-hyun, 338–353. Seoul: Ilchisa, 1999.
———. *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu* 新羅華嚴思想史研究 [Research on the history of Hwaŏm thought in Korea]. Seoul: Minjoksa, 1991.
Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝. "Kankoku Bukkyō ni okeru ririsōsokuron no denkai" 韓国仏教における理理相即論の展開 [The development of the theory of the mutual identity of principle and principle in Korean Buddhism]. *Nantō Bukkyō* 南都佛教 49 (December 1982): 1–12.
Ko Ikchin 高翊晋. *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa* 韓國古代佛教思想史 [History of Korean Buddhist thought in ancient Korea]. Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1989.
Nam Tongsin 南東信. "Namal Yŏch'o Hwaŏm chongdan ŭi taeŭng kwa (*Hwaŏm*) *Sinjung kyŏng* ŭi sŏngnip" 羅末麗初 華嚴宗團의 대응과 (華嚴) 神衆經의 성립 [The establishment of the (*Hwaŏm*) *Sinjung kyŏng* and the response of the Hwaŏm school in late Silla and early Koryŏ]. *Oedae sahak* 外大史學 5 (1993): 143–174.
Oda Kenyū 織田顯祐. *Ch'ogi Hwaŏm sasangsa* 초기화엄사상사 [Early Hwaŏm thought]. Trans. T'aegyŏng 태경 (Yi Sŏni 이선이). Seoul: Pulgyo Sidaesa, 2007.

Ōtake Susumu 大竹晋. *Yuishikisetsu o chūshin to shita shoki Kegonkyōgaku no keykyū: Chigon·Gishōkara Hōzō e* 唯識説を中心とした初期華厳教学の研究: 智儼·義湘から法蔵へ [Research on the doctrinal learning of early Huayan centered on the theory of consciousness-only: From Zhiyan and Ŭisang to Fazang) Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan, 2007.

Pak Sŏyŏn 朴書延. "Silla Ŭisang-gye chŏsul kwa Hwaŏm-gyŏng mundap" 新羅 義相系 저술과『華嚴經問答』[Writings in the lineage of Ŭisang of Silla and the *Questions and Answers on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]. *Han'guk Pulgyohak* 韓國佛教學 34 (2003): 179–211.

———. "Tosin chang ŭi Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu"『道身章』의 華嚴思想 研究 [Research on the Hwaŏm thought of *Tosin's Composition*]. Ph.D. diss., Dongguk University, 2003.

Rhi Ki-yong (Yi Kiyŏng) 李箕永. *Han'guk Pulgyo yŏn'gu* 韓國佛教研究 [Research on Korean Buddhism]. Seoul: Han'guk Pulgyo Yŏn'guwŏn, 1982.

Sakamoto Yukio 坂本幸男. *Kegon kyŌgaku no kenkyū* 華嚴教學の研究 [Research on Huayan doctrinal learning]. Kyōto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1956.

Satō Atsushi 佐藤厚. "Gishō-kei Kegon shisō ni okeru mujū" 義湘系華厳思想における無住 [No abode in the Hwaŏm thought of Ŭisang's lineage]. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 94 (47, no. 2) (March 1999): 84–87.

———. "Gishō-kei Kegon bunken ni mieru ronri: jūsōteki kyōri kaishaku" 義湘系華厳文献に見える論理: 重層的教理解釈 [Logic as seen in the Hwaŏm literature of Ŭisang's lineage: Graduated doctrinal analysis]. *Kankoku Bukkyōgaku SEMINAR* 韓国仏教学 SEMINAR 7 (November 1998): 136–157(L).

———. "Gishō-kei Kegon gakuha no kihon shishō to Daijō kishinron hihan: Gishō to Gangyō no taironkiji no haigo ni arumoto" 義湘系華厳学派の基本思想と『大乗起信論』批判 義湘と元暁の対論記事の背後にあるもの [The basic thought of Ŭisang's Hwaŏm sect and criticism of the *Dasheng qixin lun*: Background to the accounts of the confrontational discussion between Ŭisang and Wŏnhyo). *Tōyōgaku kenkyū* 東洋学研究 37

(March 2000): 51–82.
———. "Gishō no chūdōgi" 義湘の中道義 [The meaning of middle way to Ŭisang]. *Tōyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō* 東洋大学大学院紀要 32 (February 1996): 157–169(L).
———. "Ichijō hōkai zu entsuki kaidoku ni okeru futatsu no mondai" 『一乗法界図円通記』解読における二つの問題 [Two problems in deciphering the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to wŏnt'ong ki*]. *Tōyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō* 東洋大学大学院紀要 30 (February 1994): 191–203(L).
———. "Ilsŭng pŏpkye to ŭi teksŭtŭ munje" 일승법계도의 텍스트 문제 [Textual problems with the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*]. *Pulgyo ch'unch'u* 佛教春秋 15 (August 1999): 135–149.
———. "Kendahyōka ichijō shugyō himitsugiki no kishoteki kōsatsu" 『健拏標訶一乗修行者秘密義記』の基礎的考察 [A basic study of the *Jiannabiaohe yisheng xiuxingzhe mimi yiji/Kŏnnap'yoha ilsŭng suhaengja pimil ŭigi*]. *Tōyōgaku kenkyū* 東洋学研究 39 (March 2002): 147–178.
Sin Hyŏnsuk 辛賢淑. "Pŏpkye-do ki rŭl t'onghae pon Ŭisang ŭi konggwan" 法界圖記를 통해 본 義湘의 空觀 [Ŭisang's view of śūnyatā as seen through his *Pŏpkye to ki*]. *Pulgyo hakpo* 佛教學報 26 (1989): 145–180.
———. "Ŭisang ŭi Hwaŏm popkye yŏn'gi wa konggwan" 義湘의 華嚴法界緣起와 空觀 [Ŭisang's conditioned arising of the dharma realm according to the *Avataṃsaka* and his view of emptiness]. In *Yŏsan Yu Pyŏngdŏk paksa hwagap kinyŏm Han'guk ch'ŏrhak chonggyo sasangsa* 如山柳炳德博士華甲紀念 韓國哲學宗教思想史 [Festschrift in commemoration of the sixtieth birthday of Yŏsan Dr. Yu Pyŏngdŏk: History of Korean philosophy, religion and thought], comp. 如山柳炳德博士華甲紀念 論文集刊行委員會 [Publication Committee of the Festschrift in Commemoration of the Sixtieth Birthday of Yŏsan Dr. Yu Pyŏngdŏk], 383–394. Iri [Chŏlla Pukto]: Wŏn'gwang Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1990.
Sŏk Kiram 石吉岩. "Wŏnhyo ŭi pobŏp Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu" 元曉의 普法華嚴思想 研究 [Research on Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought of the universal dharma]. Ph.D. diss., Dongguk University, 2003.
Yao Chang-shou 姚長壽. "Bōzan sekikyō ni okeru Kegon tenseki ni tsuite" 房山石経における華厳典籍について [On the Huayan literature in

the Fangshan lithic canon]. In *Chūgoku Bukkyō sekikyō no kenkyū* 中國佛教石経の研究 [Research on Chinese Buddhist lithic canons], ed. Kegasawa Yasunori 気賀澤保規, 411–437. Kyoto: Kyōdo Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppansha 京都大学学術出版社, 1996.

Yi Haenggu 李杏九. "Silla Hwaŏm ŭi ch'ojo ko: Chajang pŏpsa ŭi Hwaŏm sasang" 新羅 華嚴의 初祖考: 慈藏法師의 華嚴思想 [A study on the early patriarch of Silla's Hwaŏm tradition: The Hwaŏm thought of Dharma Master Chajang]. *Tongguk nonjip* 東國論集13 (1994): 3–26.

Yi Yŏngsu 李永洙. "Kinnyo taishi den no kenkyū (jō)" 均如大師伝の研究 (上) [Research on the life of Great Master Kyunyŏ, pt. 1]. *Tōyōgaku kenkyū* 東洋学研究 7 (March 1973): 21–48.

————. "Kinnyo taishi den no kenkyū (chū)" 均如大師伝の研究 (中) [Research on the life of Great Master Kyunyŏ, pt. 2]. *Tōyōgaku kenkyū* 東洋学研究 8 (March 1974): 53–73.

————. "Kinnyo taishi den no kenkyū (ka-ichi)" 均如大師伝の研究 (下一) [Research on the life of Great Master Kyunyŏ, pt. 3, no. 1]. *Tōyōgaku kenkyū* 東洋学研究 13 (March 1979): 71–81.

————. "Kinnyo taishiden no kenkyū (ka-ni)" 均如大師伝の研究 (下二) [Research on the life of Great Master Kyunyŏ pt. 3, n. 2]. *Tōyōgaku kenkyū* 東洋学研究 18 (March 1984): 75–84.

Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英. *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū* 華厳一乗思想の研究 [Research on the thought of the one vehicle of the *Avataṃsaka*]. Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1991.

II

TREATISE ON THE OCEAN SEAL SAMĀDHI

Haein Sammae Ron

海印三昧論

明皛

By Myŏnghyo

Introduction

The *Haein sammae* ron 海印三昧論 (Treatise on the Ocean Seal Samādhi) is an essay by the monk Myŏnghyo 明皛 of the early Unified Silla period. Although no other literary material related to Myŏnghyo has been preserved providing any details about his life, the *Yuga ron ki* 瑜伽論記 (Record of the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*) by the Silla Yogācāra scholar Toryun 道倫 cites an opinion of the "Dharma Master Hyo of Silla" (Silla Hyo pŏpsa 新羅皛法師) concerning Indian logic (*inmyong* 因明; Skt. *hetu-vidyā*). If we consider this Hyo as the same person as Myŏnghyo then we can conjecture that he probably lived before Toryun.[1] Because we know that the *Yuga ron ki* was composed about 705, the *Haein sammae ron* must have been written before that time. Furthermore, the *Haein sammae ron* was transmitted to Japan and copied by hand in 740. In Ŭich'ŏn's 義天 (1055–1101) catalog it is reported as "*Haein sammae ron*, one roll, written by Myŏnghyo."[2] It is also reported

1 Kim Yŏngt'ae 金煐泰, *Han'guk Pulgyo kojŏn myŏngjak ŭi segye* 韓國佛敎 古典名著의 世界 [The world of the famous authors of the classical literature of Korean Buddhism] (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1994), 115.

2 *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 1, T 2184.55.1167c7; HPC 4.682a24.

in Japanese catalogs.[3] As of yet, no books that cite the *Haein sammae ron* have been discovered, and no other information on Myŏnghyo has come to light save for the passage mentioned above. Some scholars have connected him with the Esoteric monk Myŏnghyo 明曉, who was interested in the "approach of dhāraṇīs" (*ch'ongji mun,* Ch. *zongchi men* 總持門) and travelled to Tang China to request and commission the Indian monk Li Wuchan 李無諂 to translate the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī* (*Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing* 不空羂索陀羅尼經).[4] On this basis, some scholars see this composite Myŏnghyo as interfusing Hwaŏm philosophy and Esoteric Buddhism.[5] However, other scholars are of the opinion that the Esoteric practitioner and the scholar Dharma Master Hyo are two different people.[6] And some also suggest that the author might have been Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686) himself.[7]

The *Haein sammae ron* employs a hymn (gāthā) in the form of a twisting and turning, meandering seal-diagram (*toin* 圖印) consisting of 196 logographs in twenty-eight lines, seven logographs each line. An abbreviated commentary as also appended to the work. By parsing the contents of the text into convenient sections the basic structure of the text becomes observable:

Structure of the *Haein sammae ron*
Preface
Hymn of Refuge and Reverence (*kwigyŏng song* 歸敬頌)
Analysis of the Title

3 *Kegonshū shōshō narabini inmyō roku* 華嚴宗章疏并因明錄 1, T 2177.55.1134b23; and *Tōiki dentō mokuroku* 東域傳燈目錄 1, T 2183.55.1147a5.

4 *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 9, T 2154, 55.566b16–24.

5 Kim Sang-hyun (Kim Sanghyŏn) 金相鉉, *Silla ŭi sasang kwa munhwa* 신라의 사상과 문화 [Silla thought and culture] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1999), 354–377.

6 Kim Doo Jin (Kim Tujin) 金杜珍, *Silla Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 신라화엄사상연구 [Research on Hwaŏm thought in Silla] (Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2002), 116–118.

7 Walter Kyu-sung Lew, "Against Counting Up the Verses: An Analysis and Translation of the Haein sammae-ron, a Silla Treatise on the Oceal Seal Samádhi" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1992), 49–61.

Dhāraṇī on the Ocean Seal Samādhi
Seal-Diagram and Hymn
Meaning of the Ocean Seal Samādhi
The Shape and Reading of the Seal-Diagram (*toin* 圖印)
Deciphering the Dhāraṇī
Hymn of Transference (*hoehyang song* 迴向頌)

The "Hymn of Refuge and Reverence" describes how Myŏnghyo wrote the work so that living beings might universally obtain the bliss of nirvāṇa. As Myŏnghyo writes, by means of the core teaching that "is able to open the eyes of wisdom of all the bodhisattvas and is able to bring to fruition the vows of all bodhisattvas," the essentials of the ocean seal samādhi are presented in the dhāraṇī that "comprehensively preserves (*ch'ongji* 總持) the main points of all the sūtras and it universally contains the meritorious virtues of all the buddhas."

> Nothing surpasses this dhāraṇī hymn in the Storehouse of the Esoteric Dharmas of all the buddhas of the three time periods. If you are a practitioner who intends to progress quickly toward unsurpassed bodhi, you must initially arouse a vast and sublime vow, awaken the aspiration of great charity for all living beings, produce the thought that spiritual mentors are difficult to encounter, revere and prize the Three Jewels and destroy and forsake pride of self. Relying on the Mahāyāna sūtras, with utmost minds, you repent of all your sinful hindrances. Afterward you single-mindedly seek out great spiritual mentors, consult with them about the essentials of the Dharma, and listen to explanations of the Dharma ... and practice what has been preached.

Myŏnghyo clearly explained why he did not provide interpretation and analysis of the contents of the gāthā-hymn: he wanted readers to know that much meaning can be derived from short passages. He was concerned that if practitioners place too much importance on the contents, they will distance themselves from the fundamental meaning because they interpret only certain passages. In learning the Buddhadharma, repenting with one's

original mind is important; but that is only because if people have too much learning they only develop pride. Because there are many kinds of living beings like this, a detailed analysis of the text only increases false opinions of people with small views who think that they know a lot. The author claims he does this because he is worried that such people with fall into the ocean of suffering and be unable to extricate themselves.

Ŭisang's 義相 *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 一乘法界圖 (Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm of the One Vehicle) existed before this composition in the form of a seal-diagram. The *Haein sammae ron* and *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* have similarities and differences. The most striking similarity is the seal-diagram shape of the gāthā, which symbolizes living beings' attainment of buddhahood. The arrangement of the logographs meanders around the seal-diagram in a similar fashion, and the composition and explanation of the constituent parts is similar in both. However, the direction the reader should take in reading the seal-diagram is opposite, and the existence and non-existence of a detailed analysis of the meaning of the seal-diagram is the most conspicuous difference. The *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* is a gāthā-hymn in the shape of a seal-diagram consisting of 210 logographs in thirty lines, seven logographs in each line. The hymn is matched to the system of Hwaŏm learning and is systematically organized; to it is attached a detailed analysis. This is a point of contrast with the *Haein sammae ron*, which has no explanatory analysis attached to his contents. Furthermore, the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* is considered to be one of the representative writings of the Hwaŏm thought of Silla. Although there was a succession of scholiums and analysis by later scholars in such works as the *Pŏpkye to ki ch'ongsurok* 法界圖記叢髓錄 (Comprehensive Variorum on the *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm*), the fact that nothing similar has been found for the *Haein sammae ron* is a significant difference. If the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* is a complete work that divides its explanation of practices into practices that benefit oneself (*chari haeng* 自利行) and practices that benefit others (*it'a haeng* 利他行) and presents an elaborate structure establishing both theory and practice, the Haein sammae ron is different insofar that it almost completely concentrates on the explanation of conditioned arising (*yŏn'gi* 緣起).[8]

Although the *Haein sammae ron* is shaped similarly to the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, the contents are also different. In particular, whereas the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* emphasizes that beings have been buddhas since long ago (*kurae pul* 舊來佛) as a result of the unconditioned arising of Dharma nature (*pŏpsŏng sŏnggi* 法性性起), the *Haein sammae ron* appears to claim that beings have been buddhas since long ago because of conditioned arising because saṃsāra is nirvāṇa. Further, because the *Haein sammae ron* uses the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and *Qixin lun* 起信論 (Treatise on the Awakening of Faith) together it appears to be from Wŏnhyo's intellectual lineage.[9]

I have used the original text as found in the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnso* 韓國佛教全書 (Collected Works of Korean Buddhism), vol. 2, pp. 397b1–399b22, as the foundation and supplemented it with the *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 (Kyoto Supplement to the Canon) edition. The editions preserved in the *Zokuzōkyō* and the *Taishō shinshū dai zōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō Edition of the Buddhist Canon) are a hand-copied edition of 1113 that were compared to the edition of the text stored at Kōzanji 高山寺 in Jōken 城乾 by the monk Shohan 助範 in 1721.[10]

---

8 Chŏn Haeju 全海住, "Ilsŭng pŏpkye to wa Haein sammae ron ŭi pigyo yŏn'gu" 一乘法界圖와 海印三昧論의 比較研究 [A study comparing the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* and the *Haein sammae ron*], in *Kasan Yi Chigwan sŭnim hwagap kinyŏm nonch'ong: Han'guk Pulgyo munhwa sasangsa* 伽山李智冠스님華甲紀念論叢: 韓國佛教文化思想史 [Festschrift commemorating the sixtieth birthday of the Venerable Monk Kasan, Yi Chigwan], 2 vols., ed. Kasan Yi Chigwan Sŭnim Hwagap Kinyŏm Nonch'ong Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe 伽山李智冠스님華甲紀念論叢刊行委員會 [Committee for the Publication of the Festschrift Commemorating the Sixtieth Birthday of the Venerable Monk Kasan, Yi Chigwan] (Seoul: Kasan Pulgyo Muhwa Chinhŭngwŏn, 1992), 1:427–448, esp. 434–445.

9 Ko Ikchin 高翊晋, *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa* 韓國古代佛教思想史 [History of Buddhist thought in ancient Korea] (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1989), 348; and Kim Doo Jin, Silla Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu, 133–134.

10 See *Haein sammae ron*, T 1889.45.775b24–26 (永久元年癸巳八月二十日書寫了 筆生助範享保六年三月以城乾高山寺藏本對校).

Selected Bibliography

Chŏn Haeju 全海住. "Ilsŭng pŏpkye to wa Haein sammae ron ŭi pigyo yŏn'gu" 一乘法界圖와 海印三昧論의 比較研究 [Study comparing the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* and the *Haein sammae ron*]. In *Kasan Yi Chigwan sŭnim hwagap kinyŏm nonch'ong: Han'guk Pulgyo munhwa sasangsa* 伽山李智冠스님華甲紀念論叢: 韓國佛教文化思想史 [Festschrift commemorating the sixtieth birthday of the Venerable Monk Kasan, Yi Chigwan], 2 vols., ed. Kasan Yi Chigwan Sŭnim Hwagap Kinyŏm Nonch'ong Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe 伽山李智冠스님華甲紀念論叢刊行委員會 [Committee for the Publication of the Festschrift Commemorating the Sixtieth Birthday of the Venerable Monk Kasan, Yi Chigwan], 1:427–448. Seoul: Kasan Pulgyo Muhwa Chinhŭngwŏn, 1992.

Hŏ Namjin 허남진, et al. *Samguk kwa T'ongil Silla ŭi Pulgyo sasang* 삼국과 통일신라의 불교사상 [Buddhist thought of the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods]. Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2005.

Kim Doo Jin (Kim Tujin) 金杜珍. "Myŏnghyo ŭi Haein sammae sasang" 明皛의 海印三昧사상 [The ocean seal samādhi thought of Myŏnghyo of Silla]. *Chindan hakpo* 震檀學報 88 (1999). Reprinted in *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu* 신라화엄사상사연구 [Research on the Hwaŏm thought of Silla], 115–134. Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2002.

Kim Sang-hyun (Kim Sanghyŏn) 金相鉉. "Silla Myŏnghyo ŭi Haein sammae ron ko" 新羅明皛의 海印三昧論考 [Study on Myŏnghyo of Silla's *Haein sammae ron*]. In *Hasŏk Kim Changsu kyosu hwagap kinyŏm sahak nonch'ong: Yŏksahak ŭi chemunje* 何石金昌洙教授華甲紀念 史學論叢: 歷史學의 諸問題 [Festschrift on history commemorating the sixtieth birthday of Hasŏk, Prof. Kim Ch'angju: Issues in the study of history], ed. Hasŏk Kim Changsu Kyosu Hwagap Kinyŏm Sahak Nonch'ong Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe 石金昌洙教授華甲紀念史學論叢 刊行委員會 [Committee for the Publication of the Festschrift on History Commemorating the Sixtieth Birthday of Hasŏk, Prof. Kim Ch'angju], 61–80. Seoul: Pŏmusa, 1992. Reprinted in *Silla ŭi sasang kwa munhwa* 신라의 사상과 문화 [Silla thought and culture], 354–377. Seoul: Ilchogak, 1999.

Kim Yŏngt'ae 金煐泰. *Han'guk Pulgyo kojŏn myŏngjak ŭi segye* 韓國佛教古典名著의 世界 [The world of the famous authors of the classical literature of Korean Buddhism]. Seoul: Minjoksa, 1994.

Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝. "Kaiin sanmai ron kō" 海印三昧論考 [Study of the Haein sammae ron]. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 51, no. 2 (March 2003): 613–619.

Ko Ikchin 高翊晋. *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa* 韓國古代佛教思想史 [History of Korean Buddhist thought in ancient Korea]. Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1989.

Lew, Walter Kyu-sung. "Against Counting Up the Verses: An Analysis and Translation of the *Haein sammae-ron*, a Silla Treatise on the Oceal Seal Samádhi." M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1992.

Rhi Ki-yong (Yi Kiyŏng) 李箕永. "Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkye to ŭi kŭnbon chŏngsin" 華嚴一乘法界圖의 根本精神 [The basic mentality of the *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm as the One Vehicle of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra). Silla Kaya munhwa* 新羅伽倻文化 4 (1972). Reprinted in *Han'guk Pulgyo yŏn'gu* 韓國佛教研究 [Research on Korean Buddhism], by Rhi Ki-yong, 465–506. Seoul: Han'guk Pulgyo Yŏn'guwŏn, 1982.

———. "Myŏnghyo ŭi Haein sammae ron e taehayŏ" 明皛의 海印三昧論에 대하여 [On Myŏnghyo's *Treatise on the Ocean Seal Samādhi*]. In *Minjok munhwa nonch'ong: Nosan Yi Ŭnsang Paksa kohŭi kinyŏm nonmunjip* 民族文化論叢: 鷺山李殷相博士古稀紀念論文集 [Essays on Korean culture: Festschrift in commemoration of the seventieth birthday of Nonsan, Dr. Yi Ŭnsang], ed. Nosan Yi Ŭnsang Paksa Kohŭi Kinyŏm Nonmunjip Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe 鷺山李殷相博士古稀紀 念論文集刊行委員會 [Committee for the Compilation of the Festschrift in Commemoration of the Seventieth Birthday of Nonsan Dr. Yi Ŭnsang]. Seoul: Nosan Yi Ŭnsang Paksa Kohŭi Kinyŏm Nonmunjip Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe, 1973. Reprinted in Han'guk Pulgyo yŏn'gu 韓國佛教研究 [Research on Korean Buddhism], by Rhi Ki-yong, 535–543. Seoul: Han'guk Pulgyo Yŏn'guwŏn, 1982.

Treatise on the Ocean Seal Samādhi[11]

海印三昧論

依大方廣佛華嚴經 明晶所述

Based on the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra
Composed by Myŏnghyo

The Great Path to Enlightenment is boundless: it is not able to be sought by

11 The ocean seal samādhi (*haein sammae*, Ch. *haiyin sanmei* 海印三昧; Skt. *sāgara-mudrā-samādhi*) refers to the totalistic meditative absorption of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. The sixty-roll edition of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* comprises eight assemblies in seven locations (*ch'ilch'ŏ p'arhoe*, Ch. *qiqu bahui* 七處八會). The eighty-roll edition comprises nine assemblies in seven locations (*ch'ilch'ŏ kuhoe*, Ch. *qiqu jiuhui* 七處九會), but Myŏnghyo followed the format and cited from the sixty-roll edition. In each of the assemblies, before the Buddha preaches the Dharma he enters a particular meditative absorption. Ocean seal is an analogy: when the wind ceases and the waves grow silent and the water becomes clear on the great ocean, everything in the whole world is reflected and illuminated on the surface of the ocean. Just like this, the waves of discrimination do not arise and are clear and silent within the mind of the Buddha, and everything in nature (*samna mansang* 森羅萬象) is reflected all at once, and all the dharmas of the three realms—the material world, the world of living beings, and the world of enlightened wisdom—appear at once. This samādhi of the Buddha is called the ocean seal samādhi. See Fazang's 法藏 (643–712) *Xiu huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀 [Observations on exhausting delusion and returning to the source by cultivating the deep meaning of Huayan], T 1876.45.637b21–28. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* vividly depicts what happens in this ocean seal samādhi based on all things in the universe that reflect and appear. With respect to the eight assemblies in seven locations, Fazang says that the Tathāgata's ocean seal samādhi is very mysterious, and he classifies the samādhis the Buddha entered in each assembly as follows: in the first assembly, the samādhi of the pure storehouse of all the Tathāgatas (*ilch'e yŏrae chŏngjang sammae* 一切如來淨藏三昧); in the second assembly, meditative absorption (*sŏnjŏng*

narrow practices. Absolute principle is profound and arcane: it is not cognized by means of shallow wisdom. For those who would enter the Path with partial[12] feelings: the Path is not partially entered. As for pursuing principle by grasping at doctrines, principle is not pursued through grasping. You must, by means of the great practice of methodlessness (devoid of strategy) start on the praiseworthy Path. Sheer emptiness, consummate wisdom, you more fully comprehend principle. For this reason, I request that honorable men in the future all cherish the meaning of this lodged fish trap.[13]

禪定); in the third assembly, the samādhi of the bodhisattva's measureless expedient means (*posal muryang pangp'yŏn sammae* 菩薩無量方便三昧); in the fourth assembly, the samādhi of wholesome submission (*sŏnbok sammae* 善伏三昧); in the fifth assembly, the samādhi of great wisdom and brightness (*taejihye kwangmyŏng sammae* 大智慧光明三昧); in the seventh assembly, the samādhi of the flower garland of the Buddha (*pul hwaŏm sammae* 佛華嚴三昧); and in the eighth assembly, the samādhi of the exertion and quickness of the lion of the Tathāgatas (*yŏrae saja punsin sammae* 如來師子奮迅三昧). See *Huayan wenyi gangmu* 華嚴文義綱目, T 1734.35.498c25–499a11. Furthermore, in the preface to the *Composition on the Five Teachings* (*Wujiao zhang* 五教章), which presents an outline of the doctrinal teachings of the Huayan/Hwaŏm tradition, Fazang analyzes the doctrinal meaning and significance of the one vehicle of the Tathāgata's ocean seal samādhi in ten approaches. See *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 1, T 1866.45.477a6–7. In Ŭisang's *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 一乘法界圖, which was completed before Myŏnghyo's seal-diagram in the *Haein sammae ron*, in his analysis of the seal-diagram of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye toin* 法界圖印), he responds to the question of why relied on the form of a seal saying that the form of the seal expresses that the three worlds—the material world, the world of living beings, and the world of perfectly enlightened wisdom—contained in Śākyamuni's teaching are produced from the ocean seal samādhi. See *Ilsŭng pŏpkye* to, HPC 2.1a2–4. All of these passages outlining Hwaŏm thought display a close and intimate connection with the ocean seal samādhi.

12 The glossary at the end of the work defines the logograph *kuk* 局 (partial) as "watching over one's liking," which may be interpreted as denoting insufficiency in one's desire to attain the path.

13 Fish trap (*kijŏn*, Ch. *jiquan* 寄筌) is an allusion to the famous analogy for language that appears in the "External Things" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子; see Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930), supp. 20, 26, 75, 78. Burton Watson renders the full passage in which the analogy appears as follows: "The fish trap exists because of the fish; once you've gotten the fish, you can forget the trap. The rabbit snare exists because of the rabbit; once you've gotten the rabbit, you can forget the snare. Words exist because of the meaning; once you've gotten the meaning, you can forget the words. Where can I find a man who has forgotten words so I can have a word with him?" See Watson, trans., *Chuang Tzu: Basic Teachings*

若夫大道無邊, 非隘行之能尋, 至理深玄, 非淺智之所識. 如以局情入道, 道非局入, 執教求理, 理非執求. 要以無方大行, 始可稱道, 孱空圓智, 迥會理矣. 故請將來君子, 同懷寄筌之意.

1. Hymn of Refuge and Reverence

Taking refuge, exhausting the ten directions,
in the Three Jewels amid the realm of the dharma (*dharmadhātu*)
I desire to repay the Buddha's kindness
and briefly expound on the meaning of the sūtra.
Universally cause the classes of living beings
to obtain the bliss of great nirvāṇa.
I wish that my vow will be protected by your compassion
So my original vows may be fulfilled.[14]

歸敬頌
歸命盡十方 法界中三寶
我欲報佛恩 略演契經義
普令衆生類 得大涅槃樂
願慈加護念 滿我本誓願

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1964). A.C. Graham, who is typically a more careful and precise translator than Watson, surprisingly translates the term as "fish bait" rather than "fish trap." See Graham, *Chuang-tzü: The Inner Chapters* (London: Mandala Books, Unwin, 1986), 190.

14 The original vows (*ponwŏn*, Ch. *benyuan* 本願) mentioned here refer to the bodhisattva's vows to save all living beings and to attain buddhahood. These vows were codified as the four extensive vows (*hongsa sŏwŏn*, Ch. *hongsi shiyuan* 弘四誓願), which are the four great vows made by all bodhisattvas. The contents of the four vows varies a little according to the sūtra in which they appear; here I follow the *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 [Platform Sūtra of the sixth patriarch]: (1) the vow to save all of the limitless living beings; (2) the vow to sever all defilements; (3) the vow to learn all aspects of the Buddhadharma; and (4) the vow to attain the most supreme and perfect enlightenment. See *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing* 六祖大師法寶壇經 1, T 2008.48.354a10–13.

2. The Ocean Seal Samādhi Dhāraṇī

Treatise: There is a great samādhi[15] called the "Ocean Seal." It causes practitioners to reach the stage of non-backsliding[16] quickly using minor expedient means to obtain major spiritual benefits. With the seal, the gāthā, which summarizes the core teaching, is called a dhāraṇī,[17] which

---

15 Samādhi (*sammae*, Ch. *sanmei* 三昧; *also tŭngji,* Ch. *dengchi* 等持; and *chŏng*, Ch. *ding* 定), or mental absorption, refers to the fixing of the mind in a single place or on a single point. When a practitioner fixes his mind in a single place and it does not become scattered or distracted, and maintains a state of calm, this is called samādhi. If a practitioner achieves samādhi, he will attain wisdom speedily and attain enlightenment. Therefore, cultivating samādhi and achieving the stage of Buddhahood is called "[attaining] samādhi and arousing understanding" (*sammae paltŏk*, Ch. *sanmei fade* 三昧發得) or "giving rise to absorption" (p'alchŏng, Ch. fading 發定).

16 The stage of non-backsliding (*pult'oe chi*, Ch. *butui di* 不退地) is related to the concept of non-backsliding or non-retrogression (*pult'oe*, Ch. *butui* 不退; Skt. *avinivartanīya*; also *pult'oejŏn*, Ch. *butuizhuan* 不退轉, *mut'oe*, Ch. *wutui* 無退), which refers to not being reborn in the three unwholesome states of rebirth (as an animal, hungry ghost, or denizen of hell) or as an adherent to the two vehicles (as a disciple [śrāvaka] or a solitary buddha [pratyekabuddha]).

17 Dhāraṇī are common in Mahāyāna sūtras, and collections of dhāraṇī comprise a substantial portion of Mahāyāna literature. The term dhāraṇī is translated variously as *zhou* 呪 (Kor. *chu*, spell), *shenzhou* 神呪 (Kor. *sinju*, spirit spell), *zhoushu* 呪術 (Kor. *chusul*, spell technique), *tuoluoni* 陀羅尼 (Kor. *tarani*, dhāraṇī) *chi* 持 (Kor. *chi*, maintenance, hold, support), *zongchi* 總持 (Kor. *ch'ongji,* comprehensive maintenance), and also *zhenyan* 眞言 (Kor. *chinŏn*, true word, or mantra). In both sūtra and commentarial literature they are described both as spells or incantations and as codes or mnemonic devices. See McBride, "Dhāraṇī and Spells in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 85–114. For the mnemonic code position see Étienne Lamotte, trans., *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*), 5 vols. (Louvain : Institut orientaliste, Université de Louvain, 1944–1981), 4: 1854–1869; and Jens Braarvig, "Dhāraṇī and Pratibhāna: Memory and Eloquence of the Bodhisattvas," Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 8, no. 1 (1985): 17–29. For the Tantric position see idem, "The 'Dhāraṇī' Cult in Buddhism, Its Origin, Deified Literature and Images," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 1 (1912–1913): 160–165, 169–178; for some early translations of dhāraṇī from Tibetan sources see L. Austine Waddell, "The Dharani or Indian Buddhist Protective Spell," *Indian Antiquary* 43 (1914): 37–42, 49–54, 92–95; and, for the quote, see Guiseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 2 vols. (Roma: La Libreria Dello Stato, 1949), 1:224.

comprehensively preserves (*ch'ongji* 總持) the main points of all the sūtras. It universally contains the meritorious virtues of all the buddhas.

Nevertheless, in brief, there are two kinds of dhāraṇī: first, dharma dhāraṇī, and second, meaning dhāraṇī. There are three types of dharma dhāraṇī, which I refer to as their essence, wisdom, and functioning.[18] "Essence" refers to the original one mind of all living beings. The original self-nature of this mind is clean and pure, neither increasing nor decreasing, neither produced nor destroyed. It is vast and boundless like empty space and it comprehensively preserves all mundane[19] and supramundane dharmas[20]

---

18 Dhāraṇī possess both a method and a meaning. With respect to the method, there is essence, wisdom, and function. As for the meaning, the great profundity of the perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo taemyo*, Ch. *yuanjiao damiao* 圓教大妙) follows the structure of this interpretation. In the Mahāyāna of the *Awakening of Faith* (*Qixin lun*), there are both methods and meaning. Method is the mind of living beings, and the meaning can be seen as having the same structure of essence, marks, and function. The approach given in the *Haein sammae ron*, being seen as the same as the world system of the universal dharma (*pobŏp segye* 普法世界) of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the theory of the three greatnesses (*samdae sŏl* 三大說) of the *Awakening of Faith*, is seen by some scholars as in the lineage of Wŏnhyo's Hwaŏm thought. See Ko Ikchin, *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo*, 348.

19 Mundane dharmas (*segan pŏp*, Ch. *shijian fa* 世間法; Skt. *loka-dharma*) are all dharmas of living beings and non-living beings in the three world systems (desire, form, and formless realms) produced according to defiled causal connections. All of these dharmas possess defilements and are transitory. Of the four noble truths, the noble truth of suffering (*koje*, Ch. *kudi* 苦諦) and the noble truth of attachments (*chipche*, Ch. *jidi* 集諦) are mundane dharmas. Of all the mundane dharmas, a group of eight are particularly set aside as the eight mundane dharmas (*p'al segan pŏp*, Ch. *ba shijian fa* 八世間法): being beneficial (*i*, Ch. *li* 利), being in demise (*soe*, Ch. *shuai* 衰), being in ruin (*hwe*, Ch. *hui* 毁), being glorious (*ye*, Ch. *yu* 譽), praising (*ch'ing,* Ch. *cheng* 稱), upbraiding/censuring (*ki*, Ch. *ji* 譏), suffering (*ko*, Ch. *ku* 苦), and enjoying pleasure (*nak*, Ch. *le* 樂).

20 Supramundane dharmas (*ch'ulsegan pŏp*, Ch. *chushijian fa* 出世間法; Skt. *lokottara-dharma*) refer to dharmas associated with the state of liberation; they are free from defilements. Among the four noble truths (*saje*, Ch. *sidi* 四諦), the noble truth of extinction (*myŏlche*, Ch. *miedi* 滅諦), viz. nirvāṇa, and the noble truth of the path (*toje*, Ch. *daodi* 道諦, *mārga*), viz. the noble eightfold path, are supramundane dharmas. The concept of supramundane refers to the Buddhadharma (*pulpŏp*, Ch. *fofa* 佛法). Whereas the mundane world refers to defilements, supramundane refers to liberation. Also, all dharmas of saṃsāra are called mundane and all dharmas of nirvāṇa are called supramundane. Furthermore, the four noble truths, the six perfections (pāramitā), and so forth, all dharmas leading to liberation, are all supramundane.

because there is nothing it does not encompass. "Wisdom" refers to the two wisdoms, principle (noumenal, *i* 理)[21] and analytical (discriminative, *yang* 量),[22] of the Tathāgata stage. There is no principle they do not illuminate and no phenomena they do not penetrate. It comprehensively preserves all the boundless meritorious virtues because there is nothing it does not embrace. "Functioning" refers to the two bodies, response (*ŭng* 應) and transformation (*hwa* 化),[23] of the Tathāgata stage. Universally responding to the dharma

---

21 Principle wisdom (*yŏri chi*, Ch. *ruli zhi* 如理智) or noumenal wisdom is known by a variety of names (*kŭnbon chi*, Ch. *genben zhi* 根本智; Skt. *mulājñāna; kŭnbon mubunbyŏl chi* 根本無分別智, *silchi* 實智, and *chinji* 眞智). It is one of the non-discriminative wisdoms (*mubunbyŏl chi*, Ch. *wufenbie zhi* 無分別智) and is the opposite of analytical wisdom (*hudŭk chi*, Ch. *houde zhi* 後得智; or *yŏryang chi*, *ruliang zhi* 如量智). It is the basis of all wisdom and is able to provide evidence of the profound principle of true thusness; because it is universal and realistic and devoid of discrimination, it is called non-discriminative wisdom. It refers to the perfection of wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*) among the ten pāramitās.

22 Analytical wisdom (*yŏryang chi, ruliang zhi* 如量智), or discriminative wisdom (Skt. *pṛṣtha-labdha-jñāna*; or *hudŭk chi*, Ch. *houde zhi* 後得智) is known by a variety of names (*mubunbyŏl huji* 無分別後智, *hudŭk mubunbyŏl chi* 後得無分別智, *kwŏnji* 權智, *sokchi* 俗智). It is one of the non-discriminative wisdoms and is the opposite of principle or noumenal wisdom. After awakening to the truth according to non-discriminative wisdom, shallow discriminating wisdom arises again, which is the wisdom that comprehends the mundane boundaries of the arising or production of things based on karmic connection not connected to oneself (*ŭit'a kisŏng* 依他起生). Furthermore, principle wisdom neither discriminates nor is discriminating, as compared to analytical wisdom, which discriminates and is discriminating. Four of the ten perfections, such as the wholesome and skillful use of expedient means (*pangp'yŏn sŏngyo* 方便善巧), fall under this category. If principle wisdom illuminates the wisdom of the deep and profound ultimate truth (*cheil ŭije* 第一義諦), then discriminative wisdom illuminates the discrimination of everything in nature (*samna mansang* 森羅萬象) according to mundane truth (*sokche* 俗諦). True wisdom (*silchi* 實智) is the wisdom of the truth that is non-discriminating, universal, and associated with absolute truth; its opposite, expedient wisdom (*kwŏnji* 權智), is the wisdom of existing circumstances related to the teaching of expedient means and is discriminating.

23 Response (*ŭngsin*, Ch. *yingshen* 應身) and transformation bodies (*hwasin*, Ch. *huashen* 化身; Skt. *nirmāṇa-kāya*) refer to the various types of apparitional bodies adopted by the Buddha and used to convert living beings (also called *ŭngsin pul* 應身佛 and *ŭnghwasin* 應化身). There are a few different ways of classifying transformation bodies. First there are the classifications "superior response body" (*sŭngŭngsin* 勝應身) and "inferior response body" (*yŏrŭngsin* 劣應身). Superior response body refers to

realm (*dharmadhātu*), his teachings transform living beings. To the limits of the future its transformative functioning will never be depleted. It comprehensively preserves all mundane and supramundane dharmas because there is nothing it does not encompass.

"Meaning dhāraṇī" refers to the perfect teaching[24] of the Mahāyāna, that

---

a buddha who preaches the Dharma on behalf of bodhisattvas above the first stage; inferior response body refers to a buddha who preaches the Dharma on behalf of adherents of the two vehicles and bodhisattvas before the stages. With respect to the twofold classification of true body (*chinsin* 眞身) and response body (*ŭngsin*), response body refers to a buddha body that appears by transformation, and because it possesses a form, it distinguishes between this and that and is demarcated into greater and lesser marks (*sangho* 相好). In this case, response body and transformation body are common names for essentially the same kind of apparitional body. In the threefold classification of dharma body (*pŏpsin*, Ch. *fashen* 法身; Skt. *dharmakāya*), reward body (*posin*, Ch. *baoshen* 報身; Skt. **saṃbhoga-kāya*), and response body (*ŭngsin*, Ch. *yingshen* 應身; Skt. *nirmāṇa-kāya*), the response body refers to a buddha body whose form transforms from the frontiers of buddhahood that transcends time and space to a form limited by time and space. A response body is differentiated from a transformation body in that the former displays the larger and smaller marks (*sangho*, Ch. *xianghao* 相好; Skt. *lakṣaṇa-vyañjana*), which refer to the thirty-two larger marks on the Buddha's body, including such things as the *uṣṇīṣa* (fleshy topknot) and the *ūrṇa* (white tuft of hair on his forehead between his eyes that emits light when he teaches the Dharma), and the eighty smaller marks. A transformation body, on the other hand, refers to all kinds of dharma bodies are able to appear to living beings as a result of their wholesome roots. These kinds of bodies are the inconceivable types of bodies that appear in buddhakṣetras of all the world systems, all bodies of living beings, all buddha bodies, all bodhisattva bodies, and so forth.

24 The perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo*, Ch. *yuanjiao* 圓教) refers to the consummate, final, or ultimate teaching of the Mahāyāna. Roll 55 of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls says that the "sūtra on perfect and full causes and conditions" (*yuanman yinyuan xiuduoluo* 圓滿因緣修多羅) was preached on behalf of Sudhana (see *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 55, T 278.9.749a18). The Northern Wei scholar Huiguang 慧光 (fl. fifth century) established the three-tiered classification scheme (*kyop'an*, Ch. *jiaopan* 教判) of gradual (*chŏm*, Ch. *jian* 漸), sudden (*ton*, Ch. *dun* 頓), and perfect (*wŏn*, Ch. *yuan* 圓). The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* fell under his classification of the perfect teaching. The Sui-period scholar-exegete Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗 (538–597) developed the doctrinal classification system of the "five periods and eight teachings" (*osi p'algyo*, Ch. *wushi bajiao* 五時八教), and within this the division of the teachings by nature of the doctrine (*hwabŏp sagyo*, Ch. *huafa sijiao* 化法四教): (1) tripiṭaka teaching (*sanzangjiao* 三藏教), (2) common teaching (*tongjiao* 通教), (3) special teaching (*biejiao* 別教), (4) perfect teaching (*yuanjiao* 圓教). Zhiyi, in particular, conceived of the *Lotus Sūtra* as indicative of the perfect teaching. The Tang-period Huayan exegete Fazang 法藏 (643–712) claimed a system of five teachings: (1)

which manifests vast, great, and sublime principles (truths, meanings). It comprehensively preserves the Storehouse of the Esoteric Dharmas of all the buddhas of the ten directions in the three periods[25] because there is nothing it does not encompass.

In this way, approaches to these two kinds of dhāraṇī encompass approaches to the Dharma as measureless as dust or the sands of the Ganges. The appearance of their marks is unimpeded, and they mutually interpenetrate each other. Upon entering one approach, there are none that you do not penetrate. You completely pass through all approaches to dharma as measureless as dust and sand. Entering the realm of the buddhas you attain fearlessness.[26] As a gāthā in the sūtra says:

> In one, the measureless are decoded;
> In the measureless, one is decoded.
> The progressive coursing of life is not real.
> The wise are fearless.[27]

Hīnayāna teaching (*xiaoshengjiao* 小乘教), (2) initial teaching of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng sigyo* 大乘始敎), (3) final teaching of the Mahāyāna (*taesung chonggyo* 大乘終敎), (4) sudden teaching (*ton'gyo*), (5) perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo*). To him, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was the perfect teaching. The perfect teaching refers to the doctrinal teaching of the one vehicle (*ilsŭng*, Ch. *yisheng* 一乘).

25 The three periods (*samse*, Ch. *sanshi* 三世) refer to the past, present, and future. By contrast, in the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, Ŭisang demonstrates a Huayan preference because he refers to ten periods: nine resulting from the subdivision of each of the three time periods into past, present, and future, and the tenth referring to the mutual interpenetration of all temporal divisions. See *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, T 1887A.45.711b; Lew, "Against Counting Up the Verses," 103 n. 171.

26 Fearlessness (*muso oe*, Ch. *wusuo wei* 無所畏) refers to the four fearlessnesses (*samuso oe* 四無所畏; Skt. *catvāri-vaiśāradyāni*) or the courage and peace of mind resulting from the sense of self-confidence possessed by the Buddha and bodhisattvas when they preach the Buddhadharma. There are two lists of the Buddha's four kinds of fearlessness: (1) fearlessness arising from the Buddha's omniscience, his perfection of character, his overcoming opposition, and his ending of suffering; and (2) fearlessness arising from his power of memory, his moral diagnosis and application of the cure, his ratiocination, and his solving of doubts.

27 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 5, T 278.9.423a1–2.

論曰, 有大三昧, 名曰海印. 速令行者至不退地, 用小方便獲大利益. 其印之內要義偈頌名陀羅尼, 總持一切契經要義, 普含一切諸佛功德. 然陀羅尼略有二種, 一法, 二義. 法中有三, 謂體智用. 所言體者, 謂諸衆生根本一心. 是心本來自性清淨, 不增不減, 不生不滅, 曠大無邊, 猶如虛空, 總持一切世出世法, 無不攝故. 所言智者, 謂如來地理量二智. 無理不照, 無事不達, 總持一切無邊功德, 無不攝故. 所言用者, 謂如來地應化二身. 普應法界, 教化衆生, 盡未來際, 化用無竭, 總持一切世出世間所有諸法, 無不攝故. 所言義者, 謂摩訶衍圓教所顯, 廣大妙義. 總持十方三世諸佛秘密法藏, 無不攝故.

Just like this, from the approaches to these two kinds of dhāraṇī to the approaches to dharma, which are as measureless as dust and sand, all are subsumed in the ocean seal samādhi. If we liken it to all the waters under heaven: all enter the great ocean where all currents are received. The ocean seal samādhi is also just like this: it completely receives the waters of all the sūtras. If we liken it to the sun, moon, and constellations in space, and all the palaces of the gods (devas), the titans,[28] and the throngs of soldiers commanded by Śakra, Lord of Heaven, all of them are reflected and manifested in the waters of the great ocean. The ocean seal samādhi is also just like this: all the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and throngs of saints of the measureless and boundless dharma realm are all manifested within it.

The meaning of the dhāraṇī should be known from the verses. If you desire to read it, then you should read the seal from the center toward the corners. The logograph for "birth" is its beginning. Following the turns and bends in the text of the seal you reach "nirvāṇa," which is the end. The hymn says:

---

28 Titans (*sura*, Ch. *xiuluo* 修羅, from *asura*, Ch. *axiuluo* 阿修羅) are one of the six paths of rebirth in the desire realm and are subject to karma. They are classified as the first of the four unwholesome rebirths (*sa akch'wi*, Ch. *si equ* 四惡趣) as well as the third of the three wholesome paths of rebirth (*sam sŏndo*, Ch. *san shandao* 三善道) coming after gods and humans. *Asura* originally were the gods charged with waging war and are thus commonly considered to be evil gods. Portrayed as being in a never-ending war with Śakra (Indra), the king of the gods, they are symbolic of war and strife. Because, in Greek mythology, the titans were the original gods of the world that were displaced by Zeus and gods of Mt. Olympus, their descendants, "titans" is an apropos translation for *asura*.

如是二種陀羅尼門, 各攝無量塵沙法門, 相容無礙, 互相攝入. 隨入一門, 無所不通, 了達一切塵沙法門, 入佛境界, 得無所畏. 如經偈言, "一中解無量, 無量中解一. 展轉生非實, 智者無所畏." 如是二種陀羅尼門, 乃至無量塵沙法門, 悉入海印三昧之內. 譬如天下所有諸水, 悉入大海, 無流不納. 海印三昧亦復如是, 悉納一切諸契經水. 譬如空中日月星宿諸天宮殿, 阿修羅兵及天帝釋所將兵衆, 悉皆影現大海水中. 海印三昧亦復如是, 無量無邊法界諸佛菩薩聖, 衆悉現其中. 陀羅尼義如頌. 應知如其欲讀, 從印中角生字爲始, 隨印文轉周迴, 乃至涅槃爲終.

3. The Seal-Diagram and Hymn

Saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are not different places;
The essences of defilements and bodhi are indivisible (non-dual).
Nirvāṇa is near by and yet nobody recognizes it;
Bodhi is close by and yet it is extremely difficult to see.
Body and mind are originally neither produced nor destroyed;
All dharmas are also just like this.
Neither produced nor destroyed and lacking a place of abode:
This is precisely the essence of bodhi and nirvāṇa.
The wise from one decode all things,
And from all dharmas decode the one
Immeasurable dharmas are precisely one dharma;
One dharma is precisely measureless dharmas.
One buddhaland fills the universe (*kṣetra*) of the ten directions;
One universe's original form is thus not great.
One buddha-field holds the world systems of the ten directions;
And yet all the world systems do not overlap.
One particle of dust encases the universe of the ten directions;
In all particles of dust, all are just like this.
This does not cause one particle of dust to increase in size
Because the basic characteristics of all universes are always just so.
With respect to immeasurable, numberless vastly great kalpas,
The wise one knows them completely in one thought.

That one thought has not yet been extended or dispersed,
And the long kalpas are also not made to shrink.
Meandering throughout the ten directions, seeking to attain buddhahood,
They do not know that their body and mind attained buddhahood long ago.
Having made seminal progress in the past, renouncing saṃsāra,
They do not know that saṃsāra is precisely nirvāṇa.

量	無	故	如	恒	相	佛	一	大	不	亦	形	本	刹
無	含	十	方	刹	本	國	一	切	一	切	法	中	一
數	包	塵	切	一	刹	容	解	量	無	一	於	解	刹
曠	塵	中	曠	大	諸	十	中	法	佛	土	滿	十	方
大	一	皆	增	塵	一	法	一	則	一	法	量	無	是
劫	累	如	是	不	令	界	者	是	一	法	一	法	則
智	重	不	界	世	諸	而	智	體	槃	涅	提	菩	是
者	了	知	則	一	念	生	死	涅	槃	非	異	處	則
成	求	方	十	詣	一	槃	難	甚	而	近	提	煩	處
佛	不	知	身	偏	念	涅	見	身	心	本	菩	惱	住
佛	成	舊	心	促	未	則	滅	生	無	來	識	菩	無
往	亦	不	縮	成	曾	死	一	親	而	無	人	提	滅
昔	劫	長	遠	長	演	生	切	槃	涅	二	無	體	無
精	進	捨	生	死	不	知	諸	法	亦	如	是	無	生

頌曰

生死涅槃非異處 煩惱菩提體無二
涅槃親而無人識 菩提近而甚難見
身心本來無生滅 一切諸法亦如是
無生無滅無住處 則是菩提涅槃體
智者一中解一切 一切法中解於一
無量法則是一法 一法則是無量法

一佛土滿十方刹 一刹本形亦不大
一佛國容十方界 而諸世界不重累
一塵包含十方刹 一切塵中皆如是
不令一塵增曠大 諸刹本相恒如故
無量無數曠大劫 智者了知則一念
一念未曾演長遠 長劫亦不縮成促
遍詣十方求成佛 不知身心舊成佛
往昔精進捨生死 不知生死則涅槃

4. The Meaning of the Ocean Seal Samādhi

Treatise: This approach to dharma is able to open the eyes of wisdom of all the bodhisattvas and is able to bring to fruition the vows of all bodhisattvas. All practitioners desiring to be reborn in a Pure Land[29] should rely on this approach and study it every passing moment. Never let it be interrupted at

29 A Pure Land (*chŏngt'o*, Ch. *jingtu* 淨土) is a place where aspirants can practice on the bodhisattva path in an environment that is devoid of the three poisons of greed, hatred, and delusion. The concept of a Pure Land is contrasted with that of an impure or defiled land (*yet'o,* Ch. *huitu* 穢土), such as the mundane world of humans, which is characterized by all manner of pollutions and defilements. Because of their enlightened understanding, buddhas reside in Pure Lands as a reward and by-product of their vows. Several terms are used to describe Pure Lands in Mahāyāna literature: "clean and pure land" (*ch'ŏngjŏng kukt'o* 清淨國土), "clean and pure buddhakṣetra" (*ch'ŏngjŏng pulch'al* 清淨佛刹), "pure world system/realm" (*chŏnggye* 淨界), "buddhakṣetra" (*pulch'al* 佛刹), "buddhaland" (*pulguk* 佛國) and so forth. Only the Mahāyāna speaks of Pure Lands because the Hīnayāna describes nirvāṇa without remainder (*muyŏ yolban* 無餘涅槃) as the physical body's turning to ashes and the eradication of wisdom (*hoesin myŏlchi* 灰身滅智). In the Mahāyāna, several buddhas are said to reside in Pure Lands, which they received upon their attainment of nirvāṇa and which they use in activities to save innumerable living beings individually. Buddhalands where buddhas are actively working to save living beings are called pure buddhalands (*pulguk chŏngt'o* 佛國淨土). In the *Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra* (*Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經), the Pure Land of Amitābha is described as existing in the extreme western region of the universe outside of the human Sahā world; however, the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* (*Weimo jing* 維摩經) says that if one's mind is pure and one's mind is open to enlightenment, the land itself will become clean and pure and the Sahā world itself will become a Pure Land.

any time. Those who avail themselves of this dharma utilize small expedient means and quickly reach the fruit of buddhahood. Liken it to a person riding a boat: entering the ocean he desires to cross to the other shore; if he obtains a favorable breeze he uses this small expedient means to quickly reach the other shore. Those who avail themselves of this dharma constantly abide in the mental state of extinction,[30] whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down.[31] Those who avail themselves of this dharma will before long attain the stage of unimpeded acquiescence[32] and in like manner possess all manner of benefits

30 The mental state of extinction (*myŏlchŏng*, Ch. *mieding* 滅定; Skt. *nirodha-samāpatti*) is the mental state in which all mental functions have been severed. It is the mental state of joy the mind enters when the saint leaves behind defilements because there is no place for them to be located, throws off the body, attains nirvāṇa without remainder (*muyŏ yolban* 無餘涅槃). According to the Hīnayāna, it is one of the dharmas in the fourth category of the functioning of the mind not corresponding to the first three of the five categories of mind (*obŏp*, Ch. *wufa* 五法; Skt. *pañca-dharma*), of which this is the fourth. The five categories are (1) the mind (*simbŏp*, Ch. *xinfa* 心法), (2) mental conditions, functions, and activities (*simsobŏp*, Ch. *xinsuofa* 心所法), (3) the actual states or categories as conceived (*saekpŏp*, Ch. *sefa* 色法), (4) hypothetic categories (*sim pulsangŭnghaeng pŏp*, Ch. *xin buxiangyingxing fa* 心不相應行法), and (5) the state of inactivity or rest (*muwibŏp*, Ch. *wuweifa* 無爲法). Sarvāstivādins hold the position that this mental state exists, while Sautrāntikas and Yogācārins see it as not being a dharma of absolute truth, being composed of mental error.

31 The editorial notes to the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* edition report that an alternate edition of the text adds the following passage: "Those who avail themselves of this dharma, receive the airs of the Buddha's mercy, use few expedient means, and quickly attained the fruit of buddhahood. This is also just like this. Those who avail themselves of this dharma, do not forsake the five desires (arising from objects of the five senses, things seen, heard, smelt, tasted, or touched; or the five desires of wealth, sex, food-and-drink, fame, and sleep) see numberless buddhas" 乘此法者, 蒙佛慈風, 用小方便, 速至佛果, 亦復如是, 乘此法者, 不捨五欲,見無數佛. However, because this is essentially repetitive in nature it has been excluded.

32 The stage of acquiescence (*inji*, Ch. *rendi* 忍地) here refers to the stage of the acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas (*musaengbŏp in*, Ch. *wushengfa ren* 無生法忍; Skt. *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*) although another name for the initial stage of the bodhisattva path is the stage of endurance and acquiescence (*kamin chi*, Ch. *kanren di* 堪忍地). Obtaining the "acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas" is the phrase commonly used in the Mahāyāna teachings to reflect an adherent's awakening to the ultimate truth of reality, the way things really are. It refers to the enlightenment attained by bodhisattvas in the first stage or stages seven, eight, or nine. See *Weimoji suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*) 1, T 475.14.539a, 540c; roll 2, T 475.14.546a.

even so much that if all the buddhas abode for countless kalpas they could not describe them all. Nothing surpasses this dhāraṇī hymn in the Storehouse of the Esoteric Dharmas of all the buddhas of the three time periods.

If you are a practitioner who intends to progress quickly toward unsurpassed bodhi, you must initially arouse a vast and sublime vow, awaken the aspiration of great charity for all living beings, produce the thought that spiritual mentors[33] are difficult to encounter, revere and prize the Three Jewels, and destroy and forsake pride of self.[34] Relying on the Mahāyāna sūtras, with utmost minds, you repent of all your sinful hindrances.[35] Afterward you single-mindedly seek out great spiritual mentors, consult with them about the essentials of the Dharma, and listen to explanations of the Dharma. You should engage in binding pensive thought,[36] practice what has been preached,

---

33 Spiritual mentors (*sŏn chisik*, Ch. *shan zhishi* 善知識; Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*), also called "good friends" or "spiritual benefactors" (*sŏnu*, Ch. *shanyou* 善友; or *sŭngu*, Ch. *shengyou* 勝友), are those who introduce and teach the Dharma in honesty, perform virtuous actions, and lead people on the right path. In the *Sūtra on the Perfection of Wisdom* (*Bore jing* 般若經), a spiritual mentor refers to someone who teaches the doctrines of emptiness and impermanence, and so forth, which brings joy to people and causes them to produce the aspiration to enlightenment. In the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, Sudhana meets with fifty-three different spiritual mentors including buddhas, bodhisattvas, gods, and even human beings. In the fully developed sense of the concept, a spiritual mentor refers to someone in any form who leads living beings to forsake evil and to perform wholesome practices on the path to buddhahood.

34 Pride of self (*aman*, Ch. *aman* 我慢; Skt. *ātma-māna, abhi-māna*) refers to self-centered pride, a prideful mind, exalting self and depreciating others.

35 Sinful hindrances (*choejang*, Ch. *zuizhang* 罪障) refer to karmic hindrances (*ŏpchang*, Ch. *yezhang* 業障) that arise as a result of unwholesome karma (*agŏp*, Ch. *eye* 惡業). This is one of the three types of hindrances along with the hindrances of defilements (*pŏnnoejang*, Ch. *fannaozhang* 煩惱障), which are always arising and which afflict the mind causing people to develop unwholesome acts and mental states, and the hindrances of karmic rewards (*pojang*, Ch. *baozhang* 報障), which are impediments causing beings to be unable to hear the Buddhadharma and fall into unwholesome rebirths as denizens of hell, hungry ghosts, or animals.

36 Binding pensive thought (*kyenyŏm sayu*, Ch. *xinian siwei* 繫念思惟) or binding recollection (*kyenyŏm*, Ch. *xinian* 繫念) refers to tying and placing one's thoughts in one place continually. It is one of several expressions used to refer to focusing the mind in continuous meditation to achieve a desired end, such as rebirth in a Pure Land. The idea of a binding recollection is often combined with

and at all times keep your mind free from distractions. If you are able to do this, before long you will enter the approach of dhāraṇī.

The ocean seal samādhi[37] that was explained above derives from the "Ten Stages" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.[38] The shape of the seal is arranged

---

another compound meaning See, for instance, *Renxian jing* 人仙經, T 9.1.215c21–26; *Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經 (*Mahāratnakūṭa*) 80, T 310.11.463b11–12.

37 The term "ocean seal samādhi" (*haein sammae*, Ch. *haiyin sanmei* 海印三昧) appears three times in the sixty-roll version of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* that was used by Myŏnghyo. The first usage refers to the power of the ocean seal samādhi in a gāthā (*Dafangguang fo huayang jing* 6, T 278.9.434c6). The second usage appears in an explanation that as bodhisattva-mahāsattvas practice wisdom, draw close to the buddha's position, they acquire and manifest all manner of samādhi, of which the samādhi on the bodhisattva's forsaking of impurity (*posal igu sammae*, Ch. *pusa ligou sanmei* 菩薩離垢三昧) is the first (roll 27, T 278.9.571c12). The third usage comes in the following context: After the Buddha shows living beings the lightning bolt flash of the Tathāgata's glorious brilliance, he displays the thunder and earthquake sounds of the various samādhis, of which the thunder sound of the ocean seal samādhi is one (roll 34, T 278.9.620c27). This passage refers to the second usage, which is found in the "Ten Stages" chapter, roll 27, T 278.9.571c9–15.

38 The "Ten Stages" chapter (*sipchi p'um*, Ch. *shidi pin* 十地品) of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra is one of the core teachings of the bodhisattva path in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. "Stage" or bhūmi (*chi* 地; *chuch'ŏ* 住處 *chuji* 住持, *saengsŏng* 生成) refers to a station, location, or attainment, and from that stage one protects and nurtures the Buddhadharma and gives birth to fruition rewards (*kwabo*, Ch. *guobao* 果報). It is called a stage because the bodhisattva learns to produces Buddha wisdom, does his work to liberate and save living beings, and save beings while progressing through various "stages" on the path to buddhahood. The "Ten Stages" chapter in *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls comprises chapter 22 (rolls 23–27); and in the eighty-roll edition it comprises chapter 26 (rolls 34–39). This chapter is preached as the assembly of the heaven of self-existence of others' transformations (*t'ahwa chajaech'ŏn hoe*, Ch. *tahua zizaitian hoe* 他化自在天會), the sixth of the eight assemblies in seven locations (*ch'ilch'ŏ p'arhoe,* Ch. *qiqu bahui* 七處八會) [the eighty-roll edition of the sūtra has nine assemblies in seven locations (*ch'ilch'ŏ kuhoe*, Ch. *qiqu jiuhui* 七處九會)], which describes in detail the practices of the bodhisattvas of the ten stages. When a bodhisattva arrives at these stages, because he first produces the wisdom that is devoid of defilements (*muru chi*, Ch. *wulou zhi* 無漏智), sees his buddha nature, becomes a saint, and cultivates the wisdom of the buddhas, protects and instructs living beings, the ten stages are called the ten saints or ten sages (*sipsŏng*, Ch. *shisheng* 十聖). In other words, the ten saints or sages are bodhisattvas above the sage of the ten transferences (*sip hoehyang*, Ch. *shi huixiang* 十迴向). See *Renwang bore boluomi jing* 1, T 245.8.827b12, 828a1. Bodhisattvas before the first stage of the bodhisattva path are called "bodhisattvas prior to the stages" (*chijŏn posal* 地前菩薩), bodhisattvas who have arrived at the stages are called "bodhisattvas ascending the stages" (*tŭngji posal* 等地菩薩), and

according to its meaning. The text of the hymn comprehensively describes the essential points of the whole sūtra by means of a hymn.

論曰, 此法門者, 能開一切菩薩慧眼, 能果一切菩薩所願. 一切行者, 欲生淨土, 當依此門, 念念習學, 一切時中, 勿令間斷. 乘此法者, 用小方便, 速至佛果. 譬如有人, 乘船入海, 欲度彼岸, 得好順風, 用小方便, 速達彼岸. 乘此法者, 行住坐臥, 一切時中, 恒入滅定. 乘此法者, 不久當得不礙忍地. 有如是等種種利益, 乃至諸佛住無數劫, 說不能盡. 三世諸佛祕密法藏, 莫過於此陀羅尼頌. 若有行者, 意欲速進無上菩提, 應當先發廣大妙願, 於諸衆生, 起大慈心, 於善知識, 生難遭想, 敬重三寶, 破除我慢, 依大乘經, 至心懺悔一切罪障. 然後專求大善知識, 諮問法要, 聞說法已, 繫念思惟, 如說修行, 一切時中, 無間斷心. 若能如是, 不久當入陀羅尼門. 如上所說海印三昧, 出華嚴經十地品中. 其印像者, 以義安也, 其頌文者, 總述一部經中要義, 以爲頌耳.

5. The Shape and Reading of the Seal-Diagram

With respect to why the path of the seal has neither beginning nor end, I intended to show the independence of the one path during the three time periods because the past and the future are impossible to encompass.

With respect to why the path of the seal twists and turns, I intended to show the one path according to conditions and adaptation to one's capacities because it responds to the practice of the three vehicles manifesting as discrimination.

With respect to the reason why fifty-six corners together comprise the seal,

bodhisattvas from the first to the tenth stage are called "bodhisattvas on the stages" (*chisang posal* 地上菩薩). The ten stages are (1) the joyous stage (*pramuditā-bhūmi*), (2) the immaculate stage (*vimālā-bhūmi*), (3) the light-giving stage (*prabhākarī-bhūmi*), (4) the brilliant stage (*arciṣmatī-bhūmi*), (5) the stage that is very difficult to conquer (*sudurjayā-bhūmi*), (6) the stage that is face-to-face (*abhimukhī-bhūmi*), (7) the far-reaching stage (*dūraṁgamā-bhūmi*), (8) the immovable stage (*acalā-bhūmi*), (9) the stage of unerringly effective intentions (*sādhumatī-bhūmi*), and (10) the stage of the cloud of dharma (*dharmameghā-bhūmi*).

I intended to show the forty stages of mind[39] prior to the [ten] stages along with the ten stages, equal enlightenment[40] and sublime enlightenment.[41] In this way, the people in these fifty-two positions[42] all rely on the one path and

39 The forty stages of mind (*sasip simwi*, Ch. *sishi xinwei* 四十心位) refer to the stages prior to the ten stages in the fifty-two stages of the Hwaŏm path. These are the ten faiths (*sipsin*, Ch. *shixin* 十信), see *Renwang bore boluomi jing* 仁王般若波羅蜜護國經 1, T 245.8.826b26–27; the ten abodes (*sipchu*, Ch. *shizhu* 十住), see *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* [hereafter *Huayan jing*] 8, T 278.9.444c29–45a1; the ten practices (*siphaeng*, Ch. *shixing* 十行), see *Huayan jing* 11, T 278.9.466b27–c2; the ten transferences (*sip hoehyang*, Ch. *shi huixiang* 十迴向), see *Huayan jing* 14, T 278.9.488b26–c4. The thirty stages not including the ten faiths are called the three worthies (*samhyŏn*, Ch. *sanxian* 三賢), or more specifically they refer to bodhisattvas, prior to the bhūmis, who have achieved the level of the ten abidings, the ten practices, and the ten transferences. See *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章 17A, T 1851.44.788b27–28.

40 Equal enlightenment (*tŭnggak*, Ch. *dengjue* 等覺, or *tŭngjŏnggak*, Ch. *dengzhengjue* 等正覺) is the fifty-first of the fifty-two stages of the Hwaŏm path. After practicing on the bodhisattva path for an inconceivably long time—three *asaṁkhya* [numberless] kalpas, a hundred great kalpas—the aspirant arrives in the position from which he will obtain sublime or profound enlightenment. Equal enlightenment is the essentially same as the Buddha's enlightenment and is one stage prior to being a buddha in fact. See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 53, T 278.9.736a–737b.

41 Sublime or profound enlightenment (*myogak*, Ch. *miaojue* 妙覺, or *myogakcha musangji*, Ch. *miaojuezhe wushangdi* 妙覺者無上地) is the highest and last of the fifty-two stages of the Hwaŏm path. In this stage the practitioner severs all defilements and is endowed with all wisdom and all the wondrous characteristics of a buddha. See *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 1, T 1485.24.1010b26–27; 1011b8–24.

42 The fifty-two positions (*osibi wi*, Ch. *wushier wei* 五十二位) refer to the fifty-two stages of the bodhisattva path as conceptualized by the Hwaŏm tradition. They are conceptualized as follows (the citations are to lists): the ten faiths (*sipsin*, Ch. *shixin*), see *Renwang bore boluomi jing* 1, T 245.8.826b26–27; the ten abodes (*sipchu*, Ch. *shizhu*), see *Dafangguang Fohuayan jing* [hereafter *Huayan jing*] 8, T 278.9.444c29–45a1; the ten practices (*siphaeng*, Ch. *shixing*), see *Huayan jing* 11, T 278.9.466b27–c2; the ten transferences (*sip hoehyang*, Ch. *shi huixiang*), see *Huayan jing* 14, T 278.9.488b26–c4; the ten stages or bhūmis (*sipchi*, Ch. *shidi*), see *Huayan jing* 23, T 278.9.542c27–543a4; equal enlightenment (*tŭnggak*, Ch. *dengjue* 等覺, or *tŭngjŏnggak*, Ch. *dengzhengjue* 等正覺); see *Huayan jing* 53, T 278, 9.736a; profound enlightenment (*myogak*, Ch. *miaojue* 妙覺, or *myogakcha musangji*, Ch. *miaojuezhe wushangdi* 妙覺者無上地), see *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 1, T 1485.24.1011b8–24 (here, the final forty-two stages are described and the Sanskrit names are given).

practice the four all-embracing methods of conversion[43] in order to save all beings. Fifty-two of the corners represent these fifty-two classes of people. The four remaining corners represent the four all-embracing methods of conversion. In the position of the ten faiths,[44] faith and confidence in the one path comprise the four all-embracing methods of conversion. In the position of the ten understandings,[45] faith in and understanding of (*sinhae*

---

43 The four all-embracing methods of conversion (*sa sŏppŏp*, Ch. *si shefa* 四攝法) are four all-embracing virtues of bodhisattvas that enable them to effectively instruct living beings in the Buddhadharma and convert them to the Mahāyāna approach to the teaching. The four methods are generosity (*posisŏp*, Ch. *pushishe* 布施攝; Skt. *dāna-saṃgraha*), affectionate speech (*aeŏsŏp*, Ch. *aiyushe* 愛語攝; Skt. *priya-vādita-samgraha*), beneficial and profitable conduct (*ihaengsŏp*, Ch. *lixingshe* 利行攝; Skt. *artha-caryā-saṃgraha*), and cooperation and adaptation of oneself to others (*tongsasŏp*, Ch. *dongshishe* 同事攝; Skt. *samānārthatā-saṃgraha*).

44 The ten faiths (*sipsin*, Ch. *shixin* 十信), also called the ten minds or ten aspirations (*sipsim*, Ch. *shixin* 十心), refer to believing in the Buddha's teaching without doubts and are the first ten stages in the fifty-two-stage Hwaŏm path. The ten faiths are (1) a mind of belief (*sinsim* 信心), (2) a mind of recollection/remembrance (*yŏmsim* 念心), (3) a mind of seminal progress (*chŏngjinsim* 精進心), (4) a mind of wisdom (*hyesim* 慧心), (5) a mind of absorption (*chŏngsim* 定心), (6) a mind of non-backsliding/non-retrogression (*pult'oesim* 不退心), (7) a mind of transference (*hoehyangsim* 迴向心), (8) a mind for protecting the Dharma (*hobŏpsim* 護法心, or *hosim* 護心), (9) the mind to [observe the] precepts (*kyesim* 戒心), or the nirvana mind in effortlessness (*muwi* 無爲), and (10) the mind of making vows (*wŏnsim* 願心) to perform action according to one's will anywhere and everywhere. See *Renwang bore boluomi jing* 1, T 245.8.826b26–27.

45 The ten understandings (*siphae*, Ch. *shijie* 十解) refer to the ten abodes (*sipchu*, Ch. *shizhu* 十住). Coming after the ten faiths, the ten understandings are stages eleven through twenty in the fifty-two-stage Hwaŏm path in which the mind of the practitioner abides peacefully in ultimate truth (*chinje*, Ch. *zhenti* 眞諦). The ten abodes or understandings are (1) the abode of arousing the mind or the initial arousal of mind (*palsim chu* 發心住, or *ch'obalsim chu* 初發心住), (2) the abode of controlling the mind ground (*ch'iji chu* 治地住), meaning clear understanding and mental control, (3) the abode of cultivation and practice (*suhaeng chu* 修行住), meaning unimpeded liberty in every direction, (4) the abode of producing noblity (*saenggwi chu* 生貴住), meaning acquiring the Buddha nature, (5) the abode of being endowed with expedient means (*kujok pangp'yŏn chu* 具足方便住, or *pangp'yŏn kujok chu* 方便具足住), meaning the development of perfect adaptability and resemblance in self-development and development of others, (6) the abode of the right mind (*chŏngsim chu* 正心住), meaning that the mind is becoming like the Buddha, (7) the abode of non-backsliding or non-retrogression (*pult'oe chu* 不退住), meaning perfect utility and constant forward progress, (8) the abode of the perfection of the

信解) the one path comprise the four all-embracing methods of conversion. In the position of the ten practices,[46] faith in and practice of the one path comprise the four all-embracing practices of conversion. In the position of the ten transferences,[47] practicing the one path while understanding and conduct are fully consummated comprises the four all-embracing practices of conversion. In the position of the ten stages[48] and equal enlightenment, correct

---

child (*tongjin chu* 童真住), meaning that one is now complete as a son of the Buddha, (9) the abode of the prince of the dharma (*pŏbwangja chu* 法王子住), and (10) the abode of consecration (*kwanjŏng chu* 灌頂住). See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 8, T 278.9.444c29–45a1.

46 The ten practices (*siphaeng*, Ch. *shixing* 十行) are stages twenty-one to thirty in the fifty-two-stage Hwaŏm path. This is the stage, after the ten abodes, in which the practitioner obtains confirmation of his status as a son of the Buddha and works hard to save all living beings in order to perfect his practices that benefit others. The ten practices are (1) the practice of giving joy (*hwanhŭihaeng* 歡喜行), (2) the practice of generosity and beneficence (*yoikhaeng* 饒益行), (3) the practice of non-opposition (*muehanhaeng* 無恚恨行), (4) the practice of inexhaustibility (*mujinhaeng* 無盡行), (5) the practice of departing from foolishness and confusion (*ich'iranhaeng* 離癡亂行), (6) the practice of wholesome manifestation (*sŏnhyŏnhaeng* 善現行), (7) the practice of nonattachment (*much'akhaeng* 無著行), (8) the practice of that which is of great value (*chonjunghaeng* 尊重行), (9) the practice of the wholesome dharma (*sŏnbŏphaeng* 善法行), and (10) the practice of absolute truth (*chinsirhaeng* 真實行). See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 11, T 278.9.466b27–c2; cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 19, T 279.10.102c17–21.

47 The ten transferences (*sip hoehyang*, Ch. *shi huixiang* 十迴向) are (1) the transference for saving all living beings without any mental image of living beings (*kuho ilch'e chungsaeng ri chungsaeng sang hoehyang* 救護一切眾生離眾生相迴向), (2) the indestructible transference (*pulgoe hoehyang* 不壞迴向), (3) the transference equal to all the buddhas (*tŭng ilch'e pul hoehyang* 等一切佛迴向), (4) the transference reaching everywhere (*chi ilch'e hoehyang* 至一切處迴向), (5) the transference to the storehouse of inexhaustible meritorious virtue (*mujin kongdŏk chang hoehyang* 無盡功德藏迴向), (6) the transference causing one's wholesome roots to accord with universality (*susun p'yŏngdŭng sŏn'gŭn hoehyang* 隨順平等善根迴向), (7) the transference causing one to accord equally with all living beings (*susun tŭnggwan ilch'e chungsaeng hoehyang* 隨順等觀一切眾生迴向), (8) the transference to the mark of thusness (*yŏsang hoehyang* 如相迴向), (9) the unattached, unbound, liberated transference (*mujŏn much'ak haet'al hoehyang* 無縛無著解脫迴向), and (10) the unlimited transference in the dharma realm (*pŏpkye muryang hoehyang* 法界無量迴向). See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 14, T 278.9.488b26–c2; cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 23, T 279.10.124c2–8.

48 The ten stages (*sipchi,* Ch. *shidi* 十地; Skt. *daśabhūmi*) are stages forty-one to fifty in the fifty-two-stage Hwaŏm path. In this stage, the practitioner develops the wisdom of the Buddha and the

confirmation of the one path comprises practicing the four all-embracing practices of conversion. In the position of sublime enlightenment, you have the ultimate and consummate confirmation of the one path's root and fount, which exhausted the bounds of the future and transforms living beings by means of the four all-embracing methods of conversion.

With respect to why in the hymn the horizontal and vertical sides both have fourteen logographs, I intended to show that although the practices of bodhisattvas are immeasureable in type, they are inseparable from the ten pāramitās and the four all-embracing practices of conversion because all the bodhisattvas, and so forth, of all the world systems in the boundless ten directions rely on these practices as their fundamental basis.

With respect to why in the hymn there is a beginning and an end, I intended to pacify and comfort weak and faint-hearted bodhisattvas that although a buddha's path is long and practice on it never ceases, in the end you take refuge, attain buddhahood, and never backslide in your practice.

With respect to why the head and the tail of the hymn are both placed in the middle of the seal, I intended to show that the initial aspiration, which was the practice of correct contemplation, is no different from the correct contemplative wisdom of the Tathāgata.

With respect to why when you read horizontally and vertically around the four sides, all are incomplete phrases, I intended to show the extremely profound meaning of the dhāraṇī because it cannot be comprehended by

---

endurance and strength to never backslide on the path and to convert all living beings. Completing these stages, the bodhisattva glows with luster. The ten stages are (1) the joyous stage (*hwanhŭiji* 歡喜地; Skt. *pramuditā-bhūmi*), (2) the immaculate stage (*iguji* 離垢地; Skt. *vimālā-bhūmi*), (3) the light-giving stage (*myŏngji* 明地, or *palgwangji* 發光地; Skt. *prabhākarī-bhūmi*), (4) the flaming-wisdom stage (*yŏmji* 焰地, or *yŏmhye* 焰慧地; Skt. *arciṣmatī-bhūmi*), (5) the stage that is very difficult to conquer (*nansŭngji* 難勝地; Skt. *sudurjayā-bhūmi*), (6) the stage that is face-to-face (*hyŏnjŏnji* 現前地; Skt. *abhimukhī-bhūmi*), (7) the far-reaching stage (*wŏnhaengji* 遠行地; Skt. *dūraṁgamā-bhūmi*), (8) the immovable stage (*pudongji* 不動地; Skt. *acalā-bhūmi*), (9) the wholesome-wisdom stage (*sŏnhyeji* 善慧地; Skt. *sādhumatī-bhūmi*) or the stage of unerringly effective intentions, and (10) the stage of the cloud of dharma (*pŏbunji* 法雲地; Skt. *dharmameghā-bhūmi*). See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 23, T 278.9.542 c27–543a1; cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 34, T 279.10.179b22–25.

people who are attached to extinctionist,[49] eternalist,[50] and other extreme views.[51]

With respect to why when you proceed from the center pursuing and attaining each phrase, I intended to show that by means of correct contemplation of the Middle Way[52] of the meaning of this extremely

49 Extinctionist views (*tan'gyŏn*, Ch. *duanjian* 斷見; Skt. *uccheda-dṛṣṭi*) refer to the false opinions obstinately held by some people that since all things in existence are impermanent, when things die, including human beings, they become completely extinct and return to emptiness or nothingness. It is the opposite of eternalist views.

50 Eternalist views (*sanggyŏn*, Ch. *changjian* 常見; Skt. *nitya-dṛṣṭi, śāśvata-dṛṣṭi*) refer to the false opinion obstinately held by some people that although human beings die, their personality, ego, or self (*chaa* 自我) is not completely destroyed, that the five skandhas or heaps (*oon* 五蘊) remain eternally in the past and future and are neither transform nor eradicated. It is the opposite of extinctionist views.

51 The other extreme views mentioned here may refer to the five wrong views (*ogyŏn* 五見), of which there are many lists. The misguided views of the extinction or eternal nature of the soul (*tansang kyŏn* 斷常見) together form one contrasting pair in some descriptions of the five wrong views. These five wrong views are listed and correlated with other connected concepts in Chinese Huayan literature. The exegeses of Fazang and Chengguan provide an interesting example. Both scholars include doubt as a sixth biasing view and then discuss the whole set as three contrasting pairs of opposites. Each pair consists of a basic wrong view and dependent wrong views. The three pairs are (1) the view that there is a self (*sin'gyŏn* 身見), which is either annihilated at death or is immortal (*tansang igyŏn* 斷常二見); (2) the view of extreme adherence to ascetic prohibitions (*kyech'wi* 戒取), and obstinate and convoluted views, such as seeing the inferior as superior and vise versa (*kyŏnch'wi kyŏn* 見取見); and (3) doubt (*ŭi* 疑), and the perverse denial of the principle of cause and effect, viz. karma and the basis of morality (*sagyŏn* 邪見). See *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 12, T 1733.35.338c; *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yenyichao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 82, T 1736.36.647a–b. See Lew, "Against Counting Up the Verses," 106 n. 180.

52 The Middle Way (*chungdo*, Ch. *zhongdao* 中道; Skt. *madhyamā-pratipad*), or the "mean" has various interpretations. In general it refers to the mean between two extremes, in particular, the mean between realism and nihilism, or eternal substantial existence and annihiliation. The Middle Way is found in a third principle between the two extremes, suggesting the idea of a realm of mind beyond the dualistic terminology or views of existence (*yugyŏn* 有見) and non-existence (*mugyŏn* 無見), substance and nothing, or that which has form and is therefore measurable and ponderable, and its opposite of complete non-existence. The various schools of Sinitic Buddhism define the concept differently according to their scriptures and seminal exegetical works. The Pŏpsang/Faxiang 法相

profound dhāraṇī, it can be comprehended.

With respect to why there are no other hymns aside from the seal, I intended to show that Buddha's teachings, although they exceed the particles of dust and sand of the Ganges, are not separate from the one path because there is no other dharma aside from the one path.

With respect to why I do not analyze the meaning of the hymn, it is because I intend to prompt practitioners to decode much meaning from a few words. I fear that most practitioners, abandoning the core doctrines and pursuing trivia, covet counting up verses and miss the great benefits. As the sūtra says, "It is better that through a little listening you decipher much meaning. Do not wish to listen to too much of something, the meaning of which you do not comprehend."[53]

I intend to effect resonance in practitioners so that you might obtain benefits large and small and that whether your intellectual aptitudes are deep or shallow, your practice will be brought to maturity. I intend to goad prideful living beings with limited views to produce serious thought with respect to the True Dharma.

云何印道無始終者? 欲顯一道離三世際, 前際後際不可攝故. 云何印道有盤曲者? 欲顯一道, 隨緣稱機, 應三乘行, 現差別故. 以何義故, 五十六角共成印者? 欲顯地前四十心位及與十地等覺妙覺, 如是五十二位人等, 皆依一道而修四攝, 度衆生故. 五十二角, 表其五十二種人也, 餘四角者, 表四攝也. 十信位中仰信一道四攝法故, 十解位中信解一道四攝法故, 十行位中信行一道四攝行故, 十迴向中解行俱圓而行一道四攝行故, 十地位中及等覺位, 正證一道行四攝故, 妙覺位中究竟圓證一道根原, 盡未來際以四攝法化衆生故. 云何頌中縱橫同有十四字者? 欲顯菩薩行雖無量種, 不離於十波羅蜜四攝行故. 十方無邊一切世界諸

school of Sinitic Yogācāra defines the Middle Way as consciousness-only (*yusik*, Ch. *weishi* 唯識); the Samnon/Sanlun 三論 school of Sinitic Madhyamaka defines it as the eight negations (*p'albul*, Ch. *babu* 八不); the Ch'ŏnt'ae/Tiantai 天台 school defines it as absolute truth or true reality (*silsang*, Ch. *shixiang* 實相); and the Hwaŏm/Huayan 華嚴 school describes it as the dharmadhātu, the universe, or dharma realm (*pŏpkye*, Ch. *fajie* 法界).

53 Cf. *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 28, T 374.12.534a3–4.

菩薩等, 皆依此行爲根本故. 云何頌中有始終者? 爲欲安慰怯弱菩薩, 佛道雖遠, 修行不絶, 終歸成佛, 勿退行故. 云何頌首及與頌末俱處中者? 欲顯初心所習正觀, 不異如來正觀智故. 云何縱横四圍循讀, 皆失句者? 欲顯甚深陀羅尼義, 非斷常見及邊見人所能知故. 云何從中尋得句者? 欲顯甚深陀羅尼義, 中道正觀乃能知故. 云何印外更無頌者? 欲顯佛教雖越塵沙, 不離一道, 一道以外更無法故. 云何不釋頌中義者? 欲令行者, 於少文中多解義故. 恐諸行者, 棄本逐末, 貪數文句, 失大益故. 如經中言, "寧以少聞多解義味, 不願多聞於義不了." 欲驗行者, 得利多少, 根機深淺, 行生熟故. 欲令小見憍慢衆生, 於正法中生重心故.

6. Deciphering the Dhāraṇī

Nevertheless, the profound meaning of this dhāraṇī is not in the objective world systems known by the nine classes of humans. What are these nine classes of humans? First, the profound meaning of this dhāraṇī is not the world system known by ordinary people. Second, it is not the world system of the analytical apprehension of mundane wisdom. Third, it is not the world system of discriminating the marks of dharmas.[54] Fourth, it is not the world system of śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas.[55] Fifth, it is not the world system of practitioners of the view of emptiness.[56] Sixth, it is not the world system of the much learned whose thoughts are scattered. Seventh, it is not the world system of living beings with extreme views.[57] Eighth, it is not the world system of people with extinctionist views. Ninth, it is not the world system

54 This is an allusion to the views of the Yogācāra intellectual tradition (Pŏpsang, Ch. Faxiang 法相).

55 Śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas are the two vehicles of the Hīnayāna, and refer to those disciples who heard the Buddha speak but in whom the aspiration to become bodhisattvas did not arise. Pratyekabuddhas practice by themselves and cultivate enlightenment individually and neither teach living beings nor work toward the enlightenment of other living beings.

56 This is an allusion to the views of the Madhyamaka intellectual tradition (Samnon, Ch. Sanlun 三論).

57 Although extreme views usually refer to extinctionism and eternalism, referring to them here would make the eighth and ninth categories superfluous.

of people with eternalist views. These kinds of factions mutually loathe each other and say, "Since I am wise I am superior to others whose wisdom is, of course, weak. Only I alone am capable of fully decoding the Buddhadharma." These factions are quite pathetic.

In a person's five-foot body emerges a tall and great sense of self. With a square inch of thought he attempts to measure the whole of empty space. It is also like a little child trying to scoop out the ocean with a gourd dipper saying, "I'm measuring the whole great ocean all my myself!" Living beings with limited views weighing and measuring the Buddhadharma are also just like this. If you do not destroy and forsake your pride of self and do not repent with your original mind, it will be difficult to learn. If you establish the Buddhadharma through vocal chanting you will not comprehend the profound principles, and even though you may learn much, your arrogance will only increase. The labors of such aspirants are without benefit. As a gāthā in the sūtra says:

It is comparable to a destitute man
Who day and night counts up other's treasures
While he himself doesn't have half a coin—
Erudition is also just like this.[58]

There are all kinds of living beings like this, but because I desire to protect them I do not analyze the meaning [of the text] again. I fear that their unwholesome views will multiply and increase and that they will eternally sink into the ocean of suffering from which there is no hope of release. As a gāthā in the sūtra says:

Because you break down[59] the Dharma and are unfaithful

---

58 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 5, T 278.9.429a3–4; cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 13, T 279.10. 68a17–b7.

59 To "break down" (*p'aje*, Ch. *poti* 破題) also means "to analyze the meaning of the title."

You will fall into the three unwholesome paths of rebirth.[60]
I would rather not preach the Dharma
And quickly enter into nirvāṇa.[61]

I have explained this above. The meaning of the dhāraṇī is the world system that is known through the wisdom of the dharma realm (dharmadhātu) of boundless practices, and so forth.[62] As a gāthā in the sūtra says:

---

60 The three unwholesome paths of rebirth (*samakto*, Ch. *sanedao* 三惡道, also *samdo*, Ch. *santu* 三涂) are rebirth as a beast (*chuksaeng* 畜生; Skt. *tiryagyonigati*), as a hungry ghost (*agwi* 餓鬼; Skt. *pretagati*), or as a denizen of hell (*chiok* 地獄; Skt. *narakagati*). *Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經 (*Ekottarāgama*) 31, T 125.2.717c12–13. The three unwholesome paths of rebirth are contrasted with the three wholesome paths of rebirth (*samsŏndo* 三善道): rebirth as a god (*ch'ŏnsang* 天上; Skt. *devagati*), a human being (*in'gan* 人間; Skt. *manuṣyagati*), and a titan or *asura* (*asura* 阿修羅; Skt. *asura*). All of these paths together are called the six paths or six destinies (*yukto* 六道, or *yukch'wi* 六趣).

61 *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*) 1, T 262.9.9c15–16.

62 The wisdom of the dharma realm of boundless practices and so forth (*mubyŏnhaeng pŏpkye chi*, Ch. *wubianxing fajie zhi* 無邊行等法界智) refers to the wisdom that a bodhisattva in the abode of consecration (*kwanjŏngju* 灌頂住) must learn, as explained in the "Ten Abodes of the Bodhisattva" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. The "Ten Abodes" chapter describes ten types of wisdom from "the wisdom of the three world systems" (*samse chi* 三世智) to "the wisdom that knows all the boundless buddhas" (*chi mubyŏn chebul chi* 知無邊諸佛智). Among these, the fourth is "the wisdom of the measurelessness and boundlessness of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye muryang mubyŏn chi* 法界無量無邊智), which describes wisdom that is endless and universally full in all world systems and which comprehends that all dharmas of mind (*simbŏp* 心法) and matter (*saekpŏp* 色法) are precisely the dharma realm. The "Buddha Vairocana" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* refers to a "wisdom of the measureless and boundless dharma realm" (*muryang mubyŏn pŏpkye chi* 無量無邊法界智). See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 3, T 278.9.408b29–c1. With respect to the relationship between dhāraṇī and the wisdom of the dharma realm alluded to here, the "Ten Stages" chapter provides the following explanation: "Precisely at that time all the buddhas of the ten directions gave [the Bodhisattva] Adamantine Storehouse (Kŭmgangjang 金剛藏) an unexcelled body of absolute truth, unimpeded blissful eloquence, … the most sublime body, speech, and mind karma of all the buddhas. This is because he obtained the samādhi of the bodhisattvas' great wisdom and brilliance (*posal tae chihye kwangmyŏng sammae* 菩薩大智慧光明三昧) … because he well obtained approaches to dhāraṇī that are impossible to break and because he had been well sealed by means of the seal of the wisdom of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye chi in* 法界智印)." See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 23, T 278.9.542c8–18.

The dharma realm of a wandering mind is like empty space;
Such a person knows the world system of the Buddha.[63]

Why have I preserved this literary work? Because I desire to show that the True Dharma will ultimately abide constantly and that is what all the buddhas of the three time periods rely on. Compare it to a certain plumb line[64] that was an eternal standard and all craftsmen past and future [gauged things] in accordance with it. In addition, I wish to cause fake bodhisattvas to abandon the branches and seek after the root until they penetrate the original source; I wish to cause the True Dharma to abide constantly and never be destroyed; the glory of the Dharma to shine continually and ultimately never fade away; and because I wish to dispel the darkness of the ignorance of living beings. Because I wish to cause living beings to never cut off the seed of buddhahood[65] wherever and whenever they are reborn, I have

63 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 3, T 278.9.409c1.

64 The plumb line (*sŭngmuk*, Ch. *shengmo* 繩墨) is an analogy that is used often to refer to ritual and practice in the *Xunzi* 荀子. For example, the full analogy may be found in the "A Discussion of Rites" chapter (see Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930), supp. 22, 19, 71.32): "If the plumb line is properly stretched, then there can be no doubt about crooked and straight; if the scales are properly hung, there can be no doubt about heavy and light; if the T-square and compass are properly adjusted, there can be no doubt about square and round; and if the gentleman is well versed in ritual, then he cannot be fooled by deceit and artifice." See Burton Watson, trans., *Basic Writings of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 95. See Lew, "Against Counting Up the Verses," 107–108 n. 193.

65 The seed of buddhahood (*pulchong*, Ch. *fozhong* 佛種) refers to the seed-like capacity to become a buddha; hence, it refers to Buddha nature (*pulsŏng* 佛性). It is the seed-like cause (*in* 因) that leads someone to obtain the fruit of buddhahood (*pulgwa* 佛果; Skt. *buddhaphala*). There are four kinds of causes enabling one to obtain the fruit of buddhahood: (1) the buddha nature with which living beings are originally endowed, which is precisely the principle of conditioned arising (*yŏn'gi* 緣起), the principle of the Middle Way, the principle that the original nature of all dharmas is empty, and so forth; (2) defilements, because enlightenment does not exist separately from defilements and all the various wrong views and defilements are all the seeds of buddhahood; (3) the aspiration to enlightenment (*porisim* 菩提心), because if there is no cause of arousing the aspiration to enlightenment then the one cannot obtain the fruit of buddhahood; and (4) recollection of the

preserved this work.

The essentials and meaning of the sūtra have been described summarily in this manner. I would exhaustively [describe] its source, but only a buddha would thoroughly comprehend it. You only have to reverently and faithfully decode the praises and exalt the teachings!

然此深義, 非九種人所知境界. 何等爲九? 一非凡夫所知境界. 二非世智辨聰境界. 三非分別法相境界. 四非聲聞緣覺境界. 五非空見行者境界. 六非散心多聞境界. 七非邊見衆生境界. 八非斷見衆生境界. 九非常見衆生境界. 如是等輩互相嫌言, "我智則勝, 彼智必弱. 唯我獨能盡解佛法." 如是等輩, 甚可憐愍. 於五尺身, 起長大我, 將方寸意, 量虛空盡, 亦如小兒蠡盃酌海, 謂言 "唯我量大海盡." 小見衆生度量佛法, 亦復如是. 彼等若不破除我慢, 不悔本心, 難可教示. 設使口誦, 不會深理, 縱使多聞, 唯長憍慢, 徒勞無益. 如經偈言, "譬如貧窮人, 日夜數他寶. 自無半錢分, 多聞亦如是." 有如是等種種衆生, 欲護彼故, 更不釋義. 恐彼惡見轉加增長, 永沈苦海, 無出期故. 如經偈言, "破法不信故, 墜於三惡道. 我寧不說法, 疾入於涅槃." 如上所說, 陀羅尼義, 是無邊行等法界智所知境界. 如經偈言, "遊心法界如虛空, 是人乃知佛境界." 以何義故存其本者? 欲顯正法畢竟常住, 三世諸佛共所依故, 譬如繩墨是常法, 則前匠後匠共所依故. 復次欲令假名菩薩, 捨末尋本, 達本原故, 欲令正法, 常住不滅, 法光恒照, 畢竟不絶, 破除衆生無明闇故, 欲令衆生, 世世生處, 佛種不斷, 故存本也. 契經要義, 略述如是. 欲盡其原, 唯佛窮了, 但仰信解讚揚敎耳.

7. Hymn on the Transference of Merit

Wishing to arouse the expansive vow, I praise it with a gāthā that says:
The Buddhadharma is very vast and great;
Its measure is the same as empty space.
What I have described of its meaning
Is like a single pore of skin.

Buddha through the intonation of his name (*ch'ingmyŏng yŏmbul* 稱名念佛) or hearing the name of the Buddha (*munmyŏng* 聞名), because by means of these causes one may become a buddha.

All the meritorious virtues I have described
Are universally dispensed to the classes of living beings.
Quickly ascending the levels of the ten stages,
All achieve the fruit of buddhahood together.

迴向頌
欲發弘願, 以偈讚. 曰
佛法甚廣大 量同於虛空
我已所述義 如一毛孔分
所述諸功德 普施衆生類
速登十地位 皆共成佛果

III

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE ESSENTIALS OF THE TEXTUAL MEANING OF THE *AVATAMSAKA-SŪTRA*

Hwaŏm-gyŏng Munŭi Yogyŏl Mundap

華嚴經文義要決問答

表員

By P'yowŏn

Introduction

In the *Hwaŏm-gyŏng munŭi yogyŏl mundap* 華嚴經文義要決問答 (Questions and Answers on the Essentials of the Textual Meaning of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*), the Silla monk P'yowŏn 表員 collected the intellectual opinions of exegetes from China and Silla Korea and arranged the important theories of Hwaŏm Buddhism following his own personal viewpoints.

P'yowŏn left traces of activity at Hwangnyong Monastery 皇龍寺 until the mid eighth century. When we look at the intellectual tendencies that appear in the *Questions and Answers on the Essentials*, we may suggest that P'yowŏn was a Hwaŏm exegete of Wŏnhyo's lineage who devoted himself to the intellectual thought of Fazang, or more precisely, he was a Hwaŏm philosopher with a set of tendencies different from those of Ŭisang's lineage, the mainstream tradition of Silla Hwaŏm. The edition of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* on which P'yowŏn relies is the eighty-roll edition that clearly and distinctly describes the meaning of the seven locations and nine assemblies (*ch'ilch'ŏ kuhoeŭi* 七處九會義), not the sixty-roll edition used by Fazang and Wŏnhyo. However, he cites Fazang's opinions more than those of anyone else; in fact, most of the passages from the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* that appear in the work are from the sixty-roll edition of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

Questions and Answers on the Essentials in total comprises eighteen chapters. Among these, (1) the meaning of the seven locations and the nine assemblies (*ch'ilch'ŏ kuhoe ŭi* 七處九會義), (2) the meaning of the time the sūtra was preached (*sŏlgyŏng si ŭi* 說經時義), and (3) the meaning of the buddha who preached the sūtra (*sŏlgyŏng pul ŭi* 說經佛義) are analyses of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*; (4) the meaning of the six characteristics (*yuksang ŭi* 六相義), (5) the meaning of the analogy of ten coins (*susipchŏn yu ŭi* 數十錢喩義), (6) the meaning of conditioned arising (*yŏn'gi ŭi* 緣起義), (7) the meaning of exploring the mysteries (*t'amhyŏn ŭi* 探玄義), (8) the meaning of the universal dharma (*pobŏp ŭi* 普法義), (10) the meaning of the true limits of reality (*silche ŭi* 實際義), (11) the meaning of thusness and suchness (*yŏyŏ ŭi* 如如義), (12) the meaning of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye ŭi* 法界義), (13) the meaning of the one vehicle (*ilsŭng ŭi* 一乘義), and (14) the meaning of classifying the teachings (*pun'gyo ŭi* 分敎義) are formulated doctrines of the Chinese Huayan tradition; and (9) the meaning of arousing the bodhicitta (*pal porisim ŭi* 發菩提心義), (15) the meaning of the ten abodes (*sipchu ŭi* 十住義), (16) the meaning of the ten practices (*siphaeng ŭi* 十行義), (17) the meaning of the ten transferences (*siphoehyang ŭi* 十迴向義), and (18) the meaning of the ten stages (*sipchi ŭi* 十地義) are practical theories that analyze the stages of Hwaŏm practice.[1] In the textual material he cites, P'yowŏn either directly

---

1 Kim Indŏk classifies the eighteen themes into five categories: nos. 1–3, issues associated with the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*; nos. 4–8, Hwaŏm philosophy; nos. 10–12, true limits of reality, thusness and suchness, dharma realm; nos. 13–14, one vehicle and classifying the teachings; and nos. 9 and 15–18, the path of the bodhisattva. See Kim Indŏk 金仁德, "P'yowŏn ŭi Hwaŏmhak" 表員의 華嚴學 (P'yowŏn's Hwaŏm learning), in *Han'guk Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 韓國華嚴思想硏究 [Research on Korean Hwaŏm thought], ed. Pulgyo Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 佛敎文化硏究院 [Buddhist Culture Research Center] (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1982), 107–151, esp. 113–114. Kim Ch'ŏnhak classifies the themes into the four categories of faith (*sin* 信), understanding (*hae* 解), practice (*haeng* 行), and attestation/realization (*chŭng* 證): faith is nos. 1–3; understanding is subdivided into theories of existence, nos. 4–8 and 12, theories of knowledge/epistemology, nos. 10–11, and analytical learning, nos. 13–14; practice is nos. 9 and 15–18; and attestation/realization was either not originally established as a theme, or if not it may have been in roll 5 of the work, which was not preserved and transmitted. We cannot be sure. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak 金天鶴, trans. and annot.,

cites the title of the theme or establishes the core teaching of the passage as the title of the theme, and he explains each theme systematically by (1) "analyzing the name" (*sŏngmyŏng* 釋名), (2) "revealing the essential point" (*ch'ulche* 出題), and (3) "questions and answers" (*mundap* 問答).

The works cited in this book include the *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章 (Mahāyāna Compendium, T 1851), *Shidi jing lun yiji* 十地經論義記 (Record on the Meaning of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*, X 753), and other works by Jingying Huiyuan淨影慧遠 (523–592), which were cited twenty-nine times; the *Fajing lun* 法經論 (Treatise on Sūtras of the Dharma) and other works by Anlin 安廩 (fl. sixth century), which were cited nineteen times; the *Pŏphwa chongyo* 法華宗要 (Thematic Essentials of the *Lotus Sūtra*, T 1725) and other works by Wŏnhyo, which were cited fourteen times; the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 一乘法界圖 (Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm as the One Vehicle) by Ŭisang was cited three times; the *Tanxuan ji* 探玄記 (Record of Exploring the Mysteries [of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], T 1733), *Wujiao zhang* 五教章 (Composition on the Five Teachings), *Zhigui zhang* 指歸章 (Composition on Taking Refuge in the Profound Meaning), *Sanbao zhang* 三寶章 (Composition on the Three Jewels), *Wenyi kangmu* 文義綱目 (Outline and Details of the Meaning of the Text [of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], T 1734), *Qixin lun yiji* 起信論義記 (Record on the Meaning of the *Awakening of Faith*, T 1846), and other works by Fazang, which were cited sixty-eight times; and the *Kanding ji* 刊定記 (Record of Publication, X 221) and other works by Huiyuan 慧苑 of Jingfa Monastery 靜法寺, which were cited twenty times.[2] The citations of Fazang are found throughout the whole work and cover an extensive range of topics. The citations of Jingying Huiyuan are concentrated for the most part on the stages of a bodhisattva's actualized practice after the ten abodes. The citations of Anlin are concentrated in the topics from the meaning of conditioned arising to the meaning of the one vehicle and

Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap 華嚴經文義要訣問答 [Questions and answers on the secrets of the textual meaning of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*] (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1998), 426–428.

2 Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 424–426.

the meaning of the ten stages. The citations of Wŏnhyo are concentrated in the topics of the meaning of the Buddha who preached the sūtra, the meaning of the six characteristics, the meaning of the analogy of ten coins, the meaning of conditioned arising, the meaning of the universal dharma, and the meaning of the dharma realm and of the one vehicle. The citations of Ŭisang are found in the themes of the meaning of the analogy of ten coins and the meaning of conditioned arising. The citations of Huiyuan of Jingfa Monastery are found in the first half of the work, in the themes on the meaning of the seven locations and nine assemblies, the meaning of the time the sūtra was preached, and the meaning of the buddha who preached the sutra. They are mostly cited in the meaning of exploring the mysteries, the meaning of the dharma realm, the meaning of the one vehicle, and the meaning of classifying the teachings. Among these citations, one of Anlin's, one of Ŭisang's, and two of Huiyuan of Jingfa Monastery's are set up for criticism by P'yowŏn.

P'yowŏn's citations are unique in that they accord with his own personal viewpoints. In the "meaning of conditioned arising" he impartially presents and organizes the opinions of five scholars; in the "meaning of exploring the mysteries" he cites Fazang and Jingying Huiyuan; in the "meaning of the universal dharma" he cites Wŏnhyo and Fazang; and in the "meaning of the dharma realm" he impartially cites Anlin, Wŏnhyo, Fazang, and Jingying Huiyuan. With respect to the "meaning of the seven locations and nine assemblies," although he uses Fazang and Huiyuan of Jingfa Monastery, he composes his own essay on the matter, and he analyzes the contents of the "meaning of the preaching of the Dharma in nine assemblies" according to his own views. In this way, although P'yowŏn builds his intellectual foundation on the thought of Fazang, he constructs his own unique position by using only those theories that accord with his own intellectual positions and agenda.

In the *Hwaŏm-gyŏng munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, P'yowŏn cites the views of Ŭisang to criticize them, and he applies many of the intellectual theories of Wŏnhyo. His frequent citation of the opinions of Huiyuan of Jingfa Monastery with respect to Tathāgatagarbha thought lead us to understand

that, like Wŏnhyo, he held the intellectual tendency of seeking to comprehend the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* by means of the *Qixin lun* (Awakening of Faith).[3]

The *Hwaŏm-gyŏng munŭi yogyŏl mundap* had great currency in Japan and was included in several catalogs after first appearing in the *Narachō genzai issaikyō mokuroku* 奈良朝現在一切經目録 (Catalog of the Buddhist Canon Presently Extant in the Nara Period). There are six manuscripts, both full and partial of the original work in four rolls: the Satō manuscript 佐藤本 of roll one, which was written in the eighth century; the Enrakuji manuscript 宴楽時本 of two rolls written in 799; a Tōdaiji manuscript 東大寺本 of one roll in the same lineage as the Enrakuji manuscript and thought to have been copied before 791; a Kyōto University manuscript 京都大本 in four rolls; a Ryūkoku University manuscript 竜谷大本 in four rolls, and another Tōdaiji manuscript in two rolls.[4]

Although the complete work is in eighteen chapters, in this book we have translated parts of the following ten chapters:

(1) The meaning of the seven locations and nine assemblies.
(2) The meaning of the six characteristics.
(3) The meaning of the analogy of ten coins.
(4) The meaning of conditioned arising.
(5) The meaning of exploring the mysteries.
(6) The meaning of the universal dharma.
(7) The meaning of the dharma realm.
(8) The meaning of the one vehicle.
(9) The meaning of classifying the teachings.
(10) The meaning of the ten stages.

We have selected and translated sections that are of key importance to

3 Ko Ikchin 高翊晋, *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa* 韓國古代佛敎思想史 [History of Korean Buddhist thought in ancient Korea] (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1989), 343–346.

4 Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 412–422.

Hwaŏm doctrinal learning and that bear important meaning to the Hwaŏm doctrinal learning of Silla. The primary text upon which this translation is based is found in the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛敎全書 (Collected Works of Korean Buddhism), vol. 2, pp. 350b1–397a21. The source text for the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* edition is found in the *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 (The Kyoto Supplement to the Canon) and belongs to the lineage of the recension held by Kyoto University. In the heading of each chapter the parts belonging to the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* are specified.

Selected Bibliography

Hwang Kyuch'an 黄圭燦. *Silla P'yowŏn ŭi Hwaŏmhak* 新羅 表員의 華嚴學 [The Hwaŏm learning of P'yowŏn of Silla]. Seoul: Minjoksa, 1998.

Kim Ch'ŏnhak 金天鶴, trans. and annot. *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl* mundap 華嚴經文義要決問答 [Questions and answers on the secrets of the textual meaning of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]. Seoul: Minjoksa, 1998.

Kim Doo Jin (Kim Tujin) 金杜珍. *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu* 신라화엄사상사연구 [Research on the history of Hwaŏm thought in Silla]. Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2002.

Kim Indŏk 金仁德. "P'yowŏn ŭi Hwaŏmhak" 表員의 華嚴學 [P'yowŏn's Hwaŏm learning]. In *Han'guk Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 韓國華嚴思想研究 [Research on Korean Hwaŏm thought], ed. Pulgyo Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 佛敎文化研究院 [Buddhist Culture Research Center], 107–151. Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1982.

Kim Sang-hyun (Kim Sanghyŏn) 金相鉉. *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu* 新羅華嚴思想史研究 [Research on the history of Hwaŏm thought in Silla]. Seoul: Minjoksa, 1991.

Ko Ikchin 高翊晋. *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa* 韓國古代佛敎思想史 [History of Korean Buddhist thought in ancient Korea]. Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1989.

Questions and Answers on the Essentials of the Textual Meaning of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra (*Hwaŏm-gyŏng munŭi yogyŏl mundap*)

華嚴經文義要決問答

皇龍寺表員

Written by Sŏk P'yowŏn[5] of Hwangnyong Monastery[6]

I. The Meaning of the Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies

This section is divided into three approaches. First is the analysis of the

[5] P'yowŏn 表員 was an exegetical monk of Silla, active in the first half of the eighth century, who specialized in the Hwaŏm tradition. Based on his *Hwaŏm-gyŏng munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, which shows that he was highly influenced by and based his intellectual thought on the intellectual positions of the Chinese Huayan monk Fazang 法藏 (643–712), scholars theorize that he belonged to the intellectual tradition of Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686).

[6] Hwangnyong Monastery 皇龍寺 was a large monastic complex located in Kuhwang ward, of Kyŏngju city, in North Kyŏngsang Province. Work began on the monastery in 553, during the time of Silla king Chinhŭng 眞興 (r. 540–576). When the monastery was completed in 569 it became the main monastic complex of Silla Buddhism. Presently all that remains at the site are some foundations including those of the nine-story pagoda, golden hall, and lecture hall. This monastery was the Buddhist state palladium of Silla endowed with its famous nine-story wooden pagoda, a sixteen-foot image of the Buddha, images of the ten great disciples of the Buddha, and a large bronze monastery bell. Park Youngbok, "The Monastery Hwangnyongsa and Buddhism of the Early Silla Period," trans. Karen Hwang and Rick McBride, in *Transmitting the Forms of Divinity: Early Buddhist Art from Korea and Japan*, ed. Washizuka Hiromitsu, Park Youngbok, and Kang Woo-bang (New York: Japan Society, 2003), 140–153.

name. Second is revealing the essential point. Third is the differentiation of questions and answers.[7]

七處九會義.
三門分別. 第一釋名, 第二出體, 第三問答分別.

1. Analysis of the Name

Seven and nine are numbers. <Analysis by means of accompanying numbers.>[8] Locations (*ch'ŏ* 處) are dwellings, which means that they are places where one stops and dwells. Assemblies (*hoe* 會) are meetings and, furthermore, they are accounted as being large. <*The Beautiful Garden*[9] says: "The territorial

---

7 HPC 2.350b2–353a5.

8 Analysis by means of accompanying numbers (*taesu sŏk* 帶水釋; Skt. *dvigu*) is one of the six means of logically deciphering literary Chinese compounds (*yuk rihapsŏk* 六理合釋 or *yukhapsŏk* 六合釋; Skt. *ṣaṭ-samāsāḥ*). The six means are "analysis by relying on the subject" (*ŭiju sŏk* 依主釋; Skt. *tat-puruṣa*), "analysis by observing the vocation" (*chiŏp sŏk* 持業釋; Skt. *karma-dhāraya*), "analysis by mutual opposition" (*sangwi sŏk* 相違釋; Skt. *dvaṃdva*), "analysis by possessing wealth" (*yujae sŏk* 有財釋; Skt. *bahu-vrīhi*), "analysis by being in the vicinity" (*in'gŭn sŏk* 隣近釋; Skt. *avyayī-bhāva*), and "analysis by means of accompanying numbers" (*taesu sŏk* 帶水釋; Skt. *dvigu*). An example of "analysis by means of relying on the subject" is the compound *wangja* 王子 (prince, lit. "son of the king"). Relying on the meaning of the logograph *wang* 王 (king), the characteristic of the logograph *cha* 子 (son) may be deciphered clearly. "Analysis by observing the vocation" is a way to distinguish between subject and modifier—for example, the compound *kosan* 高山, which is deciphered as a "high mountain." An example of "analysis by mutual opposition" is the compound *wangsin* 王臣, which is deciphered as "king and ministers." "Analysis by possessing wealth" refers to the body of the compound meaning a person. For example, if the compound is *hwangŭi* 黃衣 (yellow robes), it may be interpreted as "a person wearing yellow robes" or a "yellow-robed holy man." "Analysis by being in the vicinity" is a way to decipher by using a similar concept in the case when there is not an appropriate word. For example, "in the vicinity of the river" is expressed by the literary Chinese compound *haban* 河畔 (riverbank), which may be deciphered by drawing upon the uncommon but related logograph *pan* 畔 (levee, bank). Examples of "analysis by means of accompanying numbers" are such compounds as *samgye* 三界 (three realms) and *oon* 五蘊 (five aggregates).

9 *The Beautiful Garden* (*Jiayuan* 佳苑) is a text about which neither the author nor period of

administrations[10] of the four directions record the affairs of the age, synthesize and make an accounting of them, and call them assemblies."[11]> Presently, in this case, the great throng of the dharma realm[12] that is inexhaustible is called an assembly because it is gathered and assembled together in a location of the boundless dharma realm.

第一釋名者.
七九數名.<帶數釋也> 處者居也, 謂止居之處. 會者遇也, 又大計也.<佳苑云, "四方郡國, 錄一代之事, 總而計之, 名曰會也."> 今案無盡法界大衆, 集會無邊法界處中, 故名會也.

2. Revealing the Essential Point

Master Fazang[13] said:

---

publication is known. Based on the contents of the quotation, it is probably a text composed after the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.).

10 "Territorial administrations" (*kun'guk* 郡國) is the name of a system of governing provincial regions that was instituted during the Han dynasty. It is a collective general reference to commanderies (*kun*, Ch. *jun* 郡), princedoms (*wangguk,* Ch. *wangguo* 王國), and marquisates (*huguk*, Ch. *houguo* 侯國).

11 Cf. *Zhou li* 周禮, "Tianguan" 天官, Xiaozai 小宰: "Govern their comings and goings by means of *yao* 要 (essential) and *hui* (assembly)." In a note it says: "The reckoning of one month is called a yao (essential) and the reckoning of one year is called a *hui* 會 (assembly)."

12 Dharma realm (*pŏpkye*, Ch. *fajie* 法界) refers to the existence of the universe with the logograph for dharma (*pŏp*, Ch. *fa* 法) and for the world system or sphere (*kye*, Ch. *jie* 界) of that existence; together it is called a "dharma realm" or, in other words, seeing the universe as is as a manifestation of truth, the expressions "true thusness" or "true suchness" (*chinyŏ*, Ch. *zhenru* 眞如), or dharmakāya or dharma body (*pŏpsin*, Ch. *fashen* 法身).

13 Fazang 法藏 (643–712), State Preceptor Xianshou 賢首國師, was the third patriarch of the Huayan tradition and one of the most important promoters of Huayan doctrine and thought. His pen name (*hao*) was Dharma Master Guoyi 國一法師, or Great Master Xiangxiang 香象大師, as well as State Preceptor Kangzang 康藏國師. Because Fazang's ancestors hailed from Sogdiana his surname was Kang 康氏. His grandfather immigrated to China and settled in Chang'an. When he was young

The Hīnayāna[14] regards the forms of reality—like the four greatnesses,[15]

---

he petitioned Zhiyan to be his teacher and studied Huayan. After Zhiyan's passing he left home and officially became a monk under Bochen 薄塵 when he was twenty-eight years old. Because he was skilled in several languages of Central Asia and in Sanskrit, by imperial command he participated on the eminent monk Yijing's 義淨 (635–713) translation team, which executed the translations of more than ten sūtras including the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls and the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (T 672). In the latter years of the reign of the Empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–705) he achieved a grand synthesis of Huayan thought. To explain the origination of the ten mysteries (*shixuan yuanqi*, Kor. *siphyŏn yŏn'gi* 十玄縁起), the quintessence of the Huayan teaching, he composed the famous "Essay on the Golden Lion" (*Jinshizi zhang* 金獅子章), which compares the ultimate Huayan ideals to the golden lions of the palace. He wrote more than thirty treatises and commentaries on Huayan-related topics and other commentaries on sūtras as a result of his long career of lecturing. Many of his seminal works on Huayan remain. Beginning with the *Tanxuan ji* 探玄記 [Record of exploring the mysteries of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], the *Jiaofen ji* 教分記 [Record of doctrinal classification], *Qixin lun shu* 起心論疏 [Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*], *Wangjin huanyuan guan* 妄盡還源觀 [Observations on exhausting delusion and returning to the source], *Fanwang jing pusa jieben shu* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏 [Commentary on the bodhisattva precepts of the *Fanwang jing*], and the *Huayan jing chuanji* 華嚴經傳記 [Traditions of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*] established the doctrines and traditions of the Huayan tradition. Among his many disciples were the monks Hongguan 宏觀, Wenchao 文超, Zhiguang 智光, Zongyi 宗一, and Huiyuan 慧苑.

14 The Hīnayāna (*sosŭng*, Ch. *xiaosheng* 小乘) means "smaller or lesser vehicle" in contradistinction to the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng*, Ch. *dasheng* 大乘), which means "greater vehicle." Hīnayāna was a pejorative term applied to the mainstream Buddhist tradition in India by proponents of the Mahāyāna suggesting a metaphor for the vessel by which living beings may traverse the raging river of the cycle of rebirth and death (saṃsāra). Proponents of the Mahāyāna criticize adherents to the Hīnayāna because, in their estimation, the Hīnayāna holds the limited position that enlightenment can be achieved only through self-effort and belittles the doctrine of seeking the liberation of all living beings.

15 The four greatnesses (*sadae*, Ch. *sida* 四大; Skt. *catvāri mahā-bhūtāni*) is short for the "four great seeds" (*sadae chong*, Ch. *sida zhong* 四大種), which are also said to be the four realms (*sagye*, Ch. *sijie* 四界). The four greatnesses are connected to the Buddhist theory of the four elements earth, water, fire, and wind. The greatness of earth (*chidae*, Ch. *dida* 地大) is characterized by the essence of strength and the function of maintaining and preserving. The greatness of water (*sudae*, Ch. *shuida* 水大) is characterized by the essence of absorbing and the function of collecting and pooling. The greatness of fire (*hwadae*, Ch. *huoda* 火大) is characterized by the essence of heat and the function of maturing and consuming. The greatness of wind (*p'ungdae*, Ch. *fengda* 風大) is characterized by the essence of moving and the function of bringing and growing.

which may be composed of objects and the four dusts,[16] such as form—as the essence of reality. Among the [adherents to the] three vehicles,[17] those of the initial teaching,[18] ordinary people, adherents of the Hīnayāna, and bodhisattvas prior to the first stage[19] all regard the *ālayavijñāna*[20] as

---

16 The four dusts (*sajin*, Ch. *sichen* 四塵) refer to the four objects (*sagyŏng*, Ch. *sijing* 四境) of the four senses of sight (*saek* 色), smell (*hyang* 香), taste (*mi* 味), and touch (*ch'ok* 觸).

17 The three vehicles (*samsŭng*, Ch. *sansheng* 三乘) are (1) the Śrāvakayāna (*sŏngmunsŭng*, Ch. *shengwensheng* 聲聞乘), the vehicle of the disciples, who seek after enlightenment based on the preaching of the dharma of the four noble truths; (2) the Pratyekabuddhayāna (*yŏn'gaksŭng*, Ch. *yuanjuesheng* 緣覺乘; or *p'ijibulsŭng*, Ch. *bizhifosheng* 辟支佛乘), the vehicle of the solitary buddhas, who seek after enlightenment based on meditating on the dharma of conditioned arising (*yŏn'gibŏp* 緣起法); and (3) the Bodhisattvayāna (*posalsŭng*, Ch. *pusasheng* 菩薩乘), the vehicle of the bodhisattvas. The first two vehicles (*isŭng*, Ch. *ersheng* 二乘) were conceptualized as inferior because these types of individuals have not aroused the *bodhicitta*; hence, they were labeled with the pejorative title Hīnayāna, the lesser vehicle (*sosŭng*, Ch. *xiaosheng* 小乘). The vehicle of the bodhisattvas was conceived of as superior because bodhisattvas have not only attained the awakening of the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas, but have aroused the *bodhicitta*; hence it enjoyed the designation Mahāyāna, the greater vehicle (*taesŭng*, Ch. *dasheng* 大乘). See, for instance, *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 1, T 262.9.8a, roll 2, T 262.9.18b; cf. Leon Hurvitz, trans., *Scripture on the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (*The Lotus Sūtra*) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 34, 95.

18 The initial teaching (*ch'ogyo*, Ch. *chujiao* 初敎) here refers to differentiating the three vehicles into an initial teaching and a final teaching (*chonggyo*, Ch. *zhongjiao* 終敎). The initial teaching is the Śrāvakayāna and the Pratyekabuddhayāna as well as the bodhisattva teachings of the ten faiths (*sipsin* 十信), the ten abodes (*sipchu* 十住), the ten practices (*siphaeng* 十行), and the ten transferences (*siphoehyang* 十廻向); and the final teaching refers to the ten stages (*sipchi* 十地) of the bodhisattva's spiritual training.

19 The first stage (*ch'oji*, Ch. *chudi* 初地) refers to the first of the ten stages of the bodhisattva. Among the fifty-two stages, these refer to stages forty-two through fifty (or stages thirty-one through forty according to the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*). The word stage, literally "ground" (*chi* 地; Skt. *bhūmi*), has the meaning of "station" (*chuch'ŏ* 住處), "abode" (*chuji* 住持), or "generation or coming into being" (*saengsŏng* 生成). The ten stages (*sipchi*, Ch. *shidi* 十地; Skt. *daśabhūmi*) are (1) the joyous stage (*hwanhŭi chi,* Ch. *huanxi di* 歡喜地; Skt. *pramuditā-bhūmi*), (2) the immaculate stage (*igu chi*, Ch. *ligou di* 離垢地; Skt. *vimalā-bhūmi*), (3) the light-giving stage (*yŏm chi,* Ch. *yandi* 焰地, *palgwang chi*, Ch. *faguang di* 發光地; Skt. *prabhākari-bhūmi*), (4) the brilliant stage (*myŏng chi*, Ch. *ming di* 明地 or *chohye chi*, Ch. *zhaohui di* 炤慧地; Skt. *arciṣmatī-bhūmi*), (7) the stage that is very difficult to conquer (*nansŭng chi*, Ch. *nansheng di* 難勝地; *Skt. sudurjayā-bhūmi*), (6) the stage that is face-to-face

the essence of reality. With respect to bodhisattvas above the first stage there are two meanings: bodhisattvas of reward lands[21] are also just the same and regard the *ālayavijñāna* as the essence of reality. Bodhisattvas manifesting the two knowledges[22] regard the knowledge of consciousness-only[23] as the essence of reality. In the case of the final teaching,[24] they only regard the true thusness of the Tathāgatagarbha[25] as the essence of reality.

(*hyŏnjŏn chi*, Ch. *xianqian di* 現前地; Skt. *abhimukhī-bhūmi*), (7) the far-reaching stage (*wŏnhaeng chi*, Ch. *yuanxing di* 遠行地; Skt. *dūraṁgamā-bhūmi*), (8) the immovable stage (*pudong chi,* Ch. *budong di* 不動地; Skt. *acalā-bhūmi*), (9) the stage of wholesome wisdom (unerringly effective intentions) (*sŏnhye chi*, Ch. *shanhui di* 善慧地; Skt. *sādhumatī-bhūmi*), and (10) the stage of the cloud of dharma (*pŏbun chi*, Ch. *fayun di* 法雲地; Skt. *dharmameghā-bhūmi*).

20 The *ālayavijñāna* (*aroeya sik,* Ch. *alaiye shi* 阿賴耶識) is one of the eight types of consciousness postulated by the Yogācārists. Translated as the "un-sinking/undying consciousness" (*mumolsik* 無沒識) in the old translation and the "storehouse consciousness" (*changsik* 藏識) in the new translation, the *ālayavijñāna* is the basis or foundation upon which all things are experienced and understood. It stores all things like seeds, so it is sometimes called the seed consciousness (*chongjasik* 種子識).

21 Reward lands (*pot'o*, Ch. *baotu* 報土) are Pure Lands in which live buddhas manifest bodies by which they convert others to the Mahāyāna (*t'asu yongsin*, Ch. *tuoshou yongshen* 他受用身); in other words they are buddha-fields (*kukt'o,* Ch. *guotu* 國土; Skt. *buddhakṣetra*) for the benefit of others. Here, these buddhas with special bodies preach on behalf of bodhisattvas above the first stage.

22 The two knowledges (*iji*, Ch. *erzhi* 二智) are intrinsic wisdom (lit. the knowledge of the root origin, *kŭnbon chi*, Ch. *genben zhi* 根本智; Skt. *mūlajñāna*) and analytical wisdom (lit. the knowledge acquired afterwards, *hudŭk chi,* Ch. *houte zhi* 後得智; Skt. *pṛṣṭhalabdhajñāna*). The first is the knowledge of awakening to the ultimate truth and the second is the knowledge that arises in order to convert living beings after acquiring the knowledge of awakening to the ultimate truth.

23 The knowledge of consciousness-only (*yusik chi,* Ch. *weishi zhi* 唯識智) is the knowledge that all phenomena manifesting in the world are functions of the consciousness.

24 The final teaching (*chonggyo*, Ch. *zhongjiao* 終教) refers to everything from the initial stage of the ten stages (*sipchi* 十地) of the bodhisattva's spiritual training and above.

25 The true thusness of the Tathāgatagarbha (*yŏraejang chinyŏ*, Ch. *rulaizang zhenru* 如來藏眞如) alludes to the seminal doctrine of the Tathāgatagarbha, which means that all living beings possess the innate capacity for Buddha's enlightenment, and true thusness is another word for truth or reality. Therefore, the true thusness of the Tathāgatagarbha means that the truth is that all living beings possess the innate capacity for enlightenment.

With respect to one vehicle,[26] adherents regard all dharmas, such as all the people and dharmas, principle and phenomena in the three ages[27] of the inexhaustible dharma realm as the essence of reality.[28]

<I think it is the case that presently the [adherents of the one vehicle] at the end and the adherents of the Hīnayāna and the three vehicles and so forth at the beginning get it right. The core teaching, being the essential point, is revealed in a later approach in summary form.>

第二出體者.
法藏師云, "若小乘者, 色等四塵并能造四大實色爲體. 若三乘中, 初教者, 凡小地前, 俱以賴耶識爲體, 地上二義, 報土亦同, 賴耶爲體, 若二智所現, 即以唯識智爲體. 若依終教, 但以如來藏眞如爲體. 若一乘, 以無盡法界通三世間人法理事等諸法爲體."<案, 今正以後也前小三乘等. 宗爲眼目, 出後門中略也.>

3. Differentiation by Means of Questions and Answers

Question: What are the seven locations and nine assemblies?

Answer: There are three places in the human realm and four places in the heavens above. <These are the seven locations.> Because the second, seventh, and eighth assemblies are held repeatedly in the Palace of Universal

---

26 The one vehicle (*ilsŭng,* Ch. *yisheng* 一乘; Skt. Skt. Ekayāna), also known as the Buddha-vehicle (*pulsŭng*, Ch. *fosheng* 佛乘; Skt. Buddhayāna), refers to saving and liberating living beings from the cycle of rebirth and death by means of a vehicle that is "only one and non-dual (yuil mui, Ch. weiyi wuer 唯一無二). The basis for the doctrine of the one vehicle is described in such scriptures as the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and *Lotus Sūtra*, where it is also referred to as the "perfect teaching" and the "complete and perfect teaching." According to the doctrine of the one vehicle, all of the three vehicles of the śrāvakas, prayekabuddhas, and bodhisattvas ultimately lead to the one vehicle. More precisely, the one vehicle refers to the ultimate truth of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

27 The three ages (*samse*, Ch. *sanshi* 三世) refer to past, present, and future.

28 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 3, T 1733.35.158b23–c2.

Light and Brilliance[29] there are nine assemblies. <In the Jin translation[30] of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* there are eight assemblies. The seventh assembly is absent. Pay attention to this.> Nevertheless, if we should desire to simplify this meaning and summarize it in three approaches, the first would be to distinguish the meaning of the teaching and the characteristics of the phenomena; the second would be to categorize long paragraphs and parts of the original text; and the third would be to differentiate the order in which things originate. There are two meanings in the first approach. The former is a comprehensive explanation and the latter is a particular explanation.

第三問答分別
問云, 何七處, 何者九會耶?
答, 人中三, 天上四.<是七處也.> 第二第七第八, 重會普光明殿, 爲九會.<晋經, 八會, 欠第七重會, 准也.> 然將欲料簡此義, 略作三門, 一辨教義事相, 二長科本分, 三辨生起次第. 初中二義, 先總後別.

A Comprehensive [Explanation]

Question: Where was this sūtra preached?

Answer: It was preached where there is perfect interfusion of purity and impurity, just like a lotus flower. <This meaning will appear separately below.>

Question: When was it preached?

Answer: It was preached on the fourteenth day after the Buddha first

---

29 Palace of Universal Light and Brilliance (Pogwangmyŏng kung, Ch. Puguangming gong 普光明宮), as the location of the second, seventh, and eighth assemblies in which the Buddha preached the Buddhadharma in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, is said to be next to the Buddha's enlightenment site (*pori toryang*, Ch. *puti daochang* 菩提道場) in the state of Magadha.

30 The Jin translation (Kor. Chinyŏk 晋譯) of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* refers to Buddhabhadra's translation in sixty rolls (trans. 418–420) and is commonly called the Jin edition 晋本 or the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls. After that, Śikśānanda's (652–710) translation in eighty rolls (trans. 695–699) is the so-called Tang edition 唐本, Zhou edition 周本, or the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls.

achieved the Way to enlightenment. This is because that very time subsumed all of the nine time periods[31] and ten time periods. Therefore, the preaching of this one time is precisely the preaching of all times. <This meaning also will appear separately below.>

Question: Who preached this sūtra?

Answer: It was preached by Vairocana[32] of the ten buddhas.[33] This is

---

31 With respect to the nine time periods (*kuse*, Ch. *jiushi* 九世) and ten time periods (*sipse*, Ch. *shishi* 十世), the nine time periods refer to the three ages of the past, present, and future, each of which has three ages; and the ten time periods, as referred to in Hwaŏm doctrinal learning, refers to the nine time periods plus one that comprehends or synthesizes them all.

32 Vairocana (Nosanabul, Ch. Lushenafo 盧舍那佛, also called Pirojanabul, Ch. Piluzhenafo 毘盧遮那佛) is the primary Buddha and interlocutor who preached the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. His name is transcribed as Nosanabul in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls and as Pirojanabul in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls. According to the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, Vairocana practiced meritorious virtues for kalpas without number, and reached complete enlightenment (*chŏnggak*, Ch. *zhengjue* 正覺); and it is said that while residing in the Lotus Storehouse World System (*yŏnhwajang segye* 蓮華藏世界), he emits a great bright glow that illuminates the ten directions of the universe; he emits the shadows of transformation bodies from the pores of his body and preaches an unending ocean of sūtras. In the doctrinal teachings of Chinese Buddhism, Nosanabul and Pirojanabul are differentiated by means of a theory of three bodies: the dharma-body Pirojanabul, the reward-body Nosanabul, and the transformation-body the Buddha Śākyamuni.

33 The ten buddhas (*sibul*, Ch. *shifo* 十佛) refer to the ten kinds of buddha-bodies described in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. These are further differentiated into two sets: all existence discriminated as ten forms of buddha or the ten forms of buddha differentiated in the sphere of projected reality (*haegyŏng sibul* 解境十佛) and the ten forms of buddha who minister in the sphere of projected reality (*haenggyŏng sibul* 行境十佛). The ten forms of buddha differentiated in the sphere of projected reality, if seen as all things in existence by means of true wisdom, all may be separated into ten forms of the present-bodies (*hyŏnsin* 現身) of the buddha. These ten are the bodies of living beings (c*hungsaengsin* 衆生身), the bodies of states and countries (*kukt'osin* 國土身), the bodies of karmic rewards (*ŏpposin* 業報身), the bodies of śrāvakas [disciples] (*sŏngmunsin* 聲聞身), the bodies of pratyekabuddhas [solitary buddhas] (*pyŏkchibulsin* 辟支佛身), the bodies of bodhisattvas (*posalsin* 菩薩身), the bodies of tathāgatas (*yŏraesin* 如來身), bodies of knowledge (*chisin* 智身; Skt. *jñānakāya*), the bodies of dharma (*pŏpsin* 法身; Skt. *dharmakāya*), and bodies of empty space (*hŏgongsin* 虛空身). Furthermore, the ten forms of buddha who minister in the sphere of projected reality refer to ten forms for buddhas who have completed the practices of the bodhisattvas: completely enlightened buddhas (*chŏnggakpul* 正覺佛), vow-fulfilling buddhas (*wŏnbul* 願佛), karmic-reward buddhas (*ŏppobul* 業報佛), dhāraṇī-

because this buddha precisely subsumes all buddhas. Therefore, this one preaching precisely subsumes all preaching. <This meaning will also appear below.>

Question: On behalf of beings of what capacities[34] was this sūtra preached?

Answer: It was preached on behalf of all bodhisattvas of the ocean-like assembly,[35] such as Samantabhadra. This is because this one ocean-like assembly precisely subsumes all ocean-like assemblies. Therefore, a preaching on behalf of one ocean-like assembly is precisely a preaching to all ocean-like assemblies. <This is just like what is said in the following passage.>

Question: On what absorption does this sūtra rely?

Answer: It relies on the ocean seal samādhi.[36] This is because this ocean

---

abiding buddhas (*chujibul* 住持佛), transformation buddhas (*hwabul* 化佛), dharma-realm buddhas (*pŏpkyebul* 法界佛), mind buddhas (*simbul* 心佛), samādhi buddhas (*sammaebul* 三昧佛), nature buddhas (*sŏngbul* 性佛), and wish-fulfilling buddhas (*yŏŭibul* 如意佛).

34 Capacities (*kŭn'gi*, Ch. *genji* 根機) refers to spiritual capacities and religious capabilities possessed by individuals. The logograph *kŭn* 根 refers to the power or strength that serves as its basis or foundation and the logograph *ki* 機 refers to motion or activity, the motivating force. Because spiritual capacities are different in accordance with each person individually, there are differences in the capabilities of individuals to understand the doctrinal teachings of the Buddhadharma.

35 An ocean-like assembly (*haehoe*, Ch *haihui* 海會) is a meeting in which the audience in so large that it gathers in a place as vast as the ocean. It is named as such because the ocean is compared to virtue that is noble and great. See Chengguan, *Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 1, T 1736.36.5c2–4.

36 The ocean seal samādhi (*haein sammae*, Ch. *haiyin sanmei* 海印三昧; Skt. *sāgara-mudrā-samādhi*) refers to the totalistic meditative absorption of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls comprises eight assemblies in seven locations (*ch'ilch'ŏ p'arhoe*, Ch. *qiqu bahui* 七處八會). The eighty-roll edition comprises nine assemblies in seven locations (*ch'ilch'ŏ kuhoe*, Ch. *qiqu jiuhui* 七處九會). In each of the assemblies, before the Buddha preaches the Dharma he enters a particular meditative absorption. Ocean seal is an analogy: when the wind ceases and the waves grow silent and the water becomes clear on the great ocean, everything in the whole world is reflected and illuminated on the surface of the ocean. Just like this, the waves of discrimination do not arise and are clear and silent within the mind of the Buddha, and everything in nature (*samna mansang* 森羅萬象) is reflected all at once, and all the dharmas of the three realms—the material world, the world of living beings, and the world of enlightened wisdom—appear at once. This samādhi of the Buddha is

seal samādhi precisely subsumes all samādhis. Therefore, relying on this one samādhi is precisely relying on all samādhis. <This is just like what is said in the following passage.>

Question: What dharma does this sūtra preach?

Answer: It preaches the ocean of inexhaustible approaches to dharma like a flower garland (hwaŏm 華嚴). This is because each and every flower garland subsumes all approaches to dharma. For this reason, preaching this one dharma is precisely preaching all dharmas. <This is just like what is said in the following passage. This meaning will be described separately below.>

Question: How many sūtras were preached?

Answer: There are two kinds: first, preaching in this world; and second, preaching in the ten directions.[37] Among the preaching in this world are precisely three texts. The first text is the chapter on the realms of the four

---

called the ocean seal samādhi. See Fazang's 法藏 (643–712) *Xiu huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀 [Observations on exhausting delusion and returning to the source by cultivating the deep meaning of Huayan], T 1876.45.637b21–28. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* vividly depicts what happens in this ocean seal samādhi based on all things in the universe that reflect and appear. With respect to the eight assemblies in seven locations, Fazang says that the Tathāgata's ocean seal samādhi is very mysterious, and he classifies the samādhis the Buddha entered in each assembly as follows: in the first assembly, the samādhi of the pure storehouse of all the Tathāgatas (*ilch'e yŏrae chŏngjang sammae* 一切如來淨藏三昧); in the second assembly, meditative absorption (*sŏnjŏng* 禪定); in the third assembly, the samādhi of the bodhisattva's measureless expedient means (*posal muryang pangp'yŏn sammae* 菩薩無量方便三昧); in the fourth assembly, the samādhi of wholesome submission (*sŏnbok sammae* 善伏三昧); in the fifth assembly, the samādhi of great wisdom and brightness (*taejihye kwangmyŏng sammae* 大智慧光明三昧); in the seventh assembly, the samādhi of the flower garland of the Buddha (*pul hwaŏm sammae* 佛華嚴三昧); and in the eighth assembly, the samādhi of the exertion and quickness of the lion of the Tathāgatas (*yŏrae saja punsin sammae* 如來師子奮迅三昧). See *Huayan wenyi gangmu* 華嚴文義綱目, T 1734.35.498c25–499a11. Furthermore, in the preface to the *Wujiao zhang* 五教章 [Composition on the five teachings], which presents an outline of the doctrinal teachings of the Huayan/Hwaŏm tradition, Fazang analyzes the doctrinal meaning and significance of the one vehicle of the Tathāgata's ocean seal samādhi in ten approaches. See *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 1, T 1866.45.477a6–7.

37 The ten directions (*sibang*, Ch. *shifang* 十方) are north, south, east, west, northeast, northwest, southeast, southwest, up, and down.

directions that number as much as minute particles of dust,[38] which is composed of gāthās on the trichilocosms of the ten directions that number as much as minute particles of dust. The second text is the chapter on the 1,200, which is composed of 498,800 gāthās. <These two texts above are concealed in the Dragon Palace and were not revealed.> The final text is thirty-eight chapters composed of the hundred thousand gāthās.[39] <In the past it was usually explained just like this. Later it was changed and explained as comprising forty-eight chapters, or furthermore it is said to be thirty-nine chapters.[40] Pay attention to this.> Furthermore, the *Sūtra on the Universal Eye*,[41] being one chapter in the sutra, written with the assembled brushes of Mt. Sumeru in the ink made from the waters of the four great oceans, is still not enough. Just like this chapter, their number exceeds that of the particles of dust. This sūtra also was only received and maintained by means of the power of the dhāraṇī[42] of all the great bodhisattvas and so forth. Also, this

---

38 "The realms of the four directions that number as much as minute particles of dust" (*sa ch'ŏnha mijinsu* 四天下微塵數) refers to the four great continents located in the four directions surrounding Mt. Sumeru: (1) Jambudvīpa, the southern continent; (2) Pūrvavideha, the eastern continent; (3) Avaragodānīya, the western continent; and (4) Uttarakuru, the northern continent.

39 The contents of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* are explained as being divided into three texts, the "first text" (*sangbon*, Ch. *shangben* 上本), the "second text" (*chungbon*, Ch. *zhongben* 中本), and the "final text" (*habon*, Ch. *xiaben* 下本). See *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.122b12–21; and *Huayan jing wenyi gangmu* 華嚴經文義綱目 1, T 1734.35.493b1–5.

40 Fazang's *Huayan jing chuanji* 華嚴經傳記 1, T 2073.51.153b2–3, divides the sūtra into forty-eight chapters; Huiyuan's 慧苑 *Xu huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記 1, X 3.570b18–19, divides it into thirty-nine chapters.

41 *The Sūtra on the Universal Eye* (*Puyan jing* 普眼經) is a sūtra featuring the Bhikṣu Haiyun 海雲, who appears in the "Entry into the Dharma Realm" (*Ru fajie pin* 入法界品) chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. In this sūtra, the Buddha preaches the dharma approach of the "universal eye" (*poan*, Ch. *puyan* 普眼) to the Bhikṣu Haiyun. According to tradition there are two editions or versions of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*: the large or great edition (*taebon*, Ch. *daben* 大本) and the abbreviated edition (*yakpon*, Ch. *lüeben* 略本). The three texts of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* mentioned in n. 39, taken together, comprise the abbreviated edition. The *Sūtra on the Universal Eye* is the great edition.

42 Dhāraṇī (*tarani*, Ch. *tuoluoni* 陀羅尼) are common in Mahāyāna sūtras, and collections of dhāraṇī comprise a substantial portion of Mahāyāna literature. The term dhāraṇī is translated variously as *zhou*

was not something that could be recorded on palm leaves.[43] This is because the preaching of this realm becomes comprehensive, and it must subsume that which was preached in the ten directions, which becomes its entourage. Therefore, one title precisely subsumes all titles. That which exists now, which is precisely among the hundred thousand gāthās, is merely the thirty-nine chapters in the eighty-roll edition <The Jin translation is thirty-four chapters in sixty rolls or fifty rolls.>, which is composed of 45,000 gāthās <The Jin translation has 36,000 gāthās.>, and which has been circulated and transmitted throughout the world. <The above seven questions and answers have been analyzed comprehensively.>

總者.
問, 此經何處說耶?
答, 蓮華染淨圓融處說.<此義後當別出.>

呪 (Kor. *chu*, spell), *shenzhou* 神呪 (Kor. *sinju*, spirit spell), *zhoushu* 呪術 (Kor. *chusul*, spell technique), *tuoluoni* 陀羅尼 (Kor. *tarani*, dhāraṇī) *chi* 持 (Kor. *chi*, maintenance, hold, support), *zongchi* 總持 (Kor. *ch'ongji*, comprehensive maintenance), and also *zhenyan* 眞言 (Kor. *chinŏn*, true word, or mantra). In both sūtra and commentarial literature they are described as both spells or incantations and codes or mnemonic devices. See McBride, "Dhāraṇī and Spells in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 85–114. For the mnemonic code position see Étienne Lamotte, trans., *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*), 5 vols. (Louvain : Institut orientaliste, Université de Louvain, 1944–1981), 4:1854–1869; and Jens Braarvig, "Dhāraṇī and Pratibhāna: Memory and Eloquence of the Bodhisattvas," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 8, no. 1 (1985): 17–29. For the Tantric position see L. A. Waddell, "The 'Dhāraṇī' Cult in Buddhism, Its Origin, Deified Literature and Images," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 1 (1912–1913): 160–165, 169–178; for some early translations of dhāraṇī from Tibetan sources see idem, "The Dharani or Indian Buddhist Protective Spell," *Indian Antiquary* 43 (1914): 37–42, 49–54, 92–95; and, for the quote, see Guiseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 2 vols. (Roma: La Libreria Dello Stato, 1949), 1:224.

43 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.122b8–12. In India, in the time before the introduction of paper, books including sutras were written on palm leaves (*p'aeyŏp* 貝葉; Skt. *pattra*). Dry leaves were cut so that they were two inches in width and from one foot to two feet in length. Writing was inscribed by means of an awl, and then ink was applied with a brush. After the texts were written, several pages would be bound together with string so that preservation would be more convenient. Traditions of Southern Buddhism (such as in Sri Lanka and Thailand) still use this technology.

問, 何時說耶?

答, 佛初成道, 第二七日說. 謂即此時中, 攝一切九世十世故. 是故一時說即一切時說.<此義亦當後別出.>

問, 此經是誰說耶?

答, 是十佛盧舍那說. 謂此佛即攝一切佛故. 是故一說即一切說也.<此義亦當後出之.>

問, 爲何機說耶?

答, 爲普賢等海會諸菩薩說. 以此一海會衆, 即攝一切海會衆故. 是故爲一海會衆說, 即爲一切海會衆說.<如下云云.>

問, 此經依何定耶?

答, 謂依海印三昧. 以此海印三昧, 即攝一切三昧故. 是故依一三昧, 即是依一切三昧. <如下文云云.>

問, 此經說何法耶?

答, 謂說華嚴無盡法門海. 以此華嚴一一皆攝一切法門. 故說一法即說一切法. <如下文云云. 此義下當別述也.>

問, 說幾許經耶?

答, 有二種, 一此界說, 二十方說. 此界之中即有三本. 上本, 有十三千大千世界微塵數偈四天下微塵數品. 中本, 有四十九萬八千八百偈一千二百品.<此上二本, 隱在龍宮不出.> 下本, 有十萬偈三十八品.<舊常說如此也, 更後說四十八品, 又云三十九品也. 准之.> 又有普眼經, 以須彌山聚筆, 四大海水墨, 書一品修多羅, 猶不能窮盡, 如是等品, 復過塵數. 此亦但是大菩薩等, 陀羅尼力之所受持, 亦非貝葉所能書記. 以此界所說爲總, 必攝十方所說爲眷屬故. 是故一部即攝一切部. 今此所有, 即是十萬偈中, 唯有四萬五千偈<晋經, 三萬六千偈> 三十九品八十卷<晋經, 三十四品六十卷, 亦是五十卷>, 流傳於此.<上來七問答, 辨其總竟.>

From here I will clarify the particular preachings [of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]:

In the first assembly, the Buddha was at the *bodhimaṇḍa*[44] in the country

---

44 *Bodhimaṇḍa* (*toryang*, Ch. *daochang* 道場) or "enlightenment site" refers to the "adamantine seat" (*kŭmgangjwa*, Ch. *jin'gangzuo* 金剛座) under the bodhi tree where Śākyamuni became enlightened. It was a common term for "monastery" during the seventh century. During the Northern Wei period

of Magadha,[45] in the ocean of the Lotus Storehouse Garland World System[46] with the throng of bodhisattvas of the ocean-like assembly. The Bodhisattva Samantabhadra received the Buddha's miraculous power and entered the samādhi on the body of the Tathāgatagarbha [embryo of Buddhahood] of Vairocana of all the buddhas <The Jin translation calls it the samādhi on the pure storehouse of the tathāgata.> and preached about the dependent reward[47] of the Lotus Storehouse World System[48] and direct

(386–535) it came to mean a place where Buddhist ritual and ceremonies, such as ordinations and special assemblies, were performed. Sui Emperor Yang (r. 604–617) then changed the name for all monasteries in China to "enlightenment site" in 613. It is also likely that during the period of Empress Wu's influence and reign (ca. 660–705) the term was again substituted for the ordinary term for monastery (*si* 寺) given that the imperial temples in the eastern and western palaces bore the designation "interior enlightenment site" (*neidaochang* 內道場).

45 Magadha (Magadaguk, Ch. Magatuoguo 摩伽陀國) is in the southern region of Bihar in eastern India. In the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni, Magadha was regarded as the strongest and most influential of the sixteen large states that occupied central India. Most of the events in the religious life of Śākyamuni took place in this state. In Buddhist literature, it is the location of Mt. Gṛdhrakūṭa (Vulture Peak) and Karaṇḍaveṇuvana, the bamboo grove near Rājagṛha that became the first saṃghārāma (monastic complex). In the sixth century B.C.E., King Bimbisāra made Rājagṛha the state's first capital city; later, Pataliputra (modern Patna) served as the capital. Magadha was also the home of Chandragupta Maurya (r. 321–296 B.C.E.), the founder of the Mauryan empire (322–185 B.C.E.). It was also the place of origination of the Gupta empire (ca. 280–550 C.E.).

46 The ocean of the Lotus Storehouse Garland World System (*yŏnhwajang changŏm segyehae* 蓮華藏莊嚴世界海) is a simile alluding to the vastness and endlessness of the Lotus Storehouse World System in which the Buddha preached the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

47 The dependent reward (*ŭibo*, Ch. *yibao* 依報) refers to the environmental surroundings, or physical surroundings, a practitioner of Buddhism receives at rebirth. It is contrasted with the direct reward (*chŏngbo*, Ch. *zhengbao* 正報), which refers to the ornamentation or the type of body a practitioner receives at rebirth.

48 The Lotus Storehouse World System (*hwajang segye*, Ch. *huazang shijie* 華藏世界) is a short name for the Lotus Storehouse Garland World System. According to the "Lotus Storehouse World System" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls, it is composed of twenty layers. It is described as a world system emerging as a lotus flower or a world system that enters into lotus flowers. It is a world system purified and ornamented in accordance with the past vows and practices of the Buddha Vairocana and is the realm in which the buddhas of the ten directions (*sibul,* Ch. *shifo*

cause[49] of the Prince Light of Great Majesty.[50] Together these comprise six chapters in eleven rolls. “The Sublime Ornaments of the Lords of the World” chapter is first <five rolls, from roll one to roll five; called “The Pure Eye of the Mundane World” chapter in the Jin translation> and clarifies the prefatory section. <Next it clarifies the section on the right core teaching.> “The Tathāgata Manifests Characteristics” chapter is second <one roll, roll six>; “The Samādhi of Samantabhadra” chapter is third, and “The Attainment of the World System” chapter is fourth <These two chapters together comprise one roll, roll seven>; “The Lotus Storehouse World System” chapter is fifth <three rolls, from roll eight to roll ten>. The “Vairocana” (Piluzhena 毘盧遮那) chapter is sixth <one roll, roll eleven; in the Jin translation it is chapter five above and is called “The Buddha Vairocana” (Lushena fo 盧舍那佛) chapter.> Among these five chapters, the first four chapters clarify the dependent reward of Vairocana and the last chapter clarifies the direct causes of the buddha who was precisely the Prince Light of Great Majesty.

十佛) teach and transform beings. The base layer of the world system is a wind wheel (*p'ungnyun* 風輪), above that is an ocean of perfumed water (*hyangsuhae* 香水海). A great lotus flower grows in this midst of that ocean, and world systems numbering as the particles of dust are contained in the twenty layers of the lotus. A jeweled net composed of 111 world systems surrounds the central world systems. In this place the Buddha Vairocana appears. It is said that the Buddha Vairocana dwells in the thirteenth layer, called the Sahā Lotus Storehouse World System. The *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 [Book of Brahmā's net] describes the Lotus Storehouse World System differently. It says that the great lotus flower is composed of a thousand petals, and on each individual petal are a million (*paegŏk* 百億) Mt. Sumerus, heavens of the four directions, Jambudvīpas, and so forth. The Buddha Vairocana is seated on a lotus throne by means of his original vow, his body continually changes and transforms, and becomes a thousand Śākyamunis.

49 A direct cause (*chŏngin*, Ch. *zhengyin* 正因) is a true cause as compared to an indirect or contributory cause (*yŏnin*, Ch. *yuanyin* 緣因).

50 Prince Light of Great Majesty (Taewigwang tongja, Ch. Daweiguang tongzi 大威光童子) is the crown prince of the King Joyful Sight Wholesome Wisdom (Hŭigyŏm sŏnhye wang, Ch. Xijian shanhui wang 喜見善慧王) of the Great City of Flame Brightness (Yŏmgwangmyŏng taesŏng, Ch. Yanguangming dacheng 焰光明大城). See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 11, T 279.10.54c11–15.

自下明其別說.

第一會, 佛在蓮華藏莊嚴世界海, 摩竭提國, 菩提場中, 與海會菩薩衆俱, 普賢菩薩, 承佛神力, 入一切諸佛毗盧舍那如來藏身三昧<晋經, 如來淨藏三昧>, 說華藏依果, 威光正因也. 合六品一十一卷. 世主妙嚴品第一<五卷, 從第一至第五, 晋經, 世間淨眼品>, 明其序分<次明正宗>. 如來現相品第二<一卷, 第六>, 普賢三昧品第三, 世界成就品第四<已上兩品共一卷, 第七>, 華藏世界品第五 <三卷, 從第八至第十>, 毗盧遮那品第六<一卷, 第十一. 晋經, 此上五品, 分名盧舍那佛品>. 此五品中, 初四品, 明毗盧舍那依果, 最後一品, 明佛往因, 即大威光童子也.

In the second assembly, the Buddha was in the Hall of Universal Light and Brilliance with the throng of bodhisattvas of the ocean-like assembly; and Mañjuśrī[51] received the Buddha's miraculous power and preached about the three karmic acts of the Tathāgata[52] and the dharma approaches to

---

51 Mañjuśrī (Munsusari, Ch. Wenshuishili 文殊師利) is the bodhisattva of wisdom who is typically depicted as an attendant to the Buddha wielding a sword that cuts through ignorance and delusion. The Mt. Clear-and-Cool (Mt. Qingliang 清凉山) mentioned in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is said to be the earthly abode of this bodhisattva. Mt. Wutai 五臺山 in China and later Mt. Odae in Korea are said to be this mountain, and monks encountered manifestations of the bodhisattva there over the course of many generations.

52 With respect to the three karmic acts of the Buddha (*yŏrae samŏp*, Ch. *rulai sanye* 如來三業), the three karmic acts (*samŏp* 三業) typically refer to wholesome and unwholesome karmic actions by means of the body (*sinŏp*, Ch. *shenye* 身業), speech (*kuŏp*, Ch. *kouye* 口業), and mind (*ŭiŏp,* Ch. *yiye* 意業). However, the three karmic acts of the Buddha refer figuratively or metaphorically to manifestations of the Buddha's body, speech, and mind. This concept is commonly called "the three mysteries" or "three esoterica" (*sammil*, Ch. *sanmi* 三密; Skt. **tri-guhya*). More precisely, in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra,* the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī preached on the body of the Tathāgata in the "The Name of the Buddha" chapter (*Fo minghao pin* 佛名號品), on the teachings of the Tathāgata in the "The Four Noble Truths" chapter (*Sishengti pin* 四聖諦品), and the awakening of the Tathāgata in the "Awakening by Light" chapter (*Guangmingjue pin* 光明覺品). For a detailed discussion of the three esoterica see Richard D. McBride II, "The Mysteries of Body, Speech, and Mind: The Three Esoterica (*sanmi*) in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 29, no. 2 (2006) [2008]: 305–355.

the level of the ten faiths.[53] In this assembly are six chapters <four rolls>. "The Name of the Buddha" chapter[54] is seventh and "The Four Noble Truths" chapter is eighth. <These two chapters together comprise one roll, roll twelve.> "The Awakening by Brightness" chapter is ninth and the "A Bodhisattva Asks for Clarification" chapter is tenth. <These two chapters together comprise one roll, roll thirteen.> The "Pure Practices" chapter is eleventh and "The Chief of Worthiness" chapter is twelfth <These two chapters together comprise two rolls, rolls fourteen and fifteen>. Among these six chapters, the first three chapters clarify the three karmic acts of the Buddha. <Body, speech, and mind, in like order, are given attention.>[55] The latter three chapters analyze the methods of practice of the ten faiths. <Understanding, practice, and virtue, in like order, are given attention. Furthermore, he interprets first practices, next vows, and finally virtues.>[56]

第二會, 佛在普光明殿, 與海會菩薩衆俱, 文殊師利, 承佛神力, 說如來三業, 及信位法門. 於中六品<四卷>. 佛名號品第七, 四聖諦品第八<已上二品共一卷, 第十二>. 光明覺品第九, 菩薩問明品第十<已上二品共一卷, 第十三>. 淨行品第十一, 賢首品第十二<已上二品共二卷, 第十四第十五>. 此六品中, 初三品, 明佛三業<身語意, 如次准之.>, 後三品, 辨信行法 <解行德, 如次准之. 又釋初行次願後德.>.

---

53 In the fifty-two-stage scheme promoted by adherents to the Hwaŏm/Huayan tradition, the ten faiths (*sipsin*, Ch. *shixin* 十信) are the first ten stages a bodhisattva completes of the path toward complete and total enlightenment. Although the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* describes only forty-one stages of bodhisattva practice, they are generally taken to be the initial stages of the fifty-two-stage system; the dharma approaches of this part are explained as the ten faiths. In this case "faith" refers to extreme confidence and faith in the teachings of the Buddha.

54 "The Name of the Buddha" chapter (*Fo minghao pin* 佛名號品) in the source text is called "The Name of the Tathāgata" (*Rulai minghao pin* 如來名號品) in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls.

55 Cf. *Huayan tanxuan ji* 4, T 1733.35.167a20–22.

56 Cf. *Huayan tanxuan ji* 4, T 1733.35.175b21–22, 184c20; Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 30 n. 49, 50, 51.

In the third assembly, the Buddha was in the palace of Trāyastriṃśa Heaven,[57] above the Hall of Sublime Victory, with the throng of bodhisattvas of the ocean-like assembly; and the Bodhisattva Dharma Wisdom[58] received the Buddha's miraculous power and entered the samādhi on the limitless expedient means of the bodhisattvas and preached on the dharma approaches to the ten abodes and so forth.[59] In this assembly there are altogether six chapters. The "Ascending the Peak of Sumeru" chapter[60] is thirteenth, the "Gāthā-Eulogies on the Peak of Mt. Sumeru" chapter is fourteenth, and "The Ten Abodes" chapter is fifteenth. <These three chapters together comprise one roll, roll sixteen.> "The Practices of Purity" chapter is sixteenth and "The

---

57 Trāyastriṃśa Heaven (*torich'ŏn,* Ch. *daolitian* 忉利天), or the heaven of the thirty-three gods (*samsipsam ch'ŏn*, Ch. *sanshisan tian* 三十三天) is on the summit of Mt. Sumeru. The roles of the gods who reside there are somewhat mysterious, except for the role of Śakra (Indra). The summit of the cosmic mountain is an area 80,000 *yojanas* square, with a peak in each corner 500 *yojanas* high, where *vajrapanī* and *yakṣas* live. In the middle of the heaven is a city called Lovely View (Sudarśana), 2,500 *yojanas* square and 1.5 *yojanas* in height. The buildings of the city are made of gold, and its ground is a cotton-like substance called *tūlapicu.* A palace called Palace of Victory (Vaijayanta) sits in the center of the city. It is a spectacular edifice adorned with various kinds of jewels, and is where the god Indra (Śakrodevānindrāḥ) reigns. There are four parks in the four directions of the city, and on the four sides of each of these gardens are pleasure areas, each twenty *yojanas* distant from its garden. See, for instance, *Chang ahan jing* (*Dīrghāgama*) 20, T 1.1.131a4–18; in English see Akira Sadakata, *Buddhist Cosmology*: *Philosophy and Origins* (Tokyo: Kōsei, 1997), 56–57.

58 The Bodhisattva Dharma Wisdom (Pŏphye posal, Ch. Fahui pusa 法慧菩薩) is one of ten bodhisattvas mentioned in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* whose names in Chinese translation end with the logograph for "wisdom" (*hye* 慧). Among these, Dharma Wisdom is the bodhisattva in the first position. These ten bodhisattvas reside and remain in positions in each of the ten directions preaching the Dharma and complete the ten abodes (*sipchu*, Ch. *shizhu* 十住). The Bodhisattva Dharma Wisdom is responsible for the eastern direction.

59 The ten abodes (*sipchu*, Ch. *shizhu* 十住) are stages eleven to twenty in the fifty-two-stage path of practice bodhisattvas follow to become buddhas. The concept of an "abode" (*chu* 住) suggests that one's mind resides peacefully in the principle or concept of emptiness (*kong* 空; Skt. *śūnyatā*).

60 The "Ascending the Peak of Sumeru" chapter (*Sheng Xiumi ding pin* 昇須彌頂品) in the source text is called the "Ascending the Peak of Mt. Sumeru" (*Sheng Xiumishan ding pin* 昇須彌山頂品) in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls.

Meritorious Virtue of the Initial Aspiration to Enlightenment" chapter is the seventeenth. <The above two chapters together comprise one roll, roll seventeen.> "The Clarifying the Dharma" chapter is the eighteenth <one roll, roll eighteen>. With respect to these six chapters, the first two chapters are the preface to this assembly <the garland place where the sūtra was preached and the assembled throng>. Among the latter four chapters, the first three chapters clarify one's personal station.[61] <Understanding, practice, and virtue, in that order, are given attention.>[62] The last one is the station of victorious progress, which is an expedient means leading one to attain the final destination.[63]

第三會, 佛在忉利天宮, 妙勝殿上, 與海會菩薩衆俱, 法慧菩薩, 承佛神力, 入菩薩無量方便三昧, 說十住等法門. 於中合六品. 昇須彌頂品第十三, 須彌頂上偈讚品第十四, 十住品第十五<已上三品, 共一卷, 第十六>. 梵行品第十六, 初發心功德品第十七<已上二品, 共一卷, 第十七>. 明法品第十八<一卷第十八>. 此六品, 初二品, 是當會序<嚴處集衆>. 後四品中, 初三品, 明自分<解行德, 如次准之.>, 後一是其勝進, 趣後方便也.

In the fourth assembly, the Buddha was in the Hall of Jeweled Adornments in the palace of Yāmā Heaven[64] with the throng of bodhisattvas

---

61 With respect to one's station (*chabun*, Ch. *zifen* 自分), in each and every station or stage of practice on the bodhisattva path there are personal stations and stations of victorious progress (*sŭngjinbun*, Ch. *shengjinfen* 勝進分). Personal stations refer to fruition virtues (*kwadŏk*, Ch. *guode* 果德) of that stage, and the station of victorious progress refers to the intention to continue on to higher and more lofty stages.

62 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 5, T 1733.35.195c14–16; Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 31 n. 55.

63 The station of victorious progress (*sŭngjinbun*, Ch. *shengjinfen* 勝進分) refers to the intention to continue on to a higher and more lofty stage or realm.

64 Yāmā Heaven (Yamach'ŏn, Ch. Yematian 夜摩天, also called Sibunch'ŏn, Ch. Shifentian 時分天) is the third of the six desire heavens. This heavenly palace of Yāmā (Yŏmma, Ch. Yanmo 閻魔) and his attendants is 80,000 *yojanas* above the summit of Mt. Sumeru. At 80,000 *yojanas* square, it is

of the ocean-like assembly, and the Bodhisattva Forest of Meritorious Virtues received the Buddha's miraculous power and entered the samādhi on the wholesome pensiveness of the bodhisattva <In the Jin translation it is called samādhi on the wholesome prostration of the bodhisattva.> and preached the dharma approaches to the ten practices.[65] In this assembly there are altogether four chapters <three rolls>. The "Ascending to the Palace of Yāmā Heaven" chapter is nineteenth, the "Gāthā-Eulogies in the Palace of Yāmā Heaven" chapter[66] is twentieth, and "The Ten Practices" chapter is twenty-first. <The above three chapters together comprise two rolls, rolls nineteen and twenty.> The "Ten Inexhaustible Storehouses" chapter is twenty-second <one roll, roll twenty-one>. Among these four chapters, the first two chapters are the preface <the same as in the previous assembly> and the latter two are the [section on the] right core teaching of this assembly. <The first chapter ["The Ten Practices"] is the right level and the latter chapter ["The Ten Inexhaustible Storehouses"] is the latter level that originates from the attainment of practices amassed over many lifetimes.>

第四會, 佛在夜摩天宮 寶莊嚴殿, 與海會菩薩衆俱, 功德林菩薩, 承佛神力, 入菩薩善思惟三昧<晋經, 菩薩善伏三昧>, 說十行法門. 於中合四品<三卷>. 昇夜摩天宮品第十九, 夜摩天宮中偈讚品第二十, 十行品第二十一<已上三品共二卷, 第十九, 第二十>. 十無盡藏品第二十二<一卷, 第二十一>. 此四品中, 初二品, 序<同前會>, 後二品, 是當會正宗<初一品, 正位, 後一品, 蘊行成就, 生起後位.>.

---

the same size as the summit of Mt. Sumeru. Although Yāmā originally was a heavenly deity in Indian and Buddhist cosmology, he eventually was transformed into the overlord of the Buddhist hells. See *Yuga shidi lun* 瑜伽十地論 (*Yogācārabhūmi*) 4, T 1579.30.294c23–295a2; *Apidamo jushe lun* (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) 8, T 1558.29.41a2–5.

65 The ten practices (*siphaeng*, Ch. *shixing* 十行) are stages twenty-one to thirty in the fifty-two-stage path of practice bodhisattvas follow to become buddhas. The term "practices" (*haeng* 行) refers to practices benefiting others (*it'ahaeng*, Ch. *litaxing* 利他行).

66 The "Gāthā-Eulogies in the Palace of Yāmā Heaven" chapter (*Yemotiangong zhong jiezan pin* 夜摩天宮中偈讚品) in the source text is called the "Gāthā-Eulogies in the Palace of Yāmā" chapter (*Yemogong zhong jiezan pin* 夜摩宮中偈讚品) in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls.

In the fifth assembly, the Buddha was in the Hall of All Jeweled Adornments in the Palace of Tuṣita Heaven[67] with the throng of bodhisattvas of the ocean-like assembly, and the Bodhisattva Adamantine Banner received the Buddha's miraculous power, entered the samādhi of the light of the wisdom of the bodhisattva <In the Jin translation it is called the samādhi on the wisdom of the brightness of the bodhisattva.>, and preached the dharma approaches to the ten transferences.[68] In this assembly there are together three chapters <twelve rolls>. The "Ascending to the Palace of Tuṣita Heaven" chapter is twenty-third <one roll, roll twenty-two>. The "Gāthā-Eulogies in Tuṣita Heaven" chapter is twenty-fourth and "The Ten Transferences" chapter is twenty-fifth. <These two chapters together comprise eleven rolls, from roll twenty-three to roll thirty-three.> Among these three chapters, the first two chapters are the preface <the same as above>, and the latter chapter analyzes the right core teaching of the assembly.

第五會, 佛在兜率天宮, 一切寶莊嚴殿, 與海會菩薩衆俱, 金剛幢菩薩, 承佛神力, 入菩薩智光三昧 <晋經, 菩薩明智三昧>, 說十迴向法門. 於中合三<一十二卷>. 昇兜率天宮品第二十三<一卷, 第二十二>. 兜率宮中偈讃品第二十四, 十迴向品第二十五<并前品合一十一卷, 從第二十三至三十三>. 此三品中, 初二品, 序 <同前>, 後一品, 辨其正宗.

In the sixth assembly, the Buddha was in the Hall of the Maṇi Jewel

67 Tuṣita Heaven (*tosolch'ŏn*, Ch. *doushuaitian* 兜率天) is translated as "Satisfied" (*chijokch'ŏn*, Ch. *zhizutian* 知足天) and "Pleasure" (*hŭirakch'ŏn*, Ch. *xiletian* 喜樂天). It is the fourth of six heavens in the desire realm and located between Yāmā's Heaven and the heaven of Nirmāṇa-rati, the realm of deities who create their own enjoyment. Maitreya preaches the Dharma continually while he dwells in this heaven for a span of 4,000 years (which equates to about fifty-seven *koṭis* (*ŏk* 億) six *ch'ŏnman* years. After this time has passed Maitreya will be reborn on the earth, achieve Buddhahood under the *nāgapuṣpa* tree, and preach the Buddhadharma in three grand assemblies.

68 The ten transferences (*siphoehyang*, Ch. *shihuixiang* 十迴向) are stages thirty-one to forty in the fifty-two-stage path of practices bodhisattvas follow to become buddhas. The concept of transference (*hoehyang* 迴向; Skt. *pariṇāmanā*) refers to the transferring to all living beings all of the meritorious virtue accumulated from practices benefiting oneself (*chari* 自利) and benefiting others (*it'a* 利他).

Storehouse in the Palace of the Heaven of the Self-Existence of Others' Transformations[69] with the bodhisattvas of the ocean-like assembly, and the Bodhisattva Adamantine Storehouse received the Buddha's miraculous power, entered the samādhi on the brightness of great wisdom <in the Jin translation it is called the samādhi on the brightness of the great vehicle of the bodhisattva> and preached the dharma approaches to the ten stages.[70] This one chapter comprises six rolls. "The Ten Stages" chapter is twenty-sixth <six rolls, rolls thirty-four to thirty-nine>.

> 第六會, 佛在他化自在天宮, 摩尼寶藏殿, 與海會菩薩俱, 金剛藏菩薩, 承佛神力, 入大智慧光明三昧<晋論經, 菩薩大乘光明三昧>, 說十地法門. 一品六卷. 十地品第二十六<六卷, 從第三十四至第三十九>.

In the seventh assembly, the Buddha was once again in the Hall of Universal Light and Brilliance with the bodhisattvas of the ocean-like assembly, and the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra received the Buddha's miraculous power, entered the samādhi of all the buddhas of the limits of *kṣaṇa* [one moment], and preached the dharma approaches to the causes and

---

69 The Heaven of the Self-Existence of Others' Transformations (*t'ahwa chajaech'ŏn*, Ch. *tahua zizaitian* 他化自在天; Skt. *Para-nirmita-vaśa-vartino*) is the sixth of the six heavens of the desire realm (*yokkye*, Ch. *yujie* 欲界).

70 The ten stages (*sipchi,* Ch. *shidi* 十地; Skt. *daśabhūmi*), stages forty-one to fifty on the fifty-two-stage bodhisattva path of practice, are (1) the joyous stage (*hwanhŭi chi,* Ch. *huanxi di* 歡喜地; Skt. *pramuditā-bhūmi*), (2) the immaculate stage (*igu chi*, Ch. *ligou di* 離垢地; Skt. *vimalā-bhūmi*), (3) the light-giving stage (*yŏm chi*, Ch. *yandi* 焰地, *palgwang chi,* Ch. *faguang di* 發光地; Skt. *prabhākari-bhūmi*), (4) the brilliant stage (*myŏng chi,* Ch. *ming di* 明地 or *chohye chi,* Ch. *zhaohui di* 炤慧地; Skt. *arciṣmatī-bhūmi*), (5) the stage that is very difficult to conquer (*nansŭng chi*, Ch. *nansheng di* 難勝地; Skt. *sudurjayā-bhūmi*), (6) the stage that is face-to-face (*hyŏnjŏn chi*, Ch. *xianqian di* 現前地; Skt. *abhimukhī-bhūmi*), (7) the far-reaching stage (*wŏnhaeng chi*, Ch. *yuanxing di* 遠行地; Skt. *dūraṁgamā-bhūmi*), (8) the immovable stage (*pudong chi*, Ch. *budong di* 不動地; Skt. *acalā-bhūmi*), (9) the stage of wholesome wisdom (unerringly effective intentions) (*sŏnhye chi*, Ch. *shanhui di* 善慧地; Skt. *sādhumatī-bhūmi*), and (10) the stage of the cloud of dharma (*pŏbun chi*, Ch. *fayun di* 法雲地; Skt. *dharmameghā-bhūmi*).

results of cultivating rebirth (*susaeng* 修生) and original possession,[71] such as the ten absorptions.[72] In this assembly there are altogether eleven chapters

---

71 Original possession (*ponyu*, Ch. *benyou* 本有) refers to something's inherent nature virtue (*sŏngdŏk*, Ch. *xingde* 性德). This is the opposite of such concepts as "completed by cultivation" (*susŏng*, Ch. *xiucheng* 修成) and "produced by cultivation" (*susaeng*, Ch. *xiusheng* 修生). In addition, these two are referred to together as "produced by cultivation due to original possession" (*ponyu susaeng*, Ch. *benyou xiusheng* 本有修生). Thus, regardless of sentience and non-sentience, somethings'original nature is completely full of a fullness of virtue (*mandŏk*, Ch. *wande* 萬德); because being called a "saint" one does not increase and being called an "ordinary person" one does not decrease, it is called "original possession." Zhiyan says that the conditioned arising of the dharma realm is illuminated from the two sides of the defiled dharmas of ordinary people and the domain of purity of bodhi. Among these, from the standpoint of the domain of purity, original possession, produced by cultivation, and so forth, are explained. See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing souxuan fenqi tongzhi fanggui* (*Souxuan ji*) 3, T 1732.35.62c25–63a29; K 47.45a13–b13. Fazang also says: "The meritorious virtues of all the buddhas do not exceed these two kinds of powers, 'original possession' and 'produced by cultivation.' If one contrasts these two with each other, there are four kinds. First, produced by cultivation only is because although the wholesome roots of such things as faith originally did not exist, they exist now. Second, original possession only is because true thusness possesses as many natures and virtues as the numbers of the sands of the Ganges River. Third, original possession and produced by cultivation is because although the tathāgatagarbha was originally hidden, because of waiting for completed causes (*yoin*, Ch. *liaoyin* 了因), they manifest now. Fourth, produced by cultivation and original possession is because undifferentiated special knowledge and so forth on the inside are combined with true thusness and become one darkly obscured form." See *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 15, T 1733.35.392a15–20.

72 The ten absorptions (*sipchŏng*, Ch. *shiding* 十定) refer to ten kinds of samādhi described in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. These ten types of samādhi are (1) the great samādhi of universal light (*pogwang tae sammae*, Ch. *puguang da sanmei* 普光大三昧), (2) the great samādhi of sublime light (*myogwang tae sammae*, Ch. *miaoguang da sanmei* 妙光大三昧), (3) the great samādhi of the spiritual penetrations [acquired while] systematically travelling about all the buddhalands (*ch'aje p'yŏnwang che pulgukt'o sint'ong tae sammae,* Ch. *chadi pianwang zhu foguotu shentong da sanmei* 次第遍往諸佛國土神通大三昧), (4) the great samādhi on the deep-minded practices of purity (*ch'ŏngjŏng simsim haeng tae sammae,* Ch. *qingjing shenxin xing da sanmei* 清淨深心行大三昧), (5) the great samādhi on storehouse of ornaments [deriving from] knowing the past (*chi kwagŏ changŏmjang tae sammae,* Ch. *zhi guoqu zhuangyanzang da sanmei* 知過去莊嚴藏大三昧), (6) the great samādhi on the storehouse of the brilliance of knowledge (*chigwangmyŏng chang tae sammae*, Ch. *zhiguangming zhuang da sanmei* 智光明藏大三昧), (7) the great samādhi on fully knowing the ornaments of the buddhas of all the world systems (*yoji ilch'ŏl segye pul changŏm tae sammae*, Ch. *liaozhi yiqie shijie fo zhuangyan da*

<thirteen rolls>. "The Ten Absorptions" chapter is twenty-seventh <four rolls, from rolls forty to forty-three; the Jin translation lacks this chapter>. "The Ten Penetrations" chapter is twenty-eighth. <In the Jin translation it is called "The Ten Clarities" chapter.> "The Ten Acquiescences" chapters is the twenty-ninth. <These two chapters together comprise one roll, roll forty-four.> The "*Asaṁkhya* [Numberless]" chapter is thirtieth, and the "Lifespan" chapter is thirty-first. <In the Jin translation it is called the "Longevity" chapter.> "The Abiding Places of the Bodhisattvas" chapter[73] is thirty-second. <These three chapters together comprise one roll, roll forty-five.> The "Inconceivable Dharmas of the Buddhas" chapter is thirty-third <two rolls, rolls forty-six and forty-seven>. "The Ocean-like Characteristics of the Ten Bodies of the Tathāgata" chapter is thirty-fourth, and "The Meritorious Virtues of the Brightness of the Tathāgata's Secondary Characteristics" chapter is thirty-fifth. <In the Jin translation it is called "The Meritorious Virtues of the Brightness of the Buddha's Lesser Characteristics" chapter.[74] These two chapters together are one roll, roll forty-eight.> These nine chapters clarify the causes and results of distinctions[75] and these are also called "the causes and results for cultivating rebirth" (*susaeng in'gwa* 修生因果).

---

sanmei 了知一切世界佛莊嚴大三昧), (8) the great samādhi on the bodies of distinctions of living beings (*chungsaeng ch'abyŏlsin tae sammae,* Ch. *zhongsheng chabieshen da sanmei* 眾生差別身大三昧), (9) the great samādhi on the self-existence of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye chajae tae sammae,* Ch. *fajie zizai da sanmei* 法界自在大三昧), (10) the great samādhi on the wheel of non-hindrance (*muaeryun tae sammae,* Ch. *wuailun da sanmei* 無礙輪大三昧). See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 40, T 279.10.212c5–15.

73 "The Abiding Places of the Bodhisattvas" chapter (*Pusa zhuchu pin* 菩薩住處品) in the source text is called "The Abiding Places of All Bodhisattvas" chapter (*Zhu pusa zhuchu pin* 諸菩薩住處品) in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls.

74 "The Meritorious Virtues of the Brightness of the [Buddha's] Lesser Characteristics" (*Xiaoxiang guangming gongde pin* 小相光明功德品) in the source text is called "The Meritorious Virtues of the Brightness of the Buddha's Lesser Characteristics" (*Fo xiaoxiang guangming gongde pin* 佛小相光明功德品) in the sixty-roll edition of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra.*

75 The causes and results of distinctions (*ch'abyŏl in'gwa*, Ch. *chabie yinguo* 差別因果) refers to the causes and results produced in accordance with one's practices.

"The Practices of Samantabhadra" chapter is thirty-sixth <one roll, roll forty-nine>. The "Manifestation of the Tathāgata" chapter is thirty-seventh <In the Jin translation it is called "The Origination of the Nature of the Tathāgata Jewel King" chapter; three rolls, rolls fifty to fifty-two.> These two chapters clarify the causes and results of universality;[76] this is also called the causes and results of that which one originally possesses <and so on and so forth>.

第七會, 佛重會在普光明殿, 與海會菩薩俱, 普賢菩薩, 承佛神力, 入刹那際諸佛三昧, 說十定等修生本有因果法門. 於中合一十一品<一十三卷>. 十定品第二十七<四卷, 從第四十至第四十三, 晋經, 欠此品也>. 十通品第二十八<晋經, 十明品>, 十忍品第二十九<已上二品共一卷, 第四十四>. 阿僧祇品第三十, 壽量品第三十一<晋經, 壽命品>, 菩薩住處品第三十二<已上三品共一卷, 第四十五>. 佛不思議法品第三十三<二卷, 第四十六第四十七>, 如來十身相海品第三十四, 隨好光明功德品第三十五<晉經, 小相光明功德品. 已上二品共一卷, 第四十八>. 此九品, 明差別因果, 亦是修生因果<云云>. 普賢行品第三十六<一卷, 第四十九>, 如來出現品第三十七<晉經, 寶王如來性起品, 三卷, 從第五十至第五十二>. 此二品, 明平等因果, 亦名本有因果<云云>.

In the eighth assembly, [the Buddha was also] in the Hall of Universal Light and Brilliance with the throng of bodhisattvas of the ocean-like assembly, and the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra received the Buddha's miraculous power, entered the samādhi on the Buddha's adornments and flower garland. <The Jin translation removes the word "adornments."> The Bodhisattva Universal Wisdom asks two hundred sentences of questions, the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra provides two thousand sentences of responses and preaches the dharma approaches to the practical virtues of the six levels. In this assembly there is one chapter <seven rolls>, which is the "Detachment from the World" chapter and is the thirty-eighth <seven rolls, from rolls fifty-three to fifty-nine>.

---

76 The causes and results of universality (*p'yŏngdŭng in'gwa*, Ch. *pingdeng yinguo* 平等因果) refer to causes and results possessed inherently or by nature by all living beings.

第八會, 普光明殿, 與海會菩薩衆俱, 普賢菩薩, 承佛神力, 入佛華莊嚴三昧<晋經, 脫莊字也.>, 普慧菩薩二百句問, 普賢菩薩二千句答, 說六位行德法門. 於中一品<七卷>, 謂離世間品第三十八<七卷, 從第五十三至第五十九>.

In the ninth assembly, the Buddha was in the Multi-storied Tower of Great Adornments and Garlands in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada[77] in Jeta Grove in the country of Śrāvastī[78] with the throng of bodhisattvas of the ocean-like assembly and the Buddha himself entered the samādhi on the repetitive explication of the lion <in the Jin translation it says that it occurred in the Jeta Grove in Śrāvastī and up to his entering the samādhi on invigoration and swiftness of the lion>[79] and preached the dharma approach

---

[77] Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 44, T 278.9.676a6–7 (爾時佛在舍衛城祇樹給孤獨園。大莊嚴重閣講堂). The garden of Anāthapiṇḍada (Kŭpkodogwŏn, Ch. Jiguduyuan 給孤獨園, short for Kisu kŭpkodogwŏn, Ch. Qishu jiguduyuan 祇樹給孤獨園) refers to a monastery established by the elder Anāthapiṇḍada (Kŭpkodok changja, Ch. Jigudu changzi 給孤獨) in a grove on land owned by Crown Prince Jeta (Chet'a, Ch. Qituo 祇陀) of the country of Kosalā. This monastery, along with the Bamboo Grove Monastery (Chungnim chŏngsa, Ch. Zhulin jinshe 竹林精舍) in Rājagṛha (Wangsasŏng, Ch. Wangshecheng 王舍城), were the two most representative monasteries of the early period of Buddhism. According to tradition, the Buddha spent the summer rainy season retreat at this saṃghārāma more than any other location, and he is also reputed to have preached many sūtras at this monastery.

[78] Śrāvastī (Sillabŏlguk, Ch. Shiluofaguo 室羅筏國, also Sawiguk, Ch. Sheweiguo 舍衛國) was the name of a kingdom in central India. Originally it was the name of the capital city of the country of Kosalā, but then came to be used for the name of the country itself. During the lifetime of the Buddha Śākyamuni, King Prasenajit (P'asanik, Ch. Bosini 波斯匿) unified the country. It was the location of the famous monastery in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in Jeta Grove. According to tradition, the Buddha Śākyamuni spent twenty-five of his forty-five years of life after attaining enlightenment in this city, coming and going frequently. This country was the location for many of the Buddha's most important sermons on the Buddhadharma.

[79] The samādhi on invigoration and swiftness of the lion (*saja punsin sammae*, Ch. *shizi fenxun sanmei* 獅子奮迅三昧; Skt. *siṃha-vijṛmbhita-samādhi*) is also called the samādhi on the grimace of the lion (*saja pinsin sammae,* Ch. *shizi pinshen sanmei* 獅子嚬呻三昧). This expression is a metaphor alluding to the great majesty of the Buddha that is manifest by his meditative absorption, just as power and fierceness are made manifest when a lion rouses itself to action. See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 44, T 278.9.676a6–677a15, esp. 677a13–14.

on the sudden and gradual entry into the dharma realm.[80] In this assembly there is one chapter <twenty-one rolls>. The "Entry into the Dharma Realm" chapter is thirty-ninth <twenty-one rolls, from roll sixty to roll eighty>.

第九會, 佛在室羅筏國, 逝多林, 給孤獨園, 大莊嚴重閣, 與海會菩薩衆俱, 佛自入師子頻申三昧<晉經, 舍衛國祇桓林中, 乃至奮迅三昧>, 說頓漸入法界法門. 於中說一品<二十一卷>, 入法界品第三十九<二十一卷, 從第六十至第八十>.

Question: Is the place where this sūtra was preached pure or defiled?

Answer: What is lost by establishing both of these?

Question: Both are excessive. If one says that it is defiled, it will not manifest bejeweled ponds and bejeweled trees. Also, it would not be right to say "At this time the Lotus Storehouse World System made six kinds of vibrations."[81] If one says it is pure, how could the places where the nine assemblies were preached include all the humans and gods of the Sahā world?

Answer: Master Huiyuan[82] says: "With respect to the Lotus Storehouse and Sahā world systems, although from the standpoint of characteristics they may be said to be different, if one regards these characteristics and describes their original nature, they are unimpeded and perfectly interfused."[83] <Although he provides this explanation it is not perfectly clear.>

---

80 Kim Ch'ŏnhak suggests that the opinion that the Buddha preached the Dharma by himself was an opinion peculiar to P'yowŏn; see Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 35 n. 75.

81 The six kinds of vibrations (*yukchong chindong* 六種振動) refer to auspicious signs in the earth manifest by means of six kinds of earth tremors. These six kinds of vibrations are (1) moving in one direction (*tong* 動), (2) shaking and arising (*ki* 起), (3) shooting up (*t'ong* 通), (4) a great striking sound (*kyŏk* 擊), (5) a faint or indistinct rumbling (*chin* 震), and (6) a bellowing roar (*hu* 吼).

82 Huiyuan 慧苑 (673–743?) was a disciple of Xianshou Fazang. He completed his mentor Fazang's commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* that was left unfinished with his death, which is known as the *Xu huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記. Later, Huiyuan was much criticized because, according to Qingliang Chengguan, Huiyuan's views were held to be different from those of Fazang. As a result, Huiyuan was omitted from the later "orthodox" lineage of Chinese Huayan Buddhism.

83 Cf. Xu huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji 續華嚴經略疏刊定記 2, X 3.601c20–21.

Master Fazang said:

> There are four statements.[84] First are the four statements on pollution and purity. (1) It is polluted because the seven locations and nine assemblies in the country of Magadha and so forth cover the characteristics of purity. (2) It is pure because, with respect to the ocean of the Lotus Storehouse World System, the land is adamantine and so forth and the characteristics of pollution are exhausted. (3) It is both because the Sahā World System is inside the Lotus Storehouse World System, pollution and purity, are both visible and invisible and their being concealed or manifest is unimpeded. (4) It is neither because it is said that the characteristics of pollution and purity are exhausted, they share one dharma realm, the characteristics of each lose their forms, and the two characteristics are exhausted. Second are the four statements on thoroughness and limitation. (1) It is limited because it refers to one world system. (2) It is thorough because it refers to all ten directions. (3) It is both because it is both of the previous two [one world system and the world systems of the ten directions]. (4) It is neither because it refers to characteristics being exhausted and returning to the original nature. (1) Being limited means that this place subsumes all *kṣetras* [lands]. Furthermore, each and every particle of dust and so forth of this place subsumes all the borderless oceans of *kṣetras*. (2) Being thorough means that this world system penetrates all *kṣetras*. Furthermore, each and every particle of dust and so forth of this place thoroughly comprehends the particles of dust of all *kṣetras* and so forth. (3) Its being both means that subsuming and penetrating both are manifest. (4) Its being neither means that their forms are lost and both are invisible. Third are the four statements on direct and indirect. (1) The direct resides in the indirect. This means

84 The four statements (*sagu*, Ch. *siju* 四句) refer to four kinds of classifications of existence and may be analyzed as follows: existence (*yu* 有), non-existence (*mu* 無), both existence and non-existence (*yŏgyu yŏngmu* 亦有亦無), and neither existence nor non-existence (*piyu pimu* 非有非無).

that the buddha is in his seat, and so forth. Furthermore, he is a buddha precisely because of his *kṣetra*. (2) The indirect resides in the direct. This means that the *kṣetra* resides inside the buddha. Furthermore, it is a *kṣetra* precisely because of the body of the buddha. (3) It is both, and (4) it is neither.[85]

<In addition, you should pay attention to and ponder these things.>

問, 說此經處, 爲淨爲穢耶?

答, 設爾何失.

問, 二俱有過. 謂若是穢, 不現寶池寶樹, 亦不應言 '爾時華藏世界六種振動'. 若是淨者, 說九會處, 何故皆在娑婆人天?

答, 慧苑師云, "華藏娑婆, 就相說異, 以相從說性, 無礙圓融也." <雖有此說, 無分明也.> 法藏師云, "有數四句. 一染淨四句. 或染, 謂摩竭提國, 七處九會等, 覆淨相故. 或淨, 謂華藏海, 其地金剛等, 染相盡故. 或俱, 謂華藏內娑婆界, 染淨存泯, 隱顯無礙. 或俱非, 謂染淨相盡, 同一法界, 各相形奪, 二相盡故. 二通局四句. 或局, 謂此一界. 或通, 謂該於十方. 或俱, 謂要具前二. 或俱非, 謂相盡歸性. 或局, 謂此處攝一切刹, 又此處一一塵等, 皆攝一切無邊刹海. 或通, 謂此界入一切刹, 又此一一塵等, 皆通一切諸刹塵等. 或俱, 謂攝入俱現. 或俱非, 謂形奪雙泯. 三依正四句. 或正在依, 謂佛在坐等, 又佛即刹故. 或依在正, 謂刹居佛內, 又刹即佛身故. 或俱. 或非." <並准思之>

85 For similar discussions of the four statements on pollution and purity (*yŏmjŏng sagu,* Ch. *ranjing siju* 染淨四句) and the four statements on thoroughness and limitation (*t'ongguk sagu,* Ch. *tongju siju* 通局四句), see Chengguan, *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 1, T 1735.35.505b13–20; the four statements on direct and indirect (*ŭijŏng sagu*, Ch. *yizheng siju* 依正四句) are the same as *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 1, T 1735.35.504b13–15. However, since P'yowŏn was active before and after the 740s, it is practically impossible that P'yowŏn would have had access to Chengguan's *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* when he composed this exegesis. Therefore, the contents of the passages on the four statements cited in this exegesis may have been originally drawn from Fazang's *Huayan jing tanxuan ji*, but no supporting passages can be found. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 37 n. 84. A more likely possibility is that P'yowŏn's work was edited in the process of the publication of Ŭich'ŏn's 義天 (1055–1101) *Canon of the Doctrinal Teachings* (*Kyojang* 教藏) in the late eleventh century and clearer passages from Chengguan's work replaced P'yowŏn's original language.

Question: If it is like what has been explained above,[86] then the seven locations and nine assemblies are all intermixed and chaotic. For example, when the ten abodes are preached in Trāyastriṃśa Heaven, it had already permeated empty space and made the circuit even to foolish mortals.[87] However, it is not known whether the abodes were also preached in such places as Yāmā Heaven or not.

Answer: What is lost by establishing these?

Question: Both are excessive. If it was not preached in that place, then the place it was preached would not be permeated. If it was also preached in that place, why, in the sūtra, does it say "The dharma of the ten abodes was preached in Trāyastriṃśa Heaven and the ten practices, and so forth, were preached in such places as Yāmā Heaven?"[88]

Answer: Here, the location of Trāyastriṃśa Heaven where the ten abodes was preached already permeates all the dusty paths[89] in the ten directions. Therefore, in such locations as Yāmā Heaven all of Trāyastriṃśa Heaven is there. More precisely, just like this, in the location of Trāyastriṃśa Heaven, which is permeated with Yāmā Heaven and so forth, by means of preaching the dharma of the ten abodes, therefore, Trāyastriṃśa Heaven invariably is

---

86 Cf. *Huayan jing zhigui* 華嚴經旨歸, T 1871.45.590a13–b11. Since the passage is lifted verbatim from Fazang's work, "If it is like what has been explained above" does not refer to the four statements of the source text. Rather, we must look to the *Huayan jing zhigui* for the referent. More precisely, after the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* explains that the Buddhadharma was preached at all places simultaneously, he says "If it is like what has been explained above, the seven locations and nine assemblies are all completely mixed up together with each other." See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 40 n. 93.

87 Foolish mortals (*modo*, Ch. *maodao* 毛道, short for *modo pŏmbu*, Ch. *maodao fanfu* 毛道凡夫; Skt. *bāla-pṛthag-jana*).

88 Among the seven locations and nine assemblies of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra,* in the third assembly the dharma of the ten abodes was preached in the palace of Trāyastriṃśa Heaven, and in the fourth assembly the dharma on the ten practices was preached in the palace of Yāmā's Heaven. This is what this passage is referring to.

89 Dusty paths (*chindo*, Ch. *zhendao* 塵道) are the same as defiled lands (*yet'o*, Ch. *huitu* 穢土) and refer to world systems that are filled to the brim with defilements.

universally permeated. However, it is not Yāmā Heaven. Locations such as Yāmā Heaven where such things as the ten practices were preached are all permeated with such locations as Trāyastriṃśa Heaven. However, they are not Trāyastriṃśa Heaven. You should also know this. If one summarizes such things as the ten abodes and the ten practices from the standpoint of all levels being mutually subsuming, then there is no difference between this and that, and each reciprocally exists in the dharma realm. If one summarizes from the standpoint of all levels being mutually supportive, then there are differences between this and that, and together they permeate the dharma realm. Each and every one of the remaining chapters and locations are all just like this.

問, 若如上說, 則七處九會, 皆悉雜亂. 如忉利天說十住時, 旣遍虛空, 周側毛道. 未知夜摩等處亦說住不.
答, 設爾何失.
問, 二俱有過. 謂若彼不說, 則說處不遍, 若彼亦說, 何故, 經中唯云, "忉利說十住法, 夜摩等處說十行" 等?
答, 此說十住, 忉利天處, 旣遍十方一切塵道. 是故夜摩等處, 皆有忉利. 即於如是遍夜摩等忉利天處, 說十住法, 是故忉利無不普遍, 仍非夜摩. 夜摩等處說十行等, 皆亦遍於忉利等處, 仍非忉利. 當知亦爾. 若約十住與十行等, 全位相攝, 則彼此互無, 各遍法界, 若約諸位相資, 則此彼互有, 同遍法界. 餘一一品一一處, 皆亦如是.

Question: Are the locations where other buddhas preach and where Vairocana preaches mutually visible or not?

Answer: What is lost by establishing these?

Question: Both are excessive. If they are mutually visible, then it would deviate from their being mutually permeating; and if they are not mutually visible the relationship between host and guest[90] would not be established.

90 Host and guest (*chuban*, Ch. *zhuban* 主伴) refers to a main constituent and its dependencies, or a core and its subordinates. In Hwaŏm learning, when one speaks of the conditioned arising of the dharma realm, if "this" is the host then "that" is the guest. If "that" is the host then "this" is the

Answer: With respect to their reciprocally being both host and guest, it may be thoroughly comprehended in four statements: host and guest are not mutually visible; and guest and guest are also so. Each permeates the dharma realm, and because this and that reciprocally do not exist they are not mutually visible. The host in his relationship with the guest is certainly mutually visible, and the guest in relation to the host is also so. Both together permeate the dharma realm, and because this and that reciprocally exist they are invariably visible. For example, if we take Vairocana as the host and the location of his realizing enlightenment as the guest, there being no host there is also no guest. Hence, Vairocana and the location of his realizing enlightenment permeate the dharma realm, at the same time. If we grant that with respect to the eastern region the place of realizing the dharma is located in the east, there is Vairocana. In addition, there is the eastern region and it is where he comes to realize enlightenment. Just like this, each and every one permeates and circulates through the dharma realm. All dusty mundane paths are unhindered and unimpeded. If you ponder it you will be able to see it.

問, 餘佛說處, 與舍那說, 爲相見不?
答, 設爾何失
問, 二俱有過. 謂若相見, 即乖相遍, 若不相見, 不成主伴.
答, 互爲主伴, 通有四句. 謂主主不相見, 伴伴亦爾, 各遍法界, 彼此互無, 故無相見. 主之與伴, 其必相見, 伴主亦爾, 共遍法界, 此彼互有, 故無不見. 如舍那爲主, 證處爲伴, 無有主而不俱伴. 故舍那與證處, 同遍法界. 設於東方, 證法東處, 彼有舍那. 還有東方而來作證. 如是一一, 遍周法界, 一切塵道, 無障無礙. 思之可見.

---

guest. Just like this, it is said that host and guest are fully endowed, and the subsuming of virtue's being inexhaustible is called being "fully endowed with host and guest" (*chuban kujok* 主伴具足). Furthermore, all things in existence's each being host and guest, sharing mutual identity and mutual interpenetration, and being completely inexhaustible is called the inexhaustibility of host and guest (*chuban mujin* 主伴無盡). This explanation refers to or is indicated by the approach in which host and guest are perfectly clear and endowed with virtue (*zhuban yuanming jude men* 主伴圓明具德門), which describes the conditioned arising of the dharma realm.

Question: What is the literary evidence by which we know that one location is precisely all locations, and so forth?

Answer: The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says, "In each and every minute particle of dust peacefully abide oceans of buddhalands. The Buddha, like a cloud, permeates and protects thoughts and completes and covers all things."[91] Furthermore, it says, "In one pore of skin there are limitless *buddhakṣetras* [buddhalands] that are adorned and garlanded with cleanliness and purity, peacefully abide far and wide, and there in all places the Buddha Vairocana preaches the True Dharma among the oceans of beings."[92] Moreover, are not all the dharma realms of the ten directions subsumed by means of the seven locations and nine assemblies?

Question: Since it was already preached in Magadha, did the living beings in that country participate in the assembly or not?

Answer: Master Huiyuan says, "What is lost by establishing both of these?"

Question: Both are excessive. If they participated why does the sūtra not say that they did? If they did not participate why should it say the Dharma was preached there?

Answer: Here there are two meanings. First is to announce the Dharma. Second is to respond to capacities. "To announce the Dharma" means that the country of Magadha is the foremost of all countries; because the first assembly is the very first of the nine assemblies it is described like this. "To respond to capacities" means that in the assembly all the bodhisattvas, except for those newly come from the ten directions, were born in that country according to their vows. This is precisely responding to capacities. Will it be necessary to list the common masses that were squarely in the throng of the converted? <And so on and so forth. The latter two approaches are just like what he explains in a different record.>[93]

---

91 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 3, T 278.9.410b27–28.

92 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 3, T 278.9.410c22–24.

93 Cf. Huiyuan, *Xu huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 2, X 3.601c22–602a3. Since P'yowŏn followed

問, 以何文證, 知乎一處即一切處等耶?
答, 經云, "一一微塵中, 佛國海安住, 佛雲遍護念, 彌綸覆一切." 又云, "一毛孔中, 無量佛刹, 莊嚴清淨, 曠然安住, 彼一切處, 盧舍那佛, 於衆海中, 演說正法." 況七處九會處而不該攝十方法界耶.
問, 旣在摩竭說, 彼國衆生, 有預會不?
答, 慧苑師云, "設爾何失."
問, 二俱有過. 若有預者, 經何不言耶, 若無預者, 何須此說耶?
答, 此有二義, 一爲表法, 二爲應機. 言表法者, 謂摩竭國, 是諸國之上首, 第一會爲九會之最初, 故此說也. 言應機者, 會中菩薩, 除十方新來, 餘皆隨願, 生於此國, 斯即應機. 何必要列凡俗方是所化之衆.<云云. 後二門如別記說.>

II. The Meaning of the Six Characteristics[94]

This section is divided into three approaches.

1. Analysis of the Name

Six is a number. The essential shapes of all dharmas are categorized as characteristics. This refers to the characteristics of the whole (*ch'ongsang* 總相) and parts (*pyŏlsang* 別相), the characteristics of unity (*tongsang* 同相) and diversity (*isang* 異相), and the characteristics of entirety (*sŏngsang* 成相) and its fractions (*koesang* 壞相). Fazang says:

With respect to the characteristic of the whole, it comprehends many

Huiyuan closely, he presumed his readers would also be familiar with Huiyuan's work; hence the "And so on and so forth" (*unun* 云云). However, because there are several instances in the *Xu huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* in which more specific information is postponed to be placed in a separate section or chapter (*pyŏrhaengjang* 別行章), the different record (*pyŏlgi* 別記) P'yowŏn mentions here is probably a separate section or chapter.

94 HPC 2.355c7–358a17.

elements.[95] With respect to the characteristic of parts, the many elements are not the one, the parts depend on the whole and complete that whole. With respect to the characteristic of unity, although many meanings are not mutually contradictory, together they complete the one whole. With respect to the characteristic of diversity, the many meanings are mutually opposing, and each and every one is different. With respect to the characteristic of entirety, the reason for this is that all meanings arise conditionally and are completed. With respect to the characteristic of its fractions, all meanings, each and every one, reside in their own peculiar properties[96] and do not transfer or move.[97]

六相義. 三門分別.
第一釋名者.
六者數名. 諸法體狀, 目之爲相. 謂總相別相, 同相異相, 成相壞相. 法藏師云, "總相者, 一含多德故, 別相者, 多德非一故, 別依止總, 滿彼總故. 同相者, 多義不相違, 同成一總故, 異相者, 多義相望, 各各異故. 成相者, 由此諸義緣起成故, 壞相者, 諸義各住自法, 不移動故."

2. Revealing the Essential Point

Dharma Master Lin[98] says:

95 Many elements, literally "many virtues or powers" (*tadŏk*, Ch. *duode* 多德), means many constituent elements. Here, the logograph "virtues" (*tŏk* 德) is used in the sense of all manner of elements, essential factors, and so forth that comprise existence.

96 Own peculiar property (*chabŏp*, Ch. *zifa* 自法; Skt. *svadharma*) refers to something's own form of existence, its own rights, own duty, own peculiar property, and own peculiarity.

97 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 4, T 1866.45.507c6–10.

98 The identity of Dharma Master Lin 廩法師 is uncertain, although the most influential theory is that it is Anlin 安廩 (507–583). Anlin lectured on the *Sifenlü* 四分律 [Four-part vinaya] and the sūtras and treatises of the Mahāyāna for twelve years in the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534), and he lectured on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* during the reign of Liang Wudi 梁武帝 (502–548). For his biography see *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 7, T 2060, 50.480b3-c1.

If viewed from the standpoint of thorough comprehension, then the conditioned arising of the dharma realm[99] is the essential point; but if viewed from the standpoint of distinctions, the characteristic of the whole regards the Middle Way[100] as the essential point. The characteristic of the parts regards the two truths[101] as the essential point. The characteristic of unity regards thusness[102] as the essential point. The characteristic

99 The conditioned arising of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye yŏn'gi*, Ch. *fajie yuanqi* 法界緣起) is also called the conditioned arising of the inexhaustibility of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye mujin yŏn'gi*, Ch. *fajie wujin yuanqi* 法界無盡緣起), the conditioned arising of the inexhaustible (*mujin yŏn'gi*, Ch. *wujin yuanqi* 無盡緣起), the conditioned arising of the ten mysteries (*siphyŏn yŏn'gi*, Ch. *shixian yuanqi* 十玄緣起), and the conditioned arising of the one vehicle (*ilsŭng yŏn'gi,* Ch. *yisheng yuanqi* 一乘緣起). In the Hwaŏm theory of conditioned arising, all things in the universe are bound to each other by means of cause and relationships, and thus one is precisely all and all are precisely one.

100 The Middle Way (*chungdo*, Ch. *zhongdao* 中道) refers to departing from the intellectual path of binary pairs of polar opposites such as impermanence (*tan* 斷) and permanence (*sang* 常) and existence (*yu* 有) and non-existence (*mu* 無).

101 The two truths (*ije*, Ch. *erti* 二諦) are absolute truth (*chinje*, Ch. *zhenti* 眞諦; Skt. *paramārtha-satya*) and conventional or worldly truth (*sokche*, Ch. *suti* 俗諦; Skt. *saṃvṛti-satya*), where truth (*che* 諦) means the facts of reality, unchanging truth, and the teachings of truth as seen by the Holy One, the Buddha. Absolute truth is also called the truth of the victorious meaning (*sŭngŭije*, Ch. *shengyi ti* 勝義諦), the truth of the first meaning (*cheirŭi che*, Ch. *diyiyi ti* 第一義諦). The four noble truths (*sasŏngje*, Ch. *sishengti* 四聖諦)—suffering, attachments, the destruction of attachments (nirvāṇa), and the Path (mārga)—are called the four truths (*saje*, Ch. *siti* 四諦). Because these teachings are true and indivisible, they are called absolute truths. Conventional truth is also called the truth of worldly conventions (*sesokche*, Ch. *shisuti* 世俗諦) and worldy truth (*seje*, Ch. *shiti* 世諦). This refers to conventional truths of the world such as life and death according to the laws of the mundane world. More precisely it refers to worldly truths and principles of worldly possessions and dominions (*sokchi* 俗地).

102 Thusness (*yŏyŏ*, Ch. *ruru* 如如; Skt. *tathatā*) refers to the original or inherent condition prior to the transformations of life and death. It is the universal, unchanging, original essence of all things in the universe. Thusness is also called true thusness or suchness (*chinyŏ* 眞如), reality as it is (*yŏsil* 如實), the dharmadhātu or dharma realm (*pŏpkye* 法界), the Dharma nature (*pŏpsŏng* 法性), the true limits of reality (*silche* 實際), the mark of reality (*silsang* 實相), the Tathāgatagarbha or embryo of Buddhahood (*yŏraejang* 如來藏), the dharmakāya or dharma body (*pŏpsin* 法身), the body of the purity of self-nature (*chasŏng ch'ŏngjŏngsin* 自性清淨身), the one mind (*ilsim* 一心), the realm of the inconceivable (*pusaŭi kye* 不思議界), and so forth.

of diversity regards the myriad dharmas as the essential point. The characteristic of entirety regards the conditioned conglomeration[103] as the essential point. The characteristic of its fractions regards the conditioned arising[104] as the essential point.

第二出體者.
懍法師云, "通則法界緣起爲體, 別則總相以中道爲體, 別相以二諦爲體, 同相以如如爲體, 異相以萬法爲體, 成相以緣集爲體, 壞相以緣起爲體."

3. Differentiation by Means of Questions and Answers

Question: By what intent are the six characteristics distinguished?

Answer: Master Fazang says: "One breaks views of fixed attachment[105] in order to manifest the dharma of perfect interfusion of conditioned arising.[106] This kind of principle appears previously: with respect to all delusion and hindrances, if one is severed all are severed; with respect to the virtues of practice, if one practice is accomplished all are accomplished."[107] From the beginning to the end all are uniform, and causes and effects are at the same time. <A more detailed explanation is just like what is preached in the sūtra.>

第三問答分別.
問, 以何意故, 辨六相耶?

---

103 A conditioned conglomeration (*yŏnjip*, Ch. *yuanji* 緣集) refers to the establishment of a new form of existence from the gathering together of several factors, causes, or conditions.

104 Conditioned arising (*yŏn'gi,* Ch. *yuanqi* 緣起) refers to the transformation of existence from the arising of new factors, causes, or conditions.

105 Views of fixed attachment (*chŏngjip kyŏn*, Ch. *dingzhi jian* 定執見) refer to opinions or views that are firm and tenacious.

106 The perfect interfusion of conditioned arising (*yŏn'gi wŏnyung*, Ch. *yuanqi yuanrong* 緣起圓融) refers to the perfect interfusion of phenomena that have arisen according to causes and conditions.

107 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.282a20–23.

答, 法藏師云,"破定執見, 以顯緣起圓融之法. 此理現前, 一切惑障, 一斷一切斷, 行德, 一成一切成." 始終皆齊, 因果同時等.<廣說如經>

Question: What is the difference between the six characteristics and such things as the four statements and eight negations?[108]

Answer: The four statements, such as not self-produced and not produced by others,[109] and the four statements, such as neither existent nor non-existent,[110] in addition to such things as the eight negations and ten negations,[111] such as non-produced, all assemble phenomena and interpenetrate principle in order to accommodate one quiescence. Now these six characteristics interpenetrate principle and are perfectly interfused.[112] Those phenomena are made to mutually identify and mutually interpenetrate and accomplish the dharma of Samantabhadra.[113] There are some differences in this point.

---

108 The eight negations (*p'albul,* Ch. *babu* 八不) stem from the statement "Reality is not characterized by coming into being (*pulsaeng* 不生), passing away (*pulmyŏl* 不滅), termination (*pulsang* 不常), non-termination (*pultan* 不斷), unity (*puri* 不二), difference (*puril* 不一), movement into the future (*pulgŏ* 不去), or movement away from the past (*pullae* 不來)."

109 The full four statements are not self-produced (*pul chasaeng* 不自生), not produced by others *(pul t'asaeng* 不他生), not produced together (*pul kongsaeng* 不共生), and not produced without cause (*pul muin saeng* 不無因生). See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 79 n. 281.

110 The four statements are not existent (*puryu* 不有), not non-existent (*pulmu* 不無), neither existent nor non-existent (*puryŏgyu puryŏngmu* 不亦有不亦無), and both absolutely existent and non-existent (*pulpiyu pulpimu* 不非有不非無).

111 The ten negations (*sippul*, Ch. *shibu* 十不) refers to the eight negations along with two more negations. The *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 lists twelve negations (*sibibul,* Ch. *shierbu* 十二不), the eight negations along with not receiving (*pulsu* 不受), not moving (*pultong* 不動), not manifest (*pulch'ak* 不著), and not dependent (*purŭi* 不依). See *Dazhidu lun* 34, T 1509.25.313a11–12.

112 Perfect interfusion (*sangip*, Ch. *xiangru* 相入) refers to the conceptual interfusion of things that, although different phenomologically, are the same intrinsically.

113 The dharma of Samantabhadra (*Pohyŏn pŏp,* Ch. *Puxian fa* 普賢法) is associated with the extreme compassion and mercy of the Buddha because Samantabhadra is a bodhisattva representative of bodhisattva practices leading toward Buddhahood. Therefore, the dharma of Samantabhadra can be the extreme compassion of the Buddha. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* mentions that cultivating bodhisattva

問, 其四句八不等, 有何差別耶?

答, 不自生不他生等四句, 及不有不無等四句, 并不生等八不十不等, 皆悉會事入理, 以順一寂. 今此入理圓融, 彼事使相即相入, 成普賢法. 有斯左右耳.

Question: Why is it that there are six only and neither more nor less?

Answer: Generally speaking, all dharmas that arise conditionally need to have three approaches: First, the end relies on the foundation and there is arising and non-arising. <The *Treatise* says: " 'The characteristic of parts depends on the foundation' clarifies relying on the whole to explain the parts. 'Filling that foundation' [being a characteristic of parts] instead completes the whole."[114]> Second, the end which arises from that already carries the foundation. For this reason, they are mutually opposing and [between the two] there are similarities and differences. Third, the end that carries the foundation already becomes the foundation. For this reason, the essence is either preserved or collapses. If not endowed with all three of these, it will not complete conditioned arising. Because there are two each of the three there are only six.

問, 何故唯六不多不小耶?

答, 汎諸緣起法, 要有三門. 一末依於本, 有起不起.<謂論云, "別依本者, 明依總開別, 滿彼本者, 還能成總也."> 二彼所起末, 旣帶於本, 是故相望, 有同有異. 三彼帶本之末, 旣爲本收, 是故當體, 有存有壞. 若不具此三, 不成緣起. 三中各二故, 但唯六.

Question: The dharma of conditioned arising thoroughly comprehends

practices is the dharma approach of Samatabhadra (*Puxian famen* 普賢法門), see *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 54, T 278.9.742b20; and roll 56, T 278.9.760b28–c1.

114 Cf. *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論 1, T 1522.26.125a2–4; and *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 9, T 1733.35.282b16–17. The *Shidi jing lun* says: "The characteristic of the whole interpenetrates the foundation of the one, the characteristic of the parts interpenetrates into the remaining nine. The characteristic of the parts relies on the foundation because it fulfills that foundation." The interpretation given by Fazang in the *Tanxuan ji* is like the original text here.

all places. It is difficult to fathom its significance. I hope to clearly describe its characteristics.

Answer: Master Fazang presently, moreover, summarized the metaphor of a completing a house by accommodating conditions.[115]

Question: What is the characteristic of the whole?

Answer: The house.

Question: Because this house is only something brought about by all conditions, such as the roof beam, what is the house?

Answer: The roof beam, precisely, is the house. This is because one can only build a house if there is a roof beam; if there is no beam, a house cannot be built. When one acquires a roof beam, one acquires a house.

Question: If one completely and solely builds a house with a roof beam, is he able to build a house without such things as roof tiles?

Answer: When one does not yet have such things as roof tiles, because it is not a roof beam it cannot be built. It does not mean that since it is a roof beam he will not be able to build it. Now, saying that one is able to build it one only evaluates that the roof beam is able to build it; it does not explain that not being a roof beam it can be built. Why? This is because the roof beam is the causal condition. When the house is not yet built, because there are neither causes nor conditions, it is not a roof beam. If it is a roof beam, one will ultimately fully complete the house, but if it is not fully built it will not be called a roof beam.

Question: If all conditions, such as the roof beam, each exert a small amount of force to build it and it is not fully built, what fault will there be?

Answer: There are the faults of fragmentation (*tan* 斷) and permanence (*sang* 常). If it is not fully complete and only a small amount of force, all the conditions, each and every one, will be of insufficient force. By means of these weak forces one will not finish one complete house. Therefore, this is fragmentation. All conditions are, in addition, of insufficient force; and

---

115 The following answer is basically the same that described by Fazang in the *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.507c20–509a3.

although all of them do not completely become a house, attachment to there completely being a house is the existence of something without cause. Therefore, this is permanence. Furthermore, if one does not fully complete it, although it is without a single roof beam, but since it resembles a house, the house already is fully incomplete. Therefore, we know that it is not fully completed by means of small forces.

Question: How is it that there is no house when there is not one roof beam?

Answer: This kind of thing is merely a broken house; it is not a good house. Hence, we know that a good house is one that has hung one roof beam. If it has already hung one roof beam, hence we know that the roof beam, precisely, is the house.

Question: With respect to the house already precisely being the roof beam, do the remaining boards and the roof tiles and so forth correspond precisely the roof beam?

Answer: From the standpoint of the whole, they are the roof beam. Why? This is because if the roof beam is precisely removed, the other things would also be so. If there is no roof beam, precisely, the house will not be complete. Because the house is not complete, they cannot be called the boards, roof tiles, and so forth. Therefore, boards, roof tiles, and so forth are precisely the house with a roof beam. If [the boards, roof beams, and so forth] were not identifiable [with the house], the house would precisely not be complete, and boards, roof tiles, and so forth would all also not be complete. Now, because they are already complete, together, we know that they are mutually identifiable. If one roof beam is already so, the remaining roof beams follow in like order. If all dharmas of conditioned arising are not established then that is it; but if they are established, then they are mutually contained and interfused, without hindrance, self-existing, perfectly extreme and difficult to ponder, transcending sentience. The conditioned arising of the dharma nature is everywhere. Pay attention to and know this.

問, 緣起法, 一切處通, 難窮其趣, 冀確陳其相也.

答, 法藏師, 今且略就緣成舍辨.

問, 何者是總相?

答, 舍是.

問, 此但椽等諸緣, 何者是舍耶?

答, 椽即是舍. 何以故. 爲椽令獨能作舍, 若離椽, 舍即令不成故. 若得椽時, 即得舍耶.

問, 若椽全自獨作舍者, 未有瓦等, 亦應作舍?

答, 未有瓦等時, 不是椽故不作, 非謂是椽而不能作. 今言能作者, 但論椽能作, 不說非椽作. 何以故. 椽是因緣. 由未成舍時無因緣故, 非是椽也. 若是椽者, 其畢全成, 若不全作, 不名爲椽.

問, 若椽等諸緣, 各出小力作, 不全作者, 有何過失?

答, 有斷常過. 若不全成, 但小力者, 諸緣各少力. 此多箇少, 不成一全舍. 故是斷也. 諸緣並少力, 皆無有全, 執有全舍者, 無因有. 故是常也. 又若不全成者, 去却一椽時, 舍應猶成在, 舍旣全不成. 故知非小力並全成故.

問, 無一椽時, 豈非舍耶?

答, 但是破舍, 無好舍也. 故知好舍全屬一椽, 旣屬一椽. 故知椽即是舍也.

問, 旣舍即是椽者, 餘栿瓦等, 應即是椽耶?

答, 總並是椽. 何以故. 却椽即無故. 所以然者. 若無椽, 即舍不成, 舍不成故, 不名栿瓦等. 是故栿瓦等即是椽也. 若不即者, 舍即不成, 栿瓦等並皆不成. 今旣並成故, 故知相即耳. 一椽旣爾, 餘椽例然. 是故一切緣起法, 不成即已, 成則相容融, 無礙自在, 圓極難思, 出過情外. 法性緣起, 一切處. 准知.

Question: What is the second, the characteristic of parts?

Answer: All conditions, such as the roof beam, are parts with respect to the whole. If they were not parts, the meaning of the whole would not be complete. When there are no parts, there is precisely no whole. What is the meaning of this? Originally the whole is completed by means of the parts because if there are no parts the whole is not completed. For this reason, "parts," precisely, are parts because there is a whole.

Question: If the whole is precisely the parts, should it not complete the whole?

Answer: Because the whole is precisely the parts, for this reason, it is able to complete the whole. It is just like the roof beam precisely being the

house; hence it is called the characteristic of the whole. The house, precisely, is the roof beam; hence, it is called the characteristic of the parts. If it did not identify with the house, it would not be a roof beam. If it did not identify with the roof beam, it would not be a house. The characteristics of the whole and parts share mutually identity. You should be able to pay attention to and ponder this.

Question: If they share mutual identity, why is it explained as being a part?

Answer: Because they merely share mutual identity, for this reason, the parts are established. If they did not share mutual identity, the whole would be outside of the parts; hence, it would not be the whole. If the parts were outside of the whole, then they would not be parts. <If you ponder this you should be able to understand.>

Question: If they are not parts, what fault or mistake has there been?

Answer: There are the faults of fragmentation and permanence. If there are no parts of roof beams and roof tiles, the whole house will not be complete. Therefore, this is fragmentation. If there are no parts of roof beams and roof tiles and so forth, and there is a whole house, there is a house without cause; hence, this is permanence.

問, 第二別相者, 何耶?
答, 椽等諸緣, 別於總故. 若不別者, 總義不成, 由無別時, 即無總故. 此義云何? 本以別成總, 由無別故, 總不成也. 是故別者, 即以總爲別也.
問, 若總即別者, 應不成總耶?
答, 由總即別故, 是故得成總. 如椽即是舍, 故名總相, 即是椽故, 名別相. 若不即舍, 不是椽, 若不即椽, 不是舍, 總別相即. 可准思之.
問, 若相即者, 云何說別?
答, 只由相即, 是故成別. 若不相即者, 總在別外, 故非總也, 別在總外, 故非別也. <思之可解.>
問, 若不別者, 有何過失耶?
答, 有斷常過. 若無別椽瓦, 無別椽瓦故, 不成總舍. 故是斷也. 若無別椽瓦等, 而有總舍者, 無因有舍. 故是常也.

Question: What is the third, the characteristic of unity?

Answer: All conditions, such as roof beams, work in harmony and unity when making a house. Because they are not mutually contradicting all are called conditions of the house. Because they are not making something else, it is called the characteristic of unity.

Question: How is this different from the characteristic of the whole?

Answer: The characteristic of the whole only refers to the description of one house. Now, this characteristic of unity is a summary of all conditions, such as roof beams. Although their essences are different from each other, because they are of equal value from the standpoint of their power to complete the house, they are called characteristics of unity.

Question: If they are not a unity, what fault would there be?

Answer: If they are not a unity, there would be the faults of fragmentation and permanence. Why? If they are not a unity, all conditions, such as roof beams, would be mutually contradicting and would be unable to make a house, and a house would be unable to exist. Therefore, this is fragmentation. If they are mutually contradicting and unable to make a house and yet grasp at there being a house, a house would exist without cause. Therefore, this is permanence.

問, 第三同相者, 何耶?

答, 椽等諸緣, 和同作舍, 不相違故, 皆名舍緣, 非作餘物故, 名同相也.

問, 此與總相, 何別耶?

答, 總相, 唯望一舍說. 今此同相, 約椽等諸緣. 雖體各別, 成舍力義齊故, 名同相也.

問, 若不同者, 有何過耶?

答, 若不同者, 有斷常過也. 何者. 若不同者, 椽等諸緣, 互相違背, 不得作舍, 舍不得有. 故是斷也. 若相違不作舍, 而執有舍者, 無因有舍. 故是常也.

Question: What is the fourth, the characteristic of diversity?

Answer: All conditions, such as roof beams, are different from each other according to their own forms and classes.

Question: If they are diverse, should they not be a unity?

Answer: Merely because they are diverse, for this reason they are a unity. If they were not diverse, a roof beam that is twelve feet would be exactly the same as a roof tile. Because this would destroy the existence of original conditions,[116] it is lost before the meaning of a house that is completed in equality and unity. Now, a house already having been completed, although they are called conditions in unity, we should know that they are diverse.

Question: How is this different from the characteristic of parts?

Answer: Previously, the characteristic of parts is described as a characteristic of parts because all conditions, such as roof beams only, are different with respect to one house. Now, this is the characteristic of diversity because all conditions, such as roof beams, repeatedly confront each other, and each and every one is diverse.

Question: If they are not diverse, what mistake is there?

Answer: There are the mistakes of fragmentation and permanence. Why? If they are not diverse, a roof tile is precisely the same as a roof beam, and one that is twelve feet would destroy the law of original conditions and the house would not be completed. Hence, this is fragmentation. If one destroyed the conditions and did not complete a house and yet grasp at their being a house, it would it exist without cause. Hence, this is permanence.

問, 第四異相者, 何耶?

答, 椽等諸緣, 隨自形類, 相差別故.

問, 若異者, 應不同耶?

答, 只由異故, 所以同耳. 若不異者, 椽旣丈二, 瓦應亦爾, 壞本緣法故, 即失前齊同成舍義也. 今旣舍成, 同名緣者, 當知異也.

問, 此與別相, 何異耶?

答, 前別相者, 但椽等諸緣, 別於一舍, 故說別相. 今異相者, 緣等諸緣, 迭互相望, 各各異故.

問, 若不異者, 何失?

答, 有斷常失也. 何者. 若不異者, 瓦即同椽, 丈二壞本緣法, 不成舍. 故是斷也.

[116] The existence of original conditions (*ponyŏnbŏp*, Ch. *benyuanfa* 本緣法) refers to the existence of something with respect to basic conditions and characteristics that it has held from the beginning.

若壞緣不成舍, 而執有舍者, 無因有. 故是常也.

Question: What is the fifth, the characteristic of entirety?

Answer: As a result of all these conditions the meaning of a house is established. Because the house is completed, such things as roof beams are called conditions. If it were not so, both things [the house and its conditions] would not be established. Now, because they can be established manifestly we know it is the characteristic of entirety.

Question: Presently, if one sees all conditions, such as roof beams, each and every one resides in its own existence (*chabŏp* 自法) and originally did not make a house. For what reasons are we able to say the meaning of a house has been established?

Answer: Because all conditions, such as merely roof beams, do not make it, the meaning of a house can be established. This is because if the roof beam made the house, because the existence of original conditions is lost, the meaning of a house is not able to be established. Now, because it does not make a house, all conditions, such as roof beams, are manifest before it. Because it is manifest previously in this way, the meaning of house is able to be established. Furthermore, if it does not make a house, things such as roof beams are not called conditions. Now, since they have already acquired the name of conditions, we clearly know that a house has been firmly made.

Question: If [the meaning of house] is not established, what mistake is there?

Answer: There are the faults of fragmentation and permanence. Why? A house originally is made of all conditions, such as roof beams, but now all these are already unable to be a house. Hence, this is fragmentation. Originally, provided that the house is completed it may be called a roof beam, but now already it is not a house; hence, precisely there are no roof beams. This also is fragmentation. If it is not completed the house has no cause to exist. Hence, this is permanence. Furthermore, since a roof beam does not make a house, it is able to be called a roof beam. This also is permanence.

問, 第五成相者, 何耶?

答, 由此諸緣, 舍義成故. 由成舍故, 椽等名緣. 若不爾者, 二俱不成. 今現得成, 故知成相耳.

問, 現見椽等諸緣, 各住自法, 本不作舍. 何因得有舍義成耶?

答, 只由椽等, 諸緣不作故, 舍義得成. 所以然者. 若椽作舍者, 即失本緣法故, 舍義不得成. 今由不作故, 椽等諸緣現在前. 由此現前故, 舍義得成矣. 又若不作舍, 椽等不名緣. 今旣得緣名, 明知定作舍也.

問, 若不成者, 何失?

答, 有斷常過. 何者. 舍本作椽等諸緣成, 今旣並不得有舍. 故是斷也. 本以成舍名爲椽, 今旣不作舍, 故即無椽, 亦是斷. 若不成者, 舍無因有. 故是常也. 又椽不作舍, 得椽名者, 亦是常也.

Question: What is the sixth, the characteristic of its fractions?

Answer: All conditions, such as roof beams, reside in self-existence and because they originally do not make [a house].

Question: Presently, since one sees all conditions, such as roof beams, making a house and completing it, why then did it originally not make [a house]?

Answer: Merely because it is not made, the existence of the house is able to be completed. If the house is made then it does not reside in self-existence, and the meaning of house, precisely, is not established. The reason is that because "the making" of it lacks existence and the house is not established. Now, because the house is already established, we can clearly know that it was not made.

Question: If it is made what mistake is there?

Answer: There are the two mistakes of fragmentation and permanence. If one says that a roof beam is made, then the existence of roof beam is lost. Because the existence of the roof beam is lost, the house, precisely, lacks its conditions and is unable to exist. Hence, this is fragmentation. If the existence of the roof beam is lost and yet the house exists, it exists without roof beams. Hence, this is permanence.

問, 第六壞相者, 何耶?

答, 椽等諸緣, 各住自法, 本不作故.

問, 現見椽等諸緣, 作舍成就. 何故, 乃說本不作耶?
答, 只由不作, 舍法得成. 若作舍者, 不住自法者, 舍義即不成. 何以故. 作者失法, 舍不成故. 今旣舍成, 明知不作也.
問, 若作者, 有何失?
答, 有斷常二失. 若言椽作者, 即失椽法. 失椽法故, 舍即無緣, 不得有. 故是斷也. 若失椽法, 而有舍者, 無椽有. 故是常也.

Question: What intellectual principles (*tori* 道理) clarify the six characteristics?

Answer: Master Wŏnhyo says:

> Among these the two characteristics of the whole and parts display the intellectual principle of the conditioned arising of the dharma realm, and by means of those different characteristics it gives rise to the virtue of the whole. The two characteristics of unity and diversity clarify the intellectual principle of the mutual resonance (*sangŭng* 相應) with respect to its conditioned arising. <With respect to the characteristic of parts, if there were no characteristic of unity, the characteristic of the whole would not be established. With respect to the characteristic of unity, if there were no characteristic of diversity, it could never be fully established. Within the characteristic of parts, because the characteristics of unity and diversity exist, they are able to be mutually resonant and one whole is fully established.>[117] The two characteristics of entirety and its fractions manifest the intellectual principle of leaving behind the extremes [of fragmentation and permanence] with respect to this conditioned arising. <Because it is an entirety, it is not that it does not exist, because it is in fractions, it is not that it exists. If is it merely an entirety and it is not

117 A note in the original text dealing with this section and the following section suggests that P'yowŏn misattributed this passage to Wŏnhyo.

fractions, it falls in the extreme of increasing, and only if it is in fraction and not an entirety will it fall in the extreme of decreasing. Now, because there are an entirety and its fractions, it leaves behind both extremes. Because the two extremes are left behind, this is precisely the Middle Way. The entirety and its fractions both exist and also are not in the middle of one. This refers to the intellectual principle of very deep conditioned arising.>[118]

問, 約何道理, 明六相耶?
答, 元曉師云, "此中總別二相, 標其法界緣起道理, 以其別緣, 而起總德. 同異二相, 明其緣起相應道理.<以別無同相, 不成總故, 同無異相, 不成滿故. 以有別中有同異相, 乃得相應, 成一總滿> 成壞二相, 顯此緣起, 離邊道理.<以成故非無, 以壞故非有. 若但成非壞, 墮增益邊, 唯壞無成, 墮損減邊. 今有成壞, 故離二邊. 二邊離故, 即是中道, 有成有壞, 亦非一中, 是謂甚深緣起道理.>"

Question: The *Treatise* says, "Aside from phenomena, phenomena refer to such things as the aggregates, the elements, and entrances."[119] What does this mean?

---

118 With respect to this section, the source is unclear. All that can be said is that exactly the same passages can be found in Jūrei 壽靈, *Kegon gokyo shōshishi* 華嚴五教章指事 2, T 2237.72.252b. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 95 n. 373.

119 Cf. *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論 (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1523.26.125a1. The aggregates, bases, and entrances (*ŭmgyeip*, Ch. *yinjieru* 陰界入) refer to the five aggregates (skandhas), the eighteen elements (*dhātu*), and twelve entrances or sense-fields (*āyantara*), also called the three courses (*samkwa*, Ch. *sanke* 三科). The five aggregates (*oon*, Ch. *wuyun* 五蘊; Skt. *pañca-skandha*) are (1) *rūpa* (*saek*, Ch. *se* 色), form, physicality; (2) *vedanā* (*su*, Ch. *shou* 受), sensations, feelings, not emotions; (3) *sañjña* (*sang*, Ch. *xiang* 想), perceptions, conceptions, processes, sensory and mental objects; (4) *samskhāra* (*haeng*, Ch. *xing* 行), formations, volitional impulses; (5) *vijñāna* (*sik*, Ch. *shi* 識), consciousness, discriminative consciousness. The eighteen elements (*dhātu*) are (1) the sight organ, (2) sight-object, (3) sight-consciousness, (4) ear, (5) sounds, (6) ear-consciousness, (7) nose, (8) smells, (9) nose-consciousness, (10) tongue, (11) tastes, (12) tongue-consciousness, (13) body, (14) touchables, (15) body-consciousness, (16) mind, (17) mind-objects, and (18) mind-consciousness. The twelve sense-fields are (1) eye, (2) sight-objects, (3) ear, (4) sounds, (5) nose, (6) smells, (7) tongue, (8) tastes, (9) body, (10) touchables, (11) mind, and (12) mind-objects.

Answer: Fazang says, "This, as something that distinguishes and determines its meaning, refers to summarizing the intellectual principle, which is described as interfused and thoroughly comprehensive (*yungt'ong* 融通). Because it does not distinguish between the characteristics of phenomena, such as the skandhas, they are designated as exceptions."[120] "Above it says that which are interpreted and analyzed as 'verbal explanations' are teachings [of the Buddha] that have been determined. This means that among these, arranging the verbal explanations of these six characteristics is done in order to analyze the passages of the sūtra. You should know the meaning of this. Furthermore, in analyzing this, analyzing the six characteristics is not a passage of the sūtra in this place [the *Daśabhūmika*]; merely the commentarial authority's[121] interpretation and analysis of the meaning that you should know."[122] <This passage, as something coming out of the first part on the fourth great vow in the following sūtra, is an auto-explanation by the commentator and is not something written willfully by the commentarial authority.>[123] "Furthermore, the characteristics of unity and diversity among these, in the Jin-edition of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra,* are the characteristics of existence (*yusang* 有相) and non-existence (*musang* 無相).[124] Although this is a different class of characteristics, because each accompanies the characteristic of the whole and what is termed as 'existence' is 'unity.' Nevertheless, because each lacks self-nature, 'non-existence' is termed 'diversity.' Hence, they are not mutually contradictory."[125]

---

120 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.282b14–15.

121 The commentarial authority (*nonju*, Ch. *lunzhu* 論主) here refers to Vasubandhu (Shiqin 世親), the author of *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*), a commentary on the *Shidi jing* 十地經 (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra*).

122 *Huayan tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.282b10–13.

123 *Huayan tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.282b28–29.

124 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 23, T 278.9.545b27–28.

125 *Huayan tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.308a24–26.

問, 論云, "除事, 事謂陰界入等," 何耶?
答, 藏師云, "此辨定其義, 謂約道理說融通, 非是陰等事相中辨, 故除簡之." "上言, 言說解釋者, 是定教, 謂於此中, 安此六相之言說, 爲欲釋經文, 應知此意. 又釋此中釋六相, 非是此處經文, 但是論主解釋之意, 應知."<謂此文, 出在下經第四大願初中, 經家自說, 非是論主率意而作>, "又此中同相異相者, 晋經, 有相無相者. 以於別類, 各帶於總, 名有是同, 然各互無, 名無是異. 故不相違."

Question: The *Treatise* says, "It is like the entirety and fractions of a world system."[126] What does this mean?

Answer: Wŏnhyo says:

By simple things the difficult are made manifest. Just as a trichilocosm[127] establishes one world system, it is precisely the entirety and its fractions. You should be able to understand easily. Furthermore, in explaining this passage it raises phenomena as a metaphor for principle. When a world system is established, once dharmas such as the wheel of wind[128] are

126 *Shidi jing lun* 1, T 1523.26.125a5.

127 A trichilocosm (*samch'ŏn segye,* Ch. *santian shijie* 三千世界) is probably an abbreviation for a great trichilocosm or a "thousand-cubed great-thousand world system" (*samch'ŏn taech'ŏn segye,* Ch. *santian datian shijie* 三千大千世界; Skt. *trisāhasramahāsāhasrolocadhātuḥ*), which denotes one billion worlds. A thousand individual worlds are called a "small-thousand world system." In modern parlance this refers to what we would call a galaxy. One thousand small-thousand world systems comprise a "medium thousand-world system." Medium thousand (*dvisāhasra*), literally "2,000," is used to mean $1,000^2$, or a million worlds. Great thousand (*trisāhasra*), literally "3,000," is used to mean $1,000^3$, or a billion worlds. Because all of these worlds have Mt. Sumerus, heavens, gods, and so forth, and follow the Buddhist cycle of coming into existence and disappearing together, they can be conceptualized as a single unit. See *Chang ahan jing* (*Dīrghāgama*) 18, T 1.1.114b25–c8.

128 The wheel of wind (*p'ungnyun*, Ch. *fenglun* 風輪) refers to one of the four great wheels (*saryun*, Ch. *silun* 四輪) that serve as the foundation of the world system centered on Mt. Sumeru. The four types of wheels are as follows: from the bottom the wheel of empty space (*hŏgongnyun*, Ch. *xukonglun* 虛空輪), the wheel of wind, the wheel of water (*suryun*, Ch. *shuilun* 水輪), and the wheel of metal (*kŭmnyun*, Ch. *jinlun* 金輪).

assembled together in sequence and order, the world system exists. When a world system is destroyed, once things such as mountains and oceans disperse and are destroyed in sequence and order, the world system does not exist. The whole and parts of the ten categories[129] mutually resemble that meaning. Grabbing hold of parts and establishing a whole resembles the establishment of a whole system: one cannot say that it does not exist. Dispersing the whole and making parts resembles the destruction of a world system: one cannot say that it exists. Only the establishment and destruction of a world system, because it is the establishment and destruction of phenomena, when it is established it is not destroyed and when it is destroyed it is not established. The establishment and destruction of the six characteristics, because it is the establishment and destruction of the principle, the entirety precisely is its fractions and its fractions precisely are the entirety. Only choosing points that resemble each other a little bit may be metaphors.[130]

Fazang says: "Just as ten billion realms of the four directions[131] are brought

[129] The ten categories (*sipku* [*ŭi*], Ch. *shigou* [*yi*] 十句 [義] refer to the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit padārtha (*kuŭi*, Ch. *gouyi* 句義), which refers to the meaning of a word or that which corresponds to the meaning of a word, a head, a subject, a category, or a principle. The ten categories are explained with respect to ten classes or categories of words whose existence is produced and destroyed. The ten categories are reality (*sil* 實), virtue (*tŏk* 德), action (*ŏp* 業), unity (*tong* 同), diversity (*i* 異), harmony (*hwahap* 和合), capability (*yunŭng* 有能), incapability (*munŭng* 無能), all parts (*kubun* 俱分), and without explanation (*musŏl* 無說)

[130] The original source is unclear for this section. All that can be said is that exactly the same passages can be found in Jūrei, *Kegon gokyo shōshishi* 2, T 2237.72.252c. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 98 n. 391.

[131] The four realms (*sa ch'ŏnha,* Ch. *si tianxia* 四天下), also called the four great islands (*sa taeju,* Ch. *si dazhou* 四大洲), refer to the four continents located in the four directions around Mt. Sumeru. The four realms are the southern island of Jambudvīpa, the "rose apple land"; the western island of Avaragodānīya; the eastern island of Pūrvavideha; and the northern island of Uttarakuru. All these are surrounded by ocean, the eight oceans and nine mountain ranges at the edge of the world (Great Iron Mountains).

together in one Sahā World, we may approximately speak of displaying and manifesting as an 'entirety.' If we differentiate and describe them in detail, ten billion differences are caused as one Sahā World to neither depend on nor reside; hence, they are 'its fractions.'"[132]

The Dharma Master Huiyuan[133] of the Sui period says: "Aside from phenomena, phenomena refer to such things as the aggregates, the elements, and entrances." This and that are mutually confrontational. Different kinds of phenemona are impeded with obstacles, and that which is not endowed with these six characteristics, for this reason, is set aside. If the characteristics of phenomena are subsumed and are taken to obey the meaning of the original essence, things such as the aggregates, elements, and entrances one by one are all endowed with immeasurability. Now, moreover, from the standpoint of the aggregate of form,[134] a unified body is endowed with Buddhadharmas numbering as the sands of the Ganges. This means all Buddhadharmas, such as suffering, impermanence, emptiness, and no self. With respect to all dharmas, such as these, although their meanings are different in essence they are the same. They are mutually connected by conditions and complete one

132 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.282b20–22.

133 Dharma Master Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592) is more commonly referred to as Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 because he lived at Jingying Monastery 淨影寺. He left home to become a monk at age thirteen sui. During the persecution of Buddhism during the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 560–578) of the Northern Zhou 北周 period (574–577), after being forcibly laicized by imperial order, he sought an audience with Emperor Wu and confuted him. He went into retirement until Emperor Wu died and eventually enjoyed the favor and respect of Sui Emperor Wen 隋文帝 (r. 581–604). He wrote several commentaries such as the *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章 [Mahāyāna compendium], *Shidi jing lun yiji* 十地經論義記 [Commentary on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*], *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏 [Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], *Daban niepan jing yiji* 大般涅槃經義記 [Commentary on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*], *Fahua jing shu* 法華經疏 [Commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*], *Weimo jing yiji* 維摩經義記 [Commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*], *Shengman jing yiji* 勝鬘經義記 [Commentary on the *Śrīmālādevi-sūtra*], and the *Wuliangshou jing yishu* 無量壽經義疏 [Commentary on the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*].

134 The aggregate of form (*saegŭm*, Ch. *seyin* 色陰) is an expression specifically referring to the skandha of form among the five skandhas.

form, and that form is called the whole. From the standpoint of the whole all forms are revealed, from the so-called form of suffering up to the form of the conditioned arising of true reality. Just like this, forms of immeasurable difference are termed as parts. The foregoing dharmas, such as suffering, because they all possess the meaning of form, are termed as being a unity. Although the meaning of form is the same, nevertheless, the suffering of form is different from the impermanence of form. This is termed as diversity. Although the approach of meaning is peculiar, its essence is not different. Forms are subsumed into one. Therefore, they are an entirety and being an entirety is similar to an approximation.[135] Although the essence is not different, the approach of meaning is always diverse so there are able to be many forms that are cataloged as fractions. Fractions are similar to details.[136] If we interrogate reality and discuss it, the four approaches explained previously analyze the meaning satisfactorily, and based on their unity and diversity, because the two approaches [of the entirety and its fractions] were established previously, they become six. This is exactly the profound essence (*yongang* 淵綱) of the Mahāyāna and the sublime approach of the perfect and thoroughly comprehensive [teaching]."[137] <Although Dharma Master Lin also described all approaches in detail, because his diction is vexing I have summarized it.>

Dharma Master Fazang composed the following song:[138]

---

135 Approximation (*ryak*, Ch. *lüe* 略) seems to have the same meaning as the foregoing statement by Fazang that "we may approximately speak of displaying and manifesting as an 'entirety.'"

136 Details (*kwang*, Ch. *guang* 廣) seems to have the same meaning as the foregoing statement by Fazang that "if we differentiate and describe them in detail ... they are 'its fractions.'"

137 Cf. *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章 3, T 1851.44.524a8–b15.

138 The following song is found in *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 4, T 1866.45.508c24–509a3. This gāthā-song was originally attributed to Fazang's mentor Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668). See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 101 n. 410.

The one is precisely endowed with the many, which is called the characteristic of the whole.
The many are precisely not the one, which is the characteristic of parts.
The many kinds themselves are a unity, which are established in the whole.
The essences of each are distinct and diverse, which are manifest in unity.
The principle of the conditioned arising of the one and the many is the profound entirety.
Fractions reside in self-existence and are never constructed.
Only the sphere of wisdom is not conscious of phenomena
Expedients like these are assembled in the one vehicle.

問, 論云, "如世界成壞者," 何義耶?

答, 曉云, "以易顯難, 如三千界成一世界, 即成即壞. 易可了知. 又說此句舉事喻理, 謂如世界成時, 風輪等法, 次第聚集, 則有世界, 世界壞時, 山海等物, 次第散滅, 則無世界. 十句總別, 其義相似. 攬別成總, 似世界成, 不可說無, 散總作別, 似世界壞, 不可說有. 但世界成壞, 是事成壞故, 成時非壞, 壞時非成. 六相成壞, 是理成壞故, 成即是壞, 壞即是成. 但取小分相似爲喻." 藏師云, "如百億四天下, 合成一裟婆界. 略言標顯爲成. 若分別廣說, 百億差別, 令一娑婆無所依住故爲壞." 隋慧遠法師云, "'除事, 事謂陰界入等,' 彼此相望, 事別隔礙, 不具斯六, 所以除之. 若攝事相, 以從體義, 陰界入等一一之中, 皆具無量. 今且就一色陰之中, 同體具有恒沙佛法. 謂苦無常空無我等一切佛法. 是等諸法, 義別體同, 其相緣集, 以成一色, 色名爲總. 就此總中, 開出諸色, 所謂苦色, 乃至眞實緣起之色. 如是無量差別之色, 是名爲別. 苦等法上, 皆有色義, 名之爲同. 色義雖同, 然彼色苦, 異色無常, 是名爲異. 義門雖殊, 其體不別, 色攝爲一, 是故爲成, 成猶略也. 體雖不別, 義門恒異, 得爲多色, 目之爲壞, 壞猶廣也. 拷實論之, 說前四門, 辨義應足, 爲約同異, 成前二門, 故有六也. 此乃大乘之淵綱, 圓通之妙門."<懍法師諸門廣述, 繁言故略之.> 藏法師, 乃爲頌曰,

一即具多名總相, 多即非一是別相.
多類自同成於總, 各體別異現於同.
一多緣起理妙成, 壞住自法常不作.
唯智境界非事識, 以此方便會一乘.

III. The Meaning of the Analogy of Ten Coins[139]

This chapter is divided into three approaches.

1. Analysis of the Name

"Number" (*su* 數) refers to an amount, such as from one to ten (*sip* 十), and so forth. "One," as the name of a number, relies on the complete perfect number in one sense in order to manifest "ten," because of the desire to manifest inexhaustibility. "Coins" (*chŏn* 錢), as wealth, refer to such things as the *Kaiyuan bao*.[140] "Analogy" (*yu* 喩) means to compare and to analogize. Moreover, resembling the characteristics of the Dharma is the meaning of analogy.

數十錢喻義. 三門分別.
第一釋名者.
數者數量也, 以一至十等也. 一者數名. 依一周圓數, 以表十也, 欲表無盡故. 錢者財也, 謂開元寶等也. 喻者比也, 類也. 況法相似, 是喻義也.

2. Revealing the Essential Point

The essential point is dharma realm of unimpeded and unhindered conditioned arising.

139 HPC 2.358a18–360b8.

140 *Kaiyuan bao* 開元寶 (Kor. *Kaewŏnbo*) is an abbreviation of *Kaiyuan tongbao* 開元通寶 (Kor. *Kaewŏn t'ongbao*), the representative coinage of the Tang dynasty. Here, *Kaiyuan* does not refer to the Kaiyuan reign period (713–741); rather, it is an abbreviation of "establishing prime in the founding of the state" (*kaiguo jianyuan*, Kor. *kaeguk kŏnwŏn* 開國建元). It was first circulated in 621, the fourth year of the Wude 武德 reign period, in the early Tang period, and because of its popularity ever since, it served ever since as the standard for currency in imperial Chinese history.

第二出體者.
以無障無礙緣起法界爲體.

3. Questions and Answers

Question: What meaning is desired to be manifested through the analogy of ten coins?

Answer: Master Fazang says, "It is because I desire to manifest the dharma on the dhāraṇī on great conditioned arising."[141] Master Ŭisang[142] says, "I desire to show the dharma on the dhāraṇī on the true characteristics of conditioned arising."[143] Master Wŏnhyo says, "It refers to meaning of the

141 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.503c4–6. "Question: if one has already spoken the word 'one' why are we able to say that there are ten in the midst of one? Answer: It is the dharma on the dhāraṇī on the great conditioned arising. If there is no 'one' because all are impossible to establish, we can certainly know that it is just like this."

142 Ŭisang 義湘 (625–702) is the recognized founder of Silla's Hwaŏm tradition. After leaving home and becoming a monk at Hwangbok Monastery 皇福寺, he went to Tang China and studied Huayan thought under Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668). He composed the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 一乘法界圖 [Seal-diagram symbolizing the dharma realm as the one vehicle], which establishes the origins of the dharma realm and the mutual identity of the one and the many. Upon returning from China he established several monasteries beginning with Pusŏk Monastery 浮石寺, studied and made seminal progress in Hwaŏm thought along with his many disciples, and spread the Hwaŏm tradition throughout Silla. The cults of Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha flourished in the religious brotherhood he founded. His disciples multiplied and founded ten great Hwaŏm monasteries in Silla. The Hwaŏm tradition was the most powerful and influential Buddhist tradition in Silla's Buddhist world, and it continued in this position long thereafter. Aside from the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* Ŭisang composed the *Amit'a-gyŏng ŭi ki* 阿彌陀經義記 [Record on the meaning of the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*] and *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun* 白花道場發願文 [Vow made at White Flower Enlightenment Site]. Although Ŭisang composed few commentarial and literary works, those that exist are well known. Among his most famous disciples are Chit'ong 智通, Chinjŏng 眞定, Tosin 道身, and P'yohun 表訓. For more on Ŭisang see Richard D. McBride II, *Domesticating the Dharma: Buddhist Cults and the Hwaŏm Synthesis in Silla Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

143 Cf. *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 一乘法界圖 1, HPC 2.6a22–23. "If you desire to see the dharma on the

universal dharma."[144]

There are two positions among these intellectual opinions. The first is the essence of diversity and the second is the essence of unity. If we view it from the standpoint of the first there are two: mutual interpenetration (*sangip* 相入) and mutual identity (*sangjŭk* 相卽). The reason for these two approaches is that there are two meanings for all conditioned arising.

First, with respect to the meaning of powerful (*yuryŏk* 有力) and powerless (*muryŏk* 無力), these refer to the function of power. Second, with respect to the meaning of possessing essence (*yuch'e* 有體) and lacking essence (*much'e* 無體), these refer to the essence of self (*chach'e* 自體; Skt. *svabhāva*). Because of the former meaning there can be mutual interpenetration, and because of the latter meaning there can be mutual identity. Among the former, since the self is completely powerful, [the other] is able to be subsumed, and because the other is completely powerless, it is able to penetrate the self. If the other is powerful and the self is powerless, we can know that it will be the opposite of the above. Because it does not rely on the essence of the self, it is not mutual identity. Because the function of power is thoroughly comprehensive, mutual interpenetration will be established. Furthermore, in the case that things are both powerful and powerless, because each will not be completely endowed, it will not be that that is not mutually interpenetrating, and in the case of things being powerful-powerless and powerless-powerful both, because of mutual exclusivity, will always be mutually interpenetrating.

Second is the case of emptiness (*kong* 空) and existence (*yu* 有). If the self exists, then at that time the other certainly will not exist; hence, the other identifies with the self. Why is this? This is because the other has no

---

dhāraṇī of the true characteristics of conditioned arising, you must first become awakened to the dharma on the ten coins."

144 This passage is believed by some scholars to be a citation from Wŏnhyo's *Pobŏp ki* 普法記 [Record on the universal dharma]; but this is mere speculation because the text has not been preserved. The term "universal dharma" (*pobŏp*, Ch. *pufa* 普法) refers to the "one vehicle of the special teaching" (*pyŏlgyo ilsŭng* 別教一乘) in Hwaŏm doctrinal learning. It refers to the principle that all dharmas cast shadows of and are subsumed by each other and that one dharma is endowed with all other dharmas.

self-nature and functions as a self. Next, if the self is empty, at that time the other must exist; hence, the self identifies with the other. Why is this? This is because the self has no self-nature and uses the functions of the other. <Someone [Fazang] says:

> If one condition is deficient, the remnant will not establish the arising. Because the arising is not established, the meaning of the condition precisely deteriorates. If this one condition is obtained, however, all of the arisings are established. Because one arising is established, the meaning of the condition is squarely established. For this reason, one condition is the enabler of the arising. Many conditions and results are all that which arises. This is precisely because the many are established for the sake of the one, and the many lack essence; one is able to make many and one is possessing of essence.[145]

Nevertheless, the meaning of this will be explained again later.> In the case that the two either exist or are empty, because each is not completely endowed, it is not that that is not mutually indentifying. In the case that [the self] exists and [the other] does not exist or if [the self] does not exist and [the other] exists, because they are indivisible, for this reason, they are always mutually identifying.[146] Furthermore, if the essence expropriates function, because there is no difference in function, it is merely mutually identifiable. If it were not so, conditioned arising would not be established. It may be comprehended if seen from excessive viewpoints such as self-nature.

第三問答.
問, 欲顯何義, 以數錢喻耶?
答, 法藏師云, "欲表大緣起陀羅尼法故." 義相師云, "欲示緣起實相陀羅尼法."

---

145 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.124b19–23.

146 There is much confusion regarding the interpretation of this passage. Kyunyŏ (923–973) of the Koryŏ kingdom corrected and introduced it in this manner. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 108 n. 438.

元曉師云,“詮普法義故.” 此中有二, 一者異體, 二同體. 就初中有二, 一相入, 二相即. 所以有此二門者, 以諸緣起皆有二義故. 一有力無力義, 此望力用, 二有體無體義, 望此自體. 由初義故得相入, 由後義故得相即. 初中自有全力, 所以能攝他, 他全無力故, 所以能入自. 他有力自無力, 反上可知. 不據自體, 故非相即, 力用交徹, 故成相入. 又由二力二無力各不俱故, 無彼不相入, 有力無力無力有力無二故, 是故常相入. 二空有中, 由自若有時他必無, 故他即自. 何以故. 由他無性以自作故. 二由自若空時他必是有, 故自即他. 何以故. 由自無性用他作故.<一云,“若闕一緣, 餘不成起, 起不成故, 緣義則壞. 得此一緣, 全一切成起, 一起成故, 緣義方立. 是故一緣是能起, 多緣及果俱是所起. 是即多爲一成, 多是無體, 一能作多, 一是有體.” 然此義後更說也.> 以二有二空各不俱故, 無彼不相即, 有無無有無二故, 是故常相即. 又以體收用, 無別用故, 唯是相即. 若不爾者, 緣起不成. 有自性等過, 見之可思.

Among these two approaches they initially clarify mutual interpenetration. Among these there are two approaches. One is in increasing order[147] and the other is in decreasing order.[148] In the approach of increasing order there are ten approaches. First, one is the original number. Why? This is because the conditions have been established. And so on, the tenth is one among ten (*il chung sip* 一中十). Why? This is because if there is no one, then ten will never be established. This is precisely because complete power exists in one and it subsumes ten. Accordingly, ten is not one. The remaining nine approaches are also like this. Each and every one of the ten may be known by paying attention to this example. <Master Ŭisang says, “The ‘in the midst

[147] Increasing order (*hyangsanggŏ* 向上去) refers to setting up the coins in increasing order from the first up to the tenth.

[148] Decreasing order (*hyangharae* 向下來) refers to setting up the coins in decreasing order from the tenth backwards to the first. Although Fazang does not use the same exact terminology, the concepts of “increasing number” (*xiangshangshu* 向上數) and “deceasing number” (*xiangxiashu* 向下數) are found in the *Wujiao zhang*, and in a later section he employs the same terms; see *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* T 1866.45.503b24, 28, c26.

of' approach[149] refers to increasing order and decreasing order, and the 'is precisely' approach[150] refers to increasing order and decreasing order."[151] Because both the former and the latter are said to be faulty, do not employ them.>[152] In the decreasing number there are also ten approaches. The first is ten. Why? This is because the conditions have been established. And so on, the tenth is ten among one (*sip chung il* 十中一). This is because if there is no "ten," then "one" cannot be established. This is precisely because if one does not have complete power it returns to the ten. Accordingly, one is not ten. The remaining examples are also so. Just like this, the two approaches of the original and the final are fully endowed with ten approaches. In the midst of the remaining coins one by one, you should pay attention to and consider this. <Among these, the method of counting numbers is the first is ten; the second is nine among ten (*sip chung ku* 十中九) all the way to the tenth one among ten.>[153] This, being bound to the approach of diversity, is what is

149 The "in the midst of" approach (*chungmun* 中門) refers to the contents of the approach "one among ten, and ten among one" (*il chung sip, sip chung il* 一中十十中一) as described above.

150 The "is precisely" approach (*chŭngmun* 卽門) refers to the contents of the approach "one is precisely ten, and ten is precisely one" (*il chŭk sip, sip chŭk il* 一卽十十卽一) as described above.

151 *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, HPC 2.4a24–b2, c14–15.

152 The explanation of the analogy of the ten coins is divided into the essence of diversity and the essence of unity by Fazang. The approach of the essence of diversity is divided into mutual interpenetration and mutual identity, and each is explained as being in increasing order or decreasing order. The approach of the essence of unity is divided into the "among" approach and the "is precisely" approach and each is explained as being "one among many" and "many among one" and "one is precisely the many" and "the many are precisely the one." In contrast to this, Ŭisang divides them into the "among" approach and the "is precisely" approach. The "among" approach is divided between an increasing order and a decreasing order, and the "is precisely" approach is divided between an increasing order and a decreasing order. The style of Ŭisang's explanation transforms the repeated form of Fazang's essence of diversity and essence of unity. However, because P'yowŏn says that the expressions "increasing order" and "decreasing order" of Ŭisang's explanation are inappropriate, he asserts that they should not be used. This suggests that P'yowŏn followed Fazang's more ordered analogy of the ten coins. In this instance we are able to confirm P'yowŏn's intellectual heritage.

153 P'yowŏn problematizes and rejects Ŭisang's expressions of "increasing order" and "decreasing order." Although he cites Fazang's work, there are many similarities of expression with Ŭisang's work.

explained as being mutually opposing.[154]

於中先明相入. 此中有二門, 一向上去, 二向下來. 向上去中, 亦有十門. 一者一是本數. 何以故, 緣成故. 乃至十者, 一中十. 何以故, 若無一, 即十不成故. 則一有全力故, 攝於十也. 仍十非一. 餘九門, 亦如是, 一一皆有十, 准例可知.<義相師云, "中門中, 向上來, 向下去, 即門中, 向上去, 向下來," 前後言錯, 故不用也.> 向下數中, 亦十門. 一者十. 何以故, 緣成故, 乃至十者, 十中一. 謂若無十, 則一不成故. 則一無全力, 歸於十也. 仍一非十矣. 餘例然. 如是本末二門中, 具足十門, 餘一一錢中, 准以思之.<此中數數法者, 一者十, 二者十中九, 乃至十者十中一.> 此約異門, 相望說耳.

Question: If one has already been spoken, how can there be ten among (in) one?

Answer: With respect to the dharma of the dhāraṇī on great conditioned arising, because if there is not one all will not be established, you should certainly know it is just like this. What is the meaning of this? With reference to one, it is not the one of self-nature because it is established as a condition. For this reason, among one there is ten; this on this condition establishes one. If it were not so, self-nature would be devoid of conditions and would be unable of being called one. For this reason, all conditioned arising is not self-nature. Why? This is because if one condition is removed accordingly, then the many will not be established. For this reason, among one then all are endowed; this is directly called the one of conditioned arising.

Here, Fazang appropriates and further develops Ŭisang's explanation of the analogy of the ten coins. For Ŭisang's interpretation see *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, HPC 2.6a22–b12.

154 Although this passage is only slightly different from Fazang's *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1833.45.503b24–c4, it is for the most part the same. It is thought that the cited portions not found in Fazang's *Wujiao zhang* might come from one of the lost writings of Wŏnhyo. However, since not only this passage but the following passage derive from Fazang's *Wujiao zhang*, it is difficult to consider this a real possibility. It is more realistic to see the content of this section as deriving primarily from Fazang's *Wujiao zhang* with P'yowŏn addending the gāthā and so forth.

Question: If one condition is removed and [all] are not established, this is precisely being devoid of nature. Being devoid of self-nature, how are the conditioned arising of the one and many able to be established?

Answer: Only if it is devoid of self-nature is the conditioned arising of the one and the many able to be established. Why? This is because this conditioned arising is the true virtue of the dharma realm; as the endowed virtue of the realm of Samantabhadra, it is because it is self-existent, unimpeded, and unhindered. The *Avataṃsaka* says, "Bodhisattvas well observe the dharma of conditioned arising. With respect to in one dharma, one can understand the many throngs of dharmas; within the many throngs of dharma, one understands the one dharma."[155] Therefore, you should know this: the one among ten and the ten among one (*il chung sip, sip chung il* 一中十十中一) are mutually tolerating and unhindered and do not obstinately claim they are mutually right. Because one approach is already fully endowed with ten meanings, in that one approach one can know the existence of all inexhaustible meanings. The remaining approaches are also like this.

Question: With respect to one approach subsuming ten, is it exhaustible or inexhaustible?

Answer: It is exhaustible and inexhaustible. Why? This is because one among ten is exhaustible and ten among one is inexhaustible. Four sentences protect against faults, remove fallacy, manifest virtue, and so forth. You should pay attention to and be able to know them. All individual approaches pay attention to examples like this. You should know that the sublime principle of conditioned arising is just like this. < This completes the first approach.>[156]

155 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 28, T 278.9.580c27–29.

156 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.503c4–25. Ŭisang's description is also similar, see *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to,* HPC 2.6b13–17, b24–c10. Here, the only real difference between the two passages is that Ŭisang describes the "meaning of the Middle Way" (*chungdo ŭi* 中道義) and "no abode" (*muju* 無住).

問, 旣言一者, 何得一中有十耶?
答, 大緣起陀羅尼法, 若無一即一切不成故, 定知如是. 此義云何? 所言一者, 非自性一, 緣成故. 是故一中有十者, 是緣成一. 若不爾者, 自性無緣, 不得名一也. 是故一切緣起, 皆非自性. 何以故, 隨去一緣, 即一切不成. 是故一中則具多, 方名緣起一耳.
問, 若去一緣而不成者, 此即無性. 無自性者, 云何得成一多緣起?
答, 由只無性, 得成一多緣起. 何以故, 由此緣起, 是法界家實德故, 普賢境界具德, 自在無障礙故. 華嚴云, "菩薩, 善觀緣起法, 於一法中, 解衆多法, 衆多法中, 解一法." 是故當知, 一中十十中一, 相容無礙, 仍不相是. 一門中, 旣具足十義, 故知一門中, 皆有無盡義. 餘門亦如是.
問, 一門中攝十, 盡不盡?
答, 盡, 不盡. 何以故. 一中十故盡, 十中一故不盡. 四句護過去非顯德等, 准之可解耳. 別別諸門中, 准例如是. 緣起妙理, 應如是知.<第一門竟>

In the initial approach of the essence of diversity, the second is the meaning of identity. There are two approaches among these: increasing order and decreasing order. In the first [increasing order] there are ten approaches. The first is one. Why? This is because they are established as a condition. And so on, the tenth is one is precisely (identifies with) ten (*il chŭk sip* 一卽十). Why? This is because if there is not one, then precisely there will not be ten. The reason is that one possesses essence, because the remaining are all empty; and this one is precisely ten. Just like this, in increasing order, and so on until you reach the tenth. Each and every thing is just as the above. You should pay attention to and know this. In reference to decreasing order, there are also ten approaches. The first is ten. Why? This is because it is established as a condition. And so on, the tenth is ten is precisely (identifies with) one (*sip chŭk il* 十卽一). Why? This is because if there were not ten, precisely there would not be one. The reason is that one is devoid of essence because these remaining possess [essence]. For this reason, these ten are precisely (identify with) one. Just like this, going in deceasing order down to the first, each and every one is just like above. You should pay attention to and know this. Because of these meanings, you should know that each and every one of the

coins individually is precisely (identifies with) the many coins.[157]

初異體門中, 第二即義者. 此中有二門, 一者向上去, 二者向下來. 初門中有十門. 一者一. 何以故, 緣成故. 乃至十者, 一即十. 何以故, 若無一, 即無十故. 由一有體, 餘皆空故, 此一即是十矣. 如是向上, 乃至第十, 皆各如前, 准可知耳. 言向下者, 亦有十門. 一者十. 何以故, 緣成故. 乃至十者, 十即一. 何以故, 若無十, 即無一故. 由一無體, 是餘有故, 是故此十即是一矣. 如是向下, 乃至第一, 皆各如前, 准可知耳. 以此義故, 當知一一錢即是多錢耳.

Question: If one is not precisely (identifies with) ten, what fault or mistake has there been?

Answer: If it does not identify there are two mistakes. The first is the fault that [one] does not establish the ten coins. This is because if one is not precisely (does not identify with) ten, each one of them individually will not establish ten. Now, if ten is already established, we clearly know that one is precisely (identifies with) ten. The second is the fault of not establishing. Why? This is because if one is not precisely (does not identify with) ten, ten will precisely be not be able to be established, and because ten is not established, the meaning of one also is not established. Why? This is because if there is no ten, who is one? Now, if there is already one, we clearly know that one is precisely (identifies with) ten. Furthermore, if they are not mutually identifying, in the approach of conditioned arising, the two meanings of emptiness and existence will precisely not be manifest in the former and then establish a great fault. You will be able to know it if you ponder referring to such things as self-nature.

Question: If one is precisely (identifies with) ten, it certainly should not be one, and if ten is precisely (identifies with) one, it certainly should not be ten.

Answer: Only because one is precisely (identifies with) ten is it able to

157 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.504c25–505a6. Ŭisang's description is also similar, see *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, HPC 2.6c14–21.

be called one. Why? That which is said to be one is not so-called one; it is established as a condition and is the one that does not possess self-nature. This kind of one is precisely (identifies with) the many and is called one. If it were not so, it would not be called one. Why? This is because it does not possess self-nature, because it does not establish one without conditions. With respect to ten being precisely (identifying with) one, pay attention to the previous examples but do not vainly attach yourselves to them. You should pay attention to and know this.

Question: Are the foregoing meanings of the one and many fully endowed and perfect at the same time? Or are the former and the latter not the same?

Answer: It identifies with perfection and it identifies with the former and the latter. Why? This is because this conditioned arising of the dharma nature is fully endowed with pros and cons, the essence of unity is not contradictory, and the function of virtue is self-existent, unhindered, and unimpeded, and all is able to be just like this.

Question: What can be said of the characteristics of the meaning of going (*kŏ* 去) and coming (*rae* 來) that were explained above?

Answer: Their original position (*chawi* 自位) is immovable, and yet always going and coming. Why? Going, coming, and non-moving are precisely one phenomenal matter. Because they only produce knowledge and manifest principle, they are explained by such meanings as going and coming. If knowledge is abolished, all things would be impossible to explain. The reward just like that above is precisely (identifies with) that phenomena.[158]

Question: If something derives from knowledge it is precisely not extant from the first. How can it be said that "it is just like this from old"?

Answer: If knowledge is abolished, conditioned arising would be impossible to discuss. For this reason, because it is bound to knowledge, it is precisely explained that "it is just like this from old." Why? This is because

158 This section of two questions and answers is slightly different from what is described by Ŭisang. See *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, HPC 2.7a1–9.

if it is not established it is precisely that; and if it is established it is precisely separate from the beginning and the end. This is because knowledge, along with dharma, was established from old.

Question: What derives from knowledge? Why is dharma just like this?

Answer: What derives from knowledge and why is dharma just like this? This is because it is fully endowed at the same time. Pay attention to and ponder the remaining meaning. This concludes the great ending of the approach to the essence of diversity.[159]

問, 若一不即十者, 有何過失?

答, 若不即, 有二失. 一不成十錢過. 何以故, 若一不即十者, 多一亦不成十. 何以故, 一一皆非十故. 今旣得成十, 明知一即是十也. 二一不成過. 何以故, 若一不即十, 十即不得成, 由十不成故, 一義亦不成. 何以故, 若無十, 是誰一. 故今旣得一, 明知一即十. 又若不相即, 緣起門中, 空有二義, 即不現前, 便成大過. 謂自性等, 思之可知.

問, 若一即十者, 應當非是一, 若十即一者, 應當非是十.

答, 只爲一即是十故, 是故名爲一. 何以故, 所言一者, 非是所謂一, 緣成無性一. 爲此一即多者, 是名一. 若不爾者, 不名一. 何以故, 由無自性故, 無緣不成一也. 十即一者, 准前例取, 勿妄執矣. 應准知之.

問, 上一多義門, 爲一時俱圓耶? 爲前後不同耶?

答, 即圓, 即前後. 何以故, 由此法性緣起, 具足逆順, 同體不違, 德用自在無障礙故, 皆得如是.

問, 如上所說去來義, 其相云何?

答, 自位不動, 而恒去來. 何以故, 去來不動, 即一物故. 但爲生智顯理故, 說去來等義耳. 若廢智, 一切不可說. 如上果分者, 即其事也.

問, 若由智者, 即非先有, 云何說言, "舊來如此"?

答, 若廢智, 即不論緣起, 由約智故, 即說 "舊來如此." 何以故, 不成即已, 成即離始終故. 智及與法, 舊來成故.

問, 爲由智耶? 爲法如是耶?

答, 爲由智耶, 爲法如是耶. 何以故, 同時具足故. 餘義, 准以思之. 大段異體門說.

159 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505a6–b7.

In the second, the approach of the essence of unity, there are also two meanings. The first is one among the many (*il chung ta* 一中多) and the many among one (*ta chung il* 多中一). The second is one is precisely (identifies with) the many (*il chŭk ta* 一卽多) and the many are precisely (identifies with) the one (*ta chŭk il* 多卽一). In the first approach there are also two: one among the many and the many among one. With respect to the first, the one among the many, the ten approaches are not the same. First is one. Why? This is because it is established as a condition that this original number one is endowed with ten. Why? This is because the essence of self of one coin is one. Also, this is because before you can make two one is precisely one of two. And so on before you can make ten it is precisely one of ten. Therefore, among this one is precisely by itself endowed as one of ten. Accordingly, one is not ten. This is not the approach of identity. Initially one coin is already so, and the remaining two, three, four all the way up to nine, each and every one of them is just like this. Pay attention to this example and you should be able to comprehend. The second, the many among one, also has ten approaches. The first is ten. Why? This is because it is established as a condition that ten is among one. Why? This is because the one along with ten make one. If precisely that first one is one of ten, separating one of ten is precisely because there is no first one. Therefore, this one is precisely (identifies with) one among ten. Accordingly, ten is not one. The remaining nine, eight, and seven all the way down to one, each and every one is just like this. Pay attention to this example and ponder it.

第二同體門中, 亦有二義. 一者一中多, 多中一, 二者一卽多, 多卽一. 初門中二, 一者一中多, 二者多中一. 初一中多者, 十門不同. 一者一. 何以故, 緣成故, 是本數一中具十. 何以故, 由此一錢自體是一. 復與二作一故, 卽爲二一, 乃至與十作一故, 卽爲十一. 是故此一之中, 卽自具有十箇一耳. 仍一非十也. 以未是卽門故. 初一錢旣爾, 餘二三四已上九門中, 皆各如是, 准例可知耳. 二者多中一, 亦有十門. 一者十. 何以故, 緣成故, 十中一. 何以故, 由此一與十作一故. 卽彼初一, 在十一之中, 以離十一卽無初一故. 是故此一卽十之中一也. 仍十非一矣. 餘下九八七, 乃至於一, 皆各如是, 准例思之.

Question: Why is this different from the foregoing essence of diversity?

Answer: The foregoing essence of diversity is only the mutual interpenetration of the approach of diversity with respect to the first one and the remaining nine. Here, this is the essence of unity among one that by itself is endowed with ten, and is not an explanation of the approach of diversity with respect to the former and the latter.[160]

問, 此與前異體, 何別耶?
答, 前異體者, 初一望後九異門相入耳. 今此同體一中自具十, 非望前後異門說也.

In the second, the meaning of identity, one is precisely (identifies with) ten and ten is precisely (identifies with) one, there are also two approaches. The first is one is precisely (identifies with) ten, and also there are ten approaches that are not the same. The first is one. Why? This is because it is established as a condition that one is precisely (identifies with) ten. Why? This is because this ten is precisely (identifies with) the first one and because there are no distinct essences of self. Therefore, this ten is precisely (identifies with) this one. All of the remaining nine approaches are also just like this. Pay attention to this and you should be able to comprehend. The second, ten is precisely (identifies with) one, also has ten approaches that are not the same. The first is ten. Why? This is because it is established as a condition. Why? This is because that initial one is precisely (identifies with) these ten and because again there is no one [of the essence of] self. Therefore, the first one is precisely (identifies with) these then. With respect to the remaining nine approaches, pay attention to this example and you can comprehend it.

二者即義中, 一即十, 十即一, 亦有二門. 一者一即十, 亦有十門不同. 一者一. 何以故, 緣成故, 一即十. 何以故, 由此十即是初一故, 無別自體故. 是故此十即是一也. 餘九門皆亦如是, 准之可知. 二者十即一者, 亦十門不同. 一者十. 何以故, 緣成故, 十即一. 何以故, 以彼初一即是十故, 更無自一故. 是故初一即是十也. 餘九門, 准例知之.

160 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866, 45.505b7–24.

Question: With respect to one being precisely (identifying with) ten, and so forth in this essence of unity, are only these ten subsumed or is the subsuming inexhaustible?

Answer: All these things are established in accordance with knowledge, and it must be that ten is precisely (identifies with) ten and it must be that the inexhaustible is precisely the inexhaustible. The increase and decease [of these numbers] is just like this, and it is grasped according to knowledge. That is it precisely (identifies with) ten is just like the foregoing analysis. The expression "inexhaustible" is that there are already ten within one approach. Nevertheless, these ten again alternately of themselves are mutually identifying, mutually interpenetrating, and layer upon layer establish the inexhaustible. Nevertheless, these layers upon layers of the inexhaustible[161] are all subsumed in the initial approach.

Question: Does it only subsume the layers upon layers of the inexhaustible in the approach of the one [of the essence] of self, or are all also subsumed in the inexhaustibility of the remaining approaches of diversity?

Answer: It is either subsumed all together or it only subsumes the inexhaustibility [of the essence] of self. Why? If there were not inexhaustibility in the approach of the one [of the essence] of self, all of the inexhaustibility in all of the remaining approaches would not be established. Therefore, essence of unity of the initial approach is precisely subsumed in the inexhaustibility without remainder in the two approaches of unity and diversity <up to ten layers>, and it invariably subsumes and exhausts everything in the dharma realm of the perfect ultimate. Or it only subsumes the inexhaustible in the one approach of the essence of unity. Why? This is because the remaining approaches of diversity are just like empty space; because they are not mutually comprehensible and because they are fully

161 The concept of layers upon layers of the inexhaustible (*mujin chungjung,* Ch. *wujin zhongzhong* 無盡重重) is the same as the inexhaustibility of layers upon layers (*chungjung mujin*, Ch. *zhongzhong wujin* 重重無盡) and suggests the appearance of things piled on top of each other layer upon layer without end.

endowed of themselves, they are impossible to subsume. As for this, since one is chosen only in accordance with knowledge, it is not contradictory. Just like this, one approach is already fully endowed with infinitude and caused to be inexhaustible, and so it arrives at the establishment of such things as mutual identity and mutual interpenetration. The remaining approaches one by one, all of them, are just like this, and you should pay attention to and know the establishment of each inexhaustibility of the inexhaustible. This, moreover, is bound in the coins that are manifest in the phenomenal world and, in addition, this is the dharma on the dhāraṇī of the inexhaustibility of the conditioned arising of the one vehicle and does not mean that that dharma is only like this. You should ponder being able to leave behind the passions and according with principle.[162] It is just like the gāthā by the Bodhisattva Forest of Seminal Progress (Chŏngjillin posal, Ch. Jingjinlin pusa 精進林菩薩) in the Palace of Tuṣita Heaven:

> Analogize it to the dharma of counting numbers
> Increasing from one to infinity;
> Although the dharma of numbers is devoid of the nature of essence
> Because of wisdom there are differences.[163]

問, 此同體中, 一即十等者, 爲只攝此十耶, 爲攝無盡耶?
答, 此並隨智而成, 須十即十, 須無盡即無盡. 如是增減, 隨智取矣. 即十如前釋. 言無盡者, 一門中旣有十. 然此十, 復自迭相即入重重成無盡也. 然此無盡重重, 皆悉攝在初門中也.
問, 但攝自一門中無盡重重, 皆悉亦攝餘異門無盡耶?
答, 或俱攝, 或但攝自無盡. 何以故, 若無自一門中無盡, 餘一切門中無盡, 皆悉不成故. 是故初門同體, 即攝同異二門中無盡無餘<乃至十重>, 窮其圓極法界, 無不攝盡耳. 或但攝自同體一門中無盡. 何以故, 由餘異門如虛空故, 不相知故, 自

162 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505b24–c22. This was a citation from the *Wujiao zhang* up to the gāthās of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

163 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 19, T 279.10.101b17–18 (*Yemo gong zhong jie zan pin* 夜摩宮中偈讚品).

具足故, 更無可攝. 此但隨智而取一, 不差失也. 如此一門, 旣具足無窮, 令無盡, 及相即相入等, 成無盡者. 餘一一門中, 皆悉如是, 各無盡無盡成, 宜准知之. 此且約現事錢中, 況彼一乘緣起無盡陀羅尼法, 非謂其法只如此也. 應可去情, 如理思之. 如夜摩天宮精進林菩薩偈云, "譬如算數法, 增一至無量, 數法無體性, 智慧故差別."

IV. The Meaning of Conditioned Arising[164]

There are three approaches just like above.

1. Analysis of the Name

Dharma Master Lin says, "Because [all things] arise from each other they are called 'conditions.' Conditions neither abide nor are attached; and since the one and the many follow conditions they are called 'arising.' The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* says: 'Because they do not arise universally they are called conditioned arising.'"[165]

緣起義. 三門同前,
第一釋名者.
懍法師云, "更互相由, 名之爲緣, 緣無住著, 一多從緣, 名之爲起. 大般若經云, '平等不起, 故名緣起.'"

2. Revealing the Essential Point

The two masters Fazang and Wŏnhyo take the unimpeded dharma realm as the essential point. Master Lin says:

164 HPC 2.360c4–362a12.

165 *Da bore poluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅密多經 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*) 593, T 220.7.1069a25.

Being two while being one[166] is the essential point of conditioned arising. One is not one by itself; one arises based on the condition of two. Two is not two by itself; two arises based on the condition of one. One of two is one and two of one is two; this is the essential point of conditioned arising. That which is said to be one does not exist nor does it not exist. While having the characteristics of one, it lacks characteristics. It is the one that is not one. That which is said to be two has the existence that is not existence and the non-existence that is not non-existence. The existence that is not existence shatters the non-existence of the rabbit's horn,[167] and the non-existence that is not non-existence shatters the existence of emptiness/empty space. Since it shatters existence and explains non-existence, this is the non-existence that is not non-existence. Since it shatters non-existence and explains existence, this is the existence that is not non-existence. Because it is not existence, it is existence and yet it is non-existence. Because it is not non-existence, it is non-existence and yet it is existence. Since it is existence and it is non-existence it is called two. Two does not have the characteristics of two, and while it is not two it is two.

第二出體者.

藏曉二師, 以無礙法界爲體. 懍師云, "而一而二爲緣起體. 一不自一, 緣二故起一, 二不自二, 緣一故起二. 二一爲一, 一二爲二, 爲緣起體. 所言一者, 無有無無.

166 Correcting *wi i* 爲二 in the original text to *i il i i* 而一而二.

167 The "rabbit's horn" (*t'ogak*, Ch. *tujue* 兎角), like "turtle's hair" (*kwimo*, Ch. *guimao* 龜毛), refers to the idea of contending over something that is completely wrong in the first place because turtles originally never had hair and rabbits do not have horns. When turtles swim in the water, water plants sometimes stick to their bodies. Seeing this, people mistook the water plants to be hair. Likewise, people's seeing a rabbit with his ears pricked straight up mistook them for horns. For this reason, in sūtras and classics, turtle's hair and rabbit's horns (*kwimo t'ogak* 龜毛兎角) refer to something that has a name but does not exist in reality (*yumyŏng musil* 有名無實). For the case of Buddhism, this is compared to the mistaken belief or conceptualization of the reality of the self (*a* 我) or dharmas (*pŏp* 法). Aside from the foregoing, other comparisons are found in traditional literature, such as "snake's feet" (*sajok*, Ch. *shezu* 蛇足), the "fragrance of salt" (*kohyang*, Ch. *guxiang* 鹽香), and the "color of wind" (*p'ungsaek*, Ch. *fengse* 風色).

一相無相, 非一爲一. 所言二者, 非有之有, 非無之無. 非有之有, 以破兎角之無, 非無之無, 以破虛空之有. 破有說無, 此無非無, 破無說有, 此有非有. 以非有故, 有而是無, 以非無故, 無而是有. 是有是無, 名之爲二. 二無二相, 無二而二也."

3. Differentiation by Means of Questions and Answers

Question: What is the meaning of conditioned arising?

Answer: There are explanations by numerous masters.

第三問答分別.
問, 緣起者, 其義云何?
答, 有數師說.

First, Master Ŭisang says:

Conditioned arising, being impossible to differentiate according to nature, is precisely mutual identity and mutual interfusion (*sangjŭk sangyung* 相卽相融). Since it manifests the meaning of universality, it correctly follows the essence of the absolute truth.[168] Causal conditions (*inyŏn* 因緣), being possible to distinguish according to worldly [concepts], are precisely the mutual opposition of causes and conditions. Since it manifests the meaning of lack of self-nature, it is correctly worldly truth.[169]

一義相師云, "緣起者, 隨性無分別, 卽是相卽相融, 顯平等義, 正順第一義諦體也. 因緣者, 隨俗差別, 卽是因緣相望, 顯無自性義, 正俗諦體也."

168 Absolute truth, lit. "truth of the first meaning" (*cheil ŭi che*, Ch. *diyi yi ti* 第一義諦; Skt. *paramārthataḥ-satya*), means the highest and most noble truth. It refers to the most ultimate truth that is the comprehension of the Way to enlightenment by means of perfect wisdom. It is also termed "the truth of reality" (*chinje*, Ch. *zhenti* 眞諦) and "the truth of victorious meaning" (*sŭngŭije*, Ch. *shengyiti* 勝義諦).

169 Cf. *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, HPC 2.7a11–16. In his quotation P'yowŏn has switched around Ŭisang's words slightly. Worldly truth (*sokche*, Ch. *suti* 俗諦; Skt. *saṃvṛti-satya*) is the understanding of the way

Second, Master [Jingying] Huiyuan of the Sui dynasty says:

> The meaning of causal conditions is also called conditioned arising (*yŏn'gi* 緣起) and is also called a collection of conditions (*yŏnjip* 緣集). Because it refers to all dharmas existing under the pretext of causes and conditions, it is called "causal conditions." Because dharmas arise depending on conditions, it is termed "conditioned arising." Because dharmas are collected following conditions, it is named a collection of conditions. If we differentiate them there are three kinds: the first is causative (*yuwi* 有爲), the second is non-causative (*muwi* 無爲), and the third is the essence of self (*chach'e* 自體) [ātman]. That which is termed "causative" is the dharma of saṃsāra; and because its essence is impermanent and acts by means of producing and destroying, it is called causative. Because defilements from karmic actions exist by means of causes and conditions, they are called causal conditions. That which is termed "non-causative" is precisely the [dharma of] so-called "nirvāṇa"; because its essence is neither produced nor destroyed, it is called non-causative. Because it exists depending on the [principles of the] Way, it is called causal connections. Since both of these two dharmas collect and arise from previous causes and later results, this is the conditioned arising of phenomena.[170] That which is termed "essence of self" precisely, as the previously mentioned dharmas of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, falls under the self-nature of dharmas, and all are conditioned arising. What are its characteristics? The original nature of saṃsāra is precisely just like what is explained as the Tathāgatagarbha.

---

things are following the ordinary reasoning of the truth that arise and cease according to dharmas of the mundane world. In other words, it refers to the reasoning and logic of the mundane world and facts of the mundane world. Existing in opposition to absolute truth, it is also referred to by such terms as "the truth of the mundane world" (*sesokche,* Ch. *shisuti* 世俗諦), "worldly truth" (*seje,* Ch. *shiti* 世諦), and "the truth of existence" (*yuje*, Ch. *youti* 有諦).

170 The conditioned arising of phenomena (*sayŏn'gi* 事緣起) refers to the dharma of conditioned arising in the phenomenal world, or the world in which we live.

In the Tathāgatagarbha, it is fully endowed with all the Buddhadharmas numbering as much as the sands of the Ganges, and all these dharmas are one and the same as the essential nature and are mutually collected by conditions, and there is not even one dharma by itself that protects self-nature. Although there is no[171] nature of one, there is nothing that is not nature. Because there is no nature of one, all dharmas are just like this. Because there is invariably nature, the approach of the dharma realm is different. Since saṃsāra is so, nirvāṇa is also just so. Because all dharmas with the same nature are mutually collected and established, they are called causal conditions and are also called conditioned arising, as well as collected by conditions. In this essence of self, there are three kinds: first, the Tathāgatagarbha of causation <defiled by what is false>; second, the Tathāgatagarbha of non-causation <leaving behind falsity, which is called purity>; and third, the essence of self <abolishing conditions and discussing reality>.[172]

二隋慧遠師云,“因緣之義, 亦名緣起, 亦名緣集. 謂假因託緣, 而有諸法, 故曰因緣, 法起藉緣, 故稱緣起, 法從緣集, 故名緣集. 分別有三, 一是有爲, 二是無爲, 三是自體. 言有爲者, 生死之法, 體有無常生滅所爲, 故名有爲. 從業煩惱因緣而有, 故名因緣. 言無爲者, 所謂涅槃, 體非生滅, 名曰無爲. 藉道而有, 故曰因緣. 此之二法, 皆從前因, 集起後果, 是事緣起. 言自體者, 即前生死涅槃之法, 當法自性, 皆是緣起. 其相云何? 如說生死本性即是如來之藏. 如來藏中, 具足一切恒沙佛法, 而此諸法, 同一體性, 互相緣集, 無有一法獨守自性. 雖無一性, 而無不性. 無一性故, 諸法皆如, 無不性故, 法界門別. 生死旣然, 涅槃亦爾. 同體諸法, 互相集成, 故曰因緣, 亦名緣起, 及與緣集. 此自體中, 復有三種. 一者有爲如來之藏 <隨妄爲染>. 二者無爲如來之藏<離妄名淨>. 三者自體<癈緣論實>.”

Third, Dharma Master Lin says:

171 Reading *mu* 無 for *si* 是 following *Dasheng yizhang* 1, T 1851.44.488b3.

172 *Shidi jing lun yiji* 十地經論義記 1, X 45.34c9–23.

The original essence of conditioned arising is non-dual/indivisible, and its functions may be explained in four ways: first, the conditioned arising of the causative; second, the conditioned arising of the non-causative; third, the conditioned arising of the essence of self; and fourth, the conditioned arising of the dharma realm. That which is termed existence does not exist by itself; since existence arises on the condition of non-existence, it is named the conditioned arising of the causative. Non-existence is not non-existent by itself; since non-existence arises on the condition of existence it is named the conditioned arising of the non-causative. The causative and the non-causative are two functions; and the not causative and not non-causative are non-dual/indivisible and are the original essence. The non-dual/indivisible is not non-dual/indivisible by itself, and the conditionally arisen duality is non-dual/indivisible. Furthermore, the self is not a self by itself; the self arises on the condition of the other. Furthermore, because the essence is not the essence by itself, the essence arises on the condition of function, and it is called the conditioned arising of the essence of the self. The absence of duality and the absence of non-duality are universality (*p'yŏngdŭng* 平等). Also, duality and non-duality are discriminative (*ch'abyŏl* 差別). Discrimination is not discriminative by itself; discrimination arises on the condition of universality. Universality is not universality is not universal by itself; universality arises on the condition of discrimination. Since universality and non-universality are both together universal, it is called the conditioned arising of the dharma realm.

Question: What passages serve as evidence for this?

Answer: The "Detachment from the World" chapter [of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says]: "Within one there is the limitless, and within the limitless there is the one. It is unhindered and unimpeded." So in a summary conclusion we can say: "All these things are conditioned arising. If there is any one dharma that is not conditioned arising, it is not a Buddhadharma."[173] Furthermore, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* says: "By

173 This exact quote does not appear in this chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. However, quotations

deeply penetrating conditioned arising, you will several all wrong views, and no longer is familiar with the two extremes of existence and non-existence."[174] Hence, we know that if one does not enter into conditioned arising he does not avoid wrong views. <And so on and so forth.>

三懍師云, "緣起體無二, 開用爲四種. 一有爲緣起, 二無爲緣起, 三自體緣起, 四法界緣起. 謂有不自有, 緣無起有, 名有爲緣起也. 無不自無, 緣有起無, 名無爲緣起也. 有爲無爲爲二用, 非有爲非無爲不二, 爲本體也. 不二, 非自不二, 緣起二不二. 又自, 不自自, 緣他起自, 又體不自體, 緣用起體, 故名自體緣起也. 無二無不二爲平等, 亦二亦不二爲差別. 差別, 不自差別, 緣平等起差別, 平等, 不自平等, 緣差別起平等. 平等不平等, 皆悉平等, 名法界緣起. 問, 何文爲證? 答, 離世間品, '一中有無量, 無量中有一, 無障無礙.' 總結云, '悉是緣起, 若有一法非緣起者, 非佛法也.' 又維摩云, '深入緣起, 斷諸耶見, 有無二邊, 無復餘習.' 故知不入緣起, 未免邪見.<云云>"

Fourth, Master Fazang says:

Question: What causes and conditions would cause all these dharmas to obtain random interfusion and unimpeded-ness (*honyung muae* 混融無礙) like this?

Answer: Causes and conditions are limitless and are difficult to set forth in detail. In summary there are ten types that analyze this unimpeded-ness. First, it is because of conditioned arising and mutual derivation. Second, it is because the nature of dharmas is interfused and thoroughly comprehensive. Third, it is because each manifests mind-only. Fourth, it is because they are not real like illusions. Fifth, it is because their size is not fixed. Sixth, it is because they are produced from limitless causes. Seventh, it is because the virtues by means of the

with similar meanings, for the most part, may be found in *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 5, T 278.9.423a1 (*Rulai guangming jue pin*) and roll 9, T 278.9.609a17 (*Puxian pusa xing pin*).

174 *Weimoji suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*) 1, T 475.14.537a20–21.

result[175] are perfect and extreme. Eighth, it is because they are superiorly comprehensive and self-existing. Ninth, it is because of the great functioning of samādhi. And tenth, it is because it is difficult to ponder liberation. Initially, speaking of "it is because of conditioned arising and mutual derivation" <the remaining nine approaches are described in other places>, in short, there are three little-known approaches. First, the meaning of all conditions each being diverse <also called all conditions are mutually diverse approaches, which is precisely the essence of diversity>. Second, the meaning of mutual assistance everywhere <also called the approach of all conditions being mutually responsive, which is precisely the essence of unity>. Third, the meaning of existing together unimpeded <also called the approach of responding to diversity in unimpeded-ness, which is precisely the twin differentiation of unity and diversity>. [First,] the meaning of all conditions each being diverse means that all conditions are mutually opposing and, of necessity, essence and function are each different and not mutually mixed together, but directly establish conditioned arising. If it were not so, all conditions would be confused and mixed together, they would lose the dharma of original conditions, and conditioned arising would not be established. This means that all conditions, each and every one, protects the one of self. Second, the meaning of mutual assistance everywhere means that all conditions by necessity are responsive to each other everywhere, and directly establish conditioned arising. Moreover, if one condition is responsive everywhere to many conditions, each one with those many becomes one by means of the whole. This one is one that is fully endowed with many conditions. If this one condition is not fully endowed with the one of many, then assistance and response will not be everywhere and will not establish conditioned arising. This then one by one each individually is together with the one of all. Third, the meaning of existing together unimpeded

175 The virtues by means of the result (*kwadŏk* 果德) refer to the powers and abilities, the capacity, obtained as a result of the attainment of advanced stages of bodhisattva practice and buddhadhood.

means that in general one condition is necessarily preceded by two, and directly establishes conditioned arising. In sum, if abiding as one by itself, it will directly be able to be responsive everywhere; and if it is responsive everywhere in many conditions, it will directly be one. For this reason, one only and one of many are self-existent and unimpeded. These are the foregoing three approaches that comprehensively clarify the original dharma of conditioned arising.

Question: Having already heard the name of the original dharma of conditioned arising, I do not yet know what it means.

Answer: Within each of the foregoing three approaches there are three meanings that are mutually dependent. First, the meanings of powerful and powerless are the reason they are able to be mutually interpenetrating. Second, the meanings of possessing essence and lacking essence that deprive forms mutually are the reason they are share mutual identity. Third, the meaning of essence and function interfusing with existence and non-existence is the reason these identify and interpenetrate and exist by themselves at the same time. The mutual interpenetration of the initial approach of diversity means that the function of the power of all conditions alternate and are mutually dependent; and because they deprive forms mutually, each is directly established by conditioned arising with the meaning of completely powerful and completely powerless. It is just as the *Daśabhūmika-sutra-śāstra* says: "It is because, with respect to causes that are not produced, conditions are produced; and it is because, with respect to conditions that are not produced, causes of themselves are produced."[176] If for each only the powerful existed and the powerless did not exist, then there would be the mistake of many results because one by one each individually is produced. If for each only the powerless

176 Cf. *Shidi jing lun* 8, T 1523.26.170b19–20. "With respect to profound visualization, there are four kinds. First, there is the classification that others do not commit things but that causes by themselves are produced. Second, it is not that things are committed by themselves but that the conditions arise."

existed and the powerful did not exist, there would be the mistake of no results; it is because conditions are not endowed together and all are not produced. Therefore, conditioned arising needs the meaning of mutual derivation and must be endowed with the powerful and powerless. If one condition is deficient, all will not be established. The remaining also are just like this. Therefore, if one is able to carry the many, the one is powerful and able to subsume the many. If the many depend on the one, the many are powerless and permeate and penetrate the one. Deriving from the powerfulness of the one, it necessarily cannot be endowed with the powerfulness of the many. Therefore, it cannot be that there is one and yet it does not subsume the many. Deriving from the powerlessness of the many, it necessarily cannot be endowed with the powerlessness of the one. Therefore, it cannot be that there are many and yet they do not penetrate the one. If the one carries and the many being dependent are already so, the many carrying and the one being dependent is also just so, we must consider it to be contrary to the foregoing. This then is also the lack of the many not being subsumed by the one and the one not penetrating the many. If the one confronts the many and there is carrying and dependence, it is completely powerful and powerless, and constantly contains the many that reside in itself, and permeating itself in the many it is unimpeded at the same time. If the many confront the one, you should know that it is also just so. The unimpeded nature of the two statements that both exist and are eliminated you should also pay attention to and ponder.[177]

四法藏師云,“問, 有何因緣, 令此諸法, 得有如是混融無礙? 答, 因緣無量, 難可具陳. 略提十類, 釋此無礙. 一緣起相由故. 二法性融通故. 三各唯心現故. 四如幻不實故. 五大少無定故. 六無限因生故. 七果德圓極故. 八勝通自在故. 九三昧大用故. 十難思解脫故. 初言 ‘緣起相由故’ 者<餘後九門, 別處說, 云云.> 曲有三門. 一諸緣各異義<亦名諸緣互異門, 即異體也.>. 二互遍相資義<亦名諸緣互應門, 即同體也.>. 三俱存無礙義<亦名應異無礙門, 即雙辨同異也.>. 言諸緣

177 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.124a8–b18.

各異義者, 謂諸緣相望, 要須體用各別, 不相和雜, 方成緣起. 若不爾者, 諸緣雜亂, 失本緣法, 緣起不成, 此則諸緣, 各各守自一也. 二互遍相資義者, 謂諸此緣, 要互相遍應, 方成緣起. 且如一緣遍應多緣, 各與彼多, 全爲一故. 此一, 則具多箇一也. 若此一緣不具多一, 則資應不遍, 不成緣起. 此則一一各具一切一也. 三俱存無礙義者, 謂凡是一緣, 要具前二, 方成緣起. 以要住自一, 方能遍應, 遍應多緣, 方是一故. 是故唯一多一, 自在無礙. 此上三門, 總明緣起本法. 問, 旣聞緣起本法名也, 未知其義何耶? 答, 此上三門中, 各有三義, 互相依持. 初有力無力義, 由此得相入也. 二互相形奪有體無體義, 由此得相即也. 三體用融有無義, 由此即入同時自在也. 初異門相入者, 謂諸緣力用遞相依持, 互形奪故, 各有全力全無力義, 緣起方成. 如十地論云, '因不生緣生故, 緣不生自因生故.' 若各唯有力, 無無力, 則有多果過, 一一各生故. 若各唯無力, 無有力, 則無果過, 以同非緣俱不生故. 是故緣起要相由義, 具力無力. 如闕一緣, 一切不成. 餘亦如是. 是故一能持多, 一是有力能攝多. 多依於一, 多是無力潛入一. 由一有力, 必不得與多有力俱. 是故無有一而不攝多也. 由多無力, 必不得與一無力俱. 故無有多而不入一也. 如一持多依旣爾, 多持一依亦然. 反上思之. 是則亦無多不攝一, 一不入多者也. 如一望多有持有依, 全[178]力無力, 常含多在己中, 潛己在多中, 同時無礙. 多望於一, 當知亦爾. 俱存雙泯, 二句無礙, 亦准思之."

V. The Meaning of Exploring the Mysteries[179]

There are three approaches the same as before.

1. Analysis of the Name

The ocean of meaning is extremely deep; it transcends the expression of the passions; and because it is inconceivable they are called "mysteries." Because inferring and grasping manifest meaning, it is called "exploring." Because there are deep reasons, it is called "meaning."

[178] Reading *yŏng* 令 as *chŏn* 全.

[179] HPC 2.363b17–366a12.

探玄義
三門同前.
第一釋名者, 義海究深, 超過情表, 不可思議, 故名為玄. 推攬顯意, 故名為探. 有深所以, 故名為義.

2. Revealing the Essential Point

The unimpeded dharma realm[180] is the essential point. Master Huiyuan[181] says:

---

180 Dharma realm (*pŏpkye,* Ch. *fajie* 法界; Skt. *dharma-dhātu*) is one of eighteen realms or world systems that comprise all things that are objects of consciousness. It is used in much the same way as the expression "true thusness" (*chinyŏ*, Ch. *zhenru* 眞如) since it refers to ultimate reality, the way things are, the universe as it is. Because all dharmas, such as the eyes (*an* 眼) in the whole body, are fully endowed, it is said that each and every one is produced belonging to the same class. In the Hwaŏm tradition, the dharma realm has three meanings, which may be distinguished as follows: the source from which the hallowed dharma is produced, the true essence of all dharmas, and the classification of phenomena in which all dharmas are differentiated (*punje* 分齊) into each of their components. Although the dharma realm is differentiated in many ways, the whole is said, in the end, to be the consequence of the one true dharma realm (*ilchin pŏpkye*, Ch. *yizhen fajie* 一眞法界).

181 Master Huiyuan 慧苑 (673?–743) was a disciple of Fazang 法藏 (643–712), who completed the annotation of the *New Translation of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Xinyi huayan jing* 新譯華嚴經) that was left unfinished by Fazang. He also composed the *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記 [Summary of published commentaries on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra,* a continuation], in fifteen rolls (thirteen rolls are extant, rolls six and seven are lost). However, perhaps because there are differences between his and Fazang's schemes of doctrinal classification, Huiyuan was excluded from the traditional conception of the five patriarchs of the Huayan lineage: Dushun 杜順, Zhiyan 智儼, Fazang, Chengguan 澄觀, and Zongmi 宗密. However, P'yowŏn cites the views of Huiyuan. Although he cited the views and positions of many exegetes active in the eighth century and before, he did not cite Chengguan (738–839). This suggests that P'yowŏn did not live at the time after the passing of Fazang and after the Chengguan reconfirmed the five doctrinal classifications when Huiyuan's theories were rejected. Or perhaps it shows that texts by P'yowŏn that cite Chengguan have not been preserved.

There are two kinds of essential phenomena.[182] First, as something that is clean and pure and without defilements, this is the characteristic of virtue that is the dependent essential phenomena. Second, as something that is thoroughly defiled and without defilements, this is the function of karma that is the dependent essential phenomena. This refers to forms (*saek* 色), minds (*sim* 心), times (*si* 時), locations (*ch'ŏ* 處), bodies (*sin* 身), quarters [realms] (*pang* 方), teachings (*kyo* 教), meanings (*ŭi* 義), practices (*haeng* 行), and levels (*wi* 位). Raising these ten dharmas they are thoroughly comprehended and differentiated by the foregoing two [kinds of essential phenomena].[183] <And so on and so forth>

第二出體者. 以無礙法界為體. 慧苑師云, "二種體事. 一純淨無漏, 是德相所依體事. 二通漏無漏, 是業用所依體事. 謂色心時處身方教義行位, 舉十法, 通辨前二."<云云>

3. Differentiation by Means of Questions and Answers

Question: How is it possible to know if one has already transcended the passions?

Answer: Master Fazang says: They may be summarized by raising ten approaches that encompass their main points: first, the approach in which

---

182 With respect to "essential phenomena" (*ch'esa,* Ch. *tishi* 體事), Huiyuan, in explaining the unimpededness of phenomena and phenomena, explained that the characteristics of the whole (*ch'ongsang*, Ch. *zongxiang* 總相) are revealed by means of the three characteristics (*samsang*, Ch. *sanxiang* 三相). The three characteristics are essential phenomena, the characteristic of virtue (*tŏksang,* Ch. *dexiang* 德相), and the function of karma (*ŏbyong*, Ch. *yeyong* 業用). "Essential phenomena" classifies phenomena by means of the structures of implication and exterior conditions; they refer to the intrinsic phenomena that are considered as the essence of the unimpededness of phenomena and phenomena. The characteristic of virtue is explained as the appearance of implication, and the function of karma is explained as the function of implication. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 153 n. 627.

183 *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記 1, X 3.590c9–11.

all are endowed at the same time and mutually responsive (*tongshi juzu xiangying men* 同時具足相應門); second, the approach in which the broad and the narrow are self-existent and unimpeded (*guangxia zizai wuai men* 廣狹自在無礙門); third, the approach in which the one and the many are mutually tolerable and dissimilar (*yiduo xiangrong butong men* 一多相容不同門); fourth, the approach in which all dharmas share mutual identity and are self-existent (*zhufa xiangji zizai men* 諸法相卽自在門); fifth, the approach in which the hidden and manifest are both established (*yinmi xianliao jucheng men* 隱密顯了具成門); sixth, the approach in which the minute and subtle are mutually tolerable and peacefully instituted (*weixi xiangrong anli men* 微細相容安立門); seventh, the approach of the dharma realm that is like Indra's net (*Yintuoluo wang fajie men* 因陀羅網法界門); eighth, the approach in which entrusting phenomena and manifesting dharmas produce understanding (*tuoshi xianfa shengjie men* 託事顯法生解門); ninth, the approach in which the ten time periods isolate dharmas and are established diversely (*shishi gefa yicheng men* 十世隔法異成門); and tenth, the approach in which host and guest are perfectly clear and endowed with virtue (*zhuban yuanming jude men* 主伴圓明具德門).[184] Nevertheless, these ten approaches are the same as

---

184 The foregoing ten approaches are explained as follows: (1) the approach in which all are endowed at the same time and mutually responsive (*tongsi kujok sangŭng mun,* Ch. *tongshi juzu xiangying men* 同時具足相應門) refers to all dharmas being fully endowed and perfect at the same time and mutually responsive; (2) the approach in which the broad and the narrow are self-existent and unimpeded (*kwanghyŏp chajae muae mun*, Ch. *guangxia zizai wuai men* 廣狹自在無礙門) is called "the approach in which all storehouses are both simple and complex and fully endowed with virtue" (*chejang sunjap kudŏk mun,* Ch. *zhuzang shunza jude wen* 諸藏純雜具德門) in the old ten mysteries (*ko siphyŏn,* Ch. *gu shixian* 古十玄) and refers to the practices of the one and many sharing mutual identity, and one simple practice is fully endowed with the virtue of complex practices and they are mutually unhindered; (3) the approach in which the one and the many are mutually tolerable and dissimilar (*ilda sangyong pudong mun*, Ch. *yiduo xiangrong butong men* 一多相容不同門) refers to the idea that although the one and the many are mutually interfused and devoid of obstacles, they will never lose any of their special characteristics and always maintain their original nature; (4) the approach in which all dharmas share mutual identity and are self-existing (*chebŏp sangjŭk chajae mun*, Ch. *zhufa xiangji zizai men* 諸法相卽自在門) refers to the essence of one and many being mutually interfused and unimpeded, and the many are precisely the one and the one is precisely the many; (5)

the conditioned arising of the one and unimpeded perfect interfusion; in accordance with one approach it is precisely endowed with all, which you should be able to ponder.

From the standpoint of the first approach, the ten meanings are fully endowed. First, doctrine and meaning (*jiaoyi* 教義) are fully endowed; second, principle and phenomena (*lishi* 理事); third, objects and knowledge (*jingzhi* 境智); fourth, practices and position (*xingwei* 行位); fifth, causes and results (*yinguo* 因果); sixth, being dependent and being correctly self-reliant (*yizheng* 依正); seventh, essence and function (*tiyong* 體用); eighth, humans and dharmas (*renfa* 人法); ninth, inappropriate and appropriate activity (*nishun* 逆順); and tenth, resonance and response (*ganying* 感應) are fully endowed.[185]

---

the approach in which the hidden and manifest are both established (*ŭnmil hyŏllyo kusŏng mun,* Ch. *yinmi xianliao jucheng men* 隱密顯了具成門) refers to the idea that although the one and the many are hidden and manifest, there is no first and last between the two by means to conditioned arising; (6) the approach in which the minute and subtle are mutually tolerable and peacefully instituted (*mise sangyong allip mun,* Ch. *weixi xiangrong anli men* 微細相容安立門) refers to the one containing the many, the many tolerating the one, and the one and the many not being destroyed; (7) the approach of the dharma realm that is like Indra's net (*Indara mang pŏpkye mun,* Ch. *Yintuoluo wang fajie men* 因陀羅網法界門) refers to all things precisely the one and the sharing mutual identity and mutual penetration and, just as in the mutual reflection of the numberless jewels hanging from Indra's net, they are mutually tolerable and limitless; (8) the approach in which entrusting phenomena and manifesting dharmas produce understanding (*t'aksa hyŏnbŏp saenghae mun,* Ch. *tuoshi xianfa shengjie men* 託事顯法生解門); (9) the approach in which the ten time periods isolate dharmas and are established diversely (*sipse kyŏkpŏp isŏng mun,* Ch. *shishi gefa yicheng men* 十世隔法異成門) refers to time periods, precisely, and clarify the mutual identity and mutual penetration of the one and many as seen from the standpoint of time, and furthermore, each of the three time periods in the past, present, and future, becomes nine time periods, and the nine time periods share mutual identity and mutual penetration and become one thought-moment (*illyŏm,* Ch. *yinian* 一念), one thought-moment added to the nine time periods becomes ten time periods; and (10) the approach in which host and guest are perfectly clear and endowed with virtue (*chuban wŏnmyŏng kudŏk mun,* Ch. *zhuban yuanming jude men* 主伴圓明具德門) refers to the position that all is the mind of the Tathāgatagarbha by means of its original nature and that there is no difference between this mind and the others.

185 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123a28–b8. After this P'yowŏn follows Fazang's *Tanxuan ji* with respect to the sequence and names of the ten approaches. The section that explains the contents

These foregoing ten dharmas are mutually responsive at the same time and establish the conditioned arising of the one. There are no such distinctions as former and latter, beginning[186] and end; and in accordance with the one each is fully endowed with all remaining meanings. Although they participate they are not adulterated and establish the limits of conditioned arising.

Master Huiyuan says: "This approach is generalized and the latter nine are differentiated [theories]."[187]

---

is either a cross-section between or summary of the *Tanxuan ji* and the *Huayan wujiao zhang.* The ten approaches are differentiated by means of their contents and sequence into the old ten mysteries (*ko siphyŏn*, Ch. *gu shixuan* 古十玄) and the new ten mysteries (*sin siphyŏn,* Ch. *xin shixuan* 新十玄). In other words, although Fazang followed his mentor Zhiyan specifically in his *Huayan wujiao zhang*, he made some corrections when he composed his *Tanxuan ji*. Therefore, the theory of the ten mysteries after the *Tanxuan ji* is called the "new ten mysteries" and the theory prior to it is called the "old ten mysteries." Those texts that ascribe to the theory of the "old ten mysteries" are Zhiyan's *Shixuan men* 十玄門 and *Dafangguang fo huayan jing souxuan fenqi tongzhi fanggui* 大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌, and Fazang's *Huayan wenyi gangmu* 華嚴文義綱目, *Huayan jinshizi zhang* 華嚴金獅子章, *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章; the texts that ascribe to the theory of the "new ten mysteries" are Fazang's *Tanxuan ji* and Qingliang Chengguan's 清凉澄觀 *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏, and so forth. In the "new ten mysteries," the "approach in which all storehouses are both simple and complex and fully endowed with virtue" (*chejang sunjap kudŏk mun,* Ch. *zhuzang shunza jude wen* 諸藏純雜具德門) and the "approach in which wholesomeness is completed through the transformation of the mind only" (*yusim hoejŏn sŏnsŏng mun,* Ch. *weixin huichuan shancheng men* 唯心迴轉善成門) are replaced by the approach in which the broad and the narrow are self-existent and unimpeded (*kwanghyŏp chajae muae mun,* Ch. *guangxia zizai wuai men* 廣狹自在無礙門) and the approach in which host and guest are perfectly clear and endowed with virtue (*zhuban yuanming jude men* 主伴圓明具德門). Fazang made this replacement because he was concerned that the conditioned arising of the unimpededness of phenomena and phenomena as unimpededness of principle and phenomena would be confusing. Furthermore, the name of the "approach in which the hidden and manifest of the esoteric are both established" (*pimil ŭnhyŏn kusŏng mun,* Ch. *mimi yinxian jucheng men* 秘密隱顯俱成門), was changed to the "approach in which the hidden and hidden and manifest and understandable are both established" (*ŭnmil hyŏllyo kusŏng mun,* Ch. *yinmi xianliao jucheng men* 隱密顯了俱成門), but the content is the same.

186 Correcting *yŏ* 如 to be *si* 始 according to the logic of the text.

187 Cf. *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 1, X 3.591b17. "For this reason, these approaches are a generalized [theory] of the latter nine approaches; and the latter nine approaches, for this reason, are differentiated [theories] of the first approach."

第三問答分別.
問, 既言超情, 豈得可知耶?
答, 法藏師云 "略舉十門, 攝其綱要. 謂一同時具足相應門, 二廣狹自在無礙門, 三一多相容不同門, 四諸法相即自在門, 五隱密顯了俱成門, 六微細相容安立門, 七因陀羅網法界門, 八託事顯法生解門, 九十世隔法異成門, 十主伴圓明具德門. 然此十門, 同一緣起, 無礙圓融, 隨有一門, 即具一切, 應可思之.
就初門中, 有十義具足. 一教義具足, 二理事, 三境智, 四行位, 五因果[188], 六依正, 七體用, 八人法, 九逆順, 十應感具足."
此上十法, 同時相應, 成一緣起, 無有前後始終等別, 隨一各具餘一切義, 參而不雜, 成緣起際. 慧苑師云, "此門為總, 後九是別."

Second, with respect to the approach in which the broad and the narrow are self-existent and unimpeded, its divisions are precisely a lack of divisions, and its lack of divisions is precisely its divisions, and it is unimpeded and self-existent. It is just like one particle of dust that although it is universally spread throughout the dharma realm, does not destroy its original position. For this reason, either they are limitless since they are only broad or their bounds are clear and distinct, or they are precisely broad and precisely narrow, or their broadness and narrowness both vanish. Or they are endowed with the previous four qualities because this is the state of understanding (*haegyŏng* 解境). Or they sever the previous four qualities because this is the state of practice (*haenggyŏng* 行境). <You should pay attention to everything below.>[189]

二廣狹無礙者, 以分即無分, 無分即分, 無礙自在也. 如一微塵, 普周法界, 而不壞本位也. 是故或唯廣無[190]際, 或分限歷然, 或即廣即狹, 或廣狹俱[191]泯, 或具

188 Reading *i* 異 as *kwa* 果 following the *Tanxuan ji*.

189 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123b27–c3.

190 Correcting *muae* 無礙 to *mu* 無 following the *Tanxuan ji*.

191 Correcting *ku kwanghyŏp min* 俱廣狹泯 to *kwanghyŏp ku min* 廣狹俱泯 following the *Tanxuan ji*.

前四,[192] 以是解境故, 或絶前四, 以是行境故.<下皆准此>

Third, the approach in which the one and the many are mutually tolerable [and dissimilar] is this one dharma unfolding itself, permeating and penetrating all dharmas, and precisely subsuming all, and causing them to penetrate within itself. Since it unfolds and subsumes at the same time, it is already unhindered and unimpeded. A gāthā in this [*Avataṃsaka-*] *sūtra* says: "Since one buddhaland fills the ten directions, the ten directions penetrate the one and are also without remainder.[193] The original characteristics of the world system also do not collapse. Because it is a meritorious virtue that is incomparable it is able to be so."[194] <Master Huiyuan says: "The six phases on the mutual confrontation between the one and the many mean that within the one there is one, within the many there are many, within the one there are many, within the many there is one, within the one there is the one of many, and within the many there are the many of one."[195] Pay attention to the remaining large and small things, and so forth.>

三一多相容門者, 則此一法舒己, 遍入一切法中, 即攝一切, 令入己內. 舒攝同時, 既無障礙. 此經偈云, "以一佛土滿十方, 十方入一亦無餘. 世界本相亦不壞, 無比功德故能爾."<慧苑師云, "一多相望六句, 謂一中有一, 多中有多, 一中有多, 多中有一, 一中有多一, 多中有一多." 餘大少等准之.>

Fourth, the approach in which all dharmas share mutual identity [and are self-existent] means that this one phenomenon abolishes the self and is the same as the others. Raising the essence is completely all those dharmas, and they always subsume the others the same as the self. All those complete

[192] Although the *Tanxuan ji* has the logograph *wu* 五 (Kor. *o*, five), the editors follow the *sa* 四 (four) found in the source text.

[193] Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123c3–7.

[194] *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 3, T 278.9.414b21–22.

[195] Cf. *Xu Huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 1, X 3.591c11–15.

dharmas are precisely the essence of the self. The one and the many share mutual identity, and although they are muddled together they are unhindered and unimpeded.[196] The [*Avataṃsaka-*] *sūtra* says: "The bodhisattva who initially arouses the mind [bodhicitta] is precisely a buddha."[197] Deriving from this sublime principle of conditioned arising, the beginning and the end are both equal, and obtaining the initial is precisely obtaining the final, and the ultimate end is precisely the original beginning. Furthermore, the sūtra says: "In residing in one stage [the bodhisattva] universally subsumes the meritorious virtues of all the stages."[198] For this reason, obtaining the one is precisely obtaining all. Furthermore, it says: "It is because one knows that the one is precisely the many and the many are precisely the one."[199] The final mind of the ten faiths that precisely makes one a buddha is precisely that phenomenon.

四諸法相即門者, 謂此一事, 廢己同他. 擧體全是彼一切法, 而恒攝他同己, 全彼一切法, 即是己體. 一多相即, 混無障礙. 經云,"初發心菩薩即是佛故." 由此緣起妙理, 始終皆齊, 得始即得終, 窮終方原始., 又云,"在於一地, 普攝一切諸地功德也." 是故得一即得一切. 又云,"知一即多, 多即一故也." 十信終心即作佛者, 即其事也,

Question: Just as in the approach unifying the one of the essence (*tongch'eil mun* 同體一門), it precisely subsumes the inexhaustibility of all; are all manifest at the same time or before or after?[200]

Answer: Within the one approach, their brightening at one time and manifesting all belong to being subsumed in the approach of minute detail

---

[196] Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123c7–10.

[197] *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 9, T 278.9.452c4.

[198] *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 1, T 278.9.395b25–26.

[199] *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 8, T 278.9.446a4–5.

[200] Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505b14. The following seven questions are all taken from the *Wujiao zhang*.

(*mise mun* 微細門). Concealing and revealing manifest each other over and over and belong to being subsumed in Indra's [net]. The remaining meanings are precisely unity is precisely diversity, which is precisely much is precisely a little, which is precisely existence is precisely non-existence, and which is precisely the initial is precisely the final. Just like this, the self-existent is fully endowed with all inexhaustible dharma approaches. With respect to this, if one accordingly raises [the one] as the head, the remainder are precisely the guests. Although it is one with the principles of the Way, there is neither difference nor loss. It has been like this since long ago.[201]

Question: If being in the midst of one approach is precisely being fully endowed with all, what is the function of the remaining approaches?

Answer: The remaining approaches are just like empty space. Why? It is because in the approach unifying the one of the essence it subsumes all and is invariably exhausted.[202]

Question: In this unified essence that which subsumes all, since it only responds to all in the midst of the approach of the self, how it is able to subsume all in the midst of the remaining approaches?

Answer: If it has already subsumed all by itself, afterwards it will subsume the remainder in the approaches one by one, all without remainder. Why? This is because if the conditioned arising of the dharma realm lacks the one, all as well will not be established. This, because it only discusses the virtue of reality of the house of the dharma realm,[203] it is impossible to explain the limits of its boundaries.

A gāthā in this sūtra says:

---

201 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505b14–20. The following seven answers are all taken from the *Wujiao zhang*.

202 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505b22–24.

203 The house of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye ka*, Ch. *fajie jia* 法界家) is called the "house of the dharma nature" (*faxing jia* 法性家) in the *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505b29.

In all kalpas that are impossible to express verbally
Is preached all that is impossible to describe.
Indescribable kalpas are still possible to exhaust
Describing what is impossible to describe is impossible to exhaust.[204]
Another gāthā says:
The minds of all living beings may all be differentiated and known.
The dust particles of all *kṣetras* [lands/fields] may still be calculated in their numbers.
The realms of empty space in the ten directions are still as measureable as one follicle of hair.
With the initial arousal of the mind of a bodhisattva, the ultimate is impossible to gauge.[205]

Truly, it is because deriving from the approach of the dharma of the single vehicle, obtaining the one is precisely obtaining all. It is because causes and results are all equal that there is no distinction between former and latter. The *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* says: "Regarding bodhisattvas at the level of the ten faiths up to the dharma of inconceivable Buddhahood, they are one conditioned arising. Regarding the meaning of the six characteristics,[206] such as the whole and parts, functions hold it together."[207] You should clearly know that causes and results are all in the [same] time mutually tolerable and share mutual identity and each subsumes all, and they mutually act as host and guest. You should ponder this deeply and not doubt this phenomenon. Furthermore, it says: "At the time of the initial arousal of the mind one

204 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 29, T 278.9.586c18–23. P'yowŏn selected portions of the gāthā.

205 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 9, T 278.9.458b21–24.

206 The six characteristics (*yuksang*, Ch. *liuxiang* 六相) refer to the characteristics of the whole (*ch'ongsang* 總相) and parts (*pyŏlsang* 別相), the characteristics of unity (*tongsang* 同相) and diversity (*isang* 異相), and the characteristics of entirety (*sŏngsang* 成相) and its fractions (*koesang* 壞相).

207 This is taken from the analysis of the joyous stage (*hwanhŭi chi*, Ch. *huanxi di* 歡喜地; Skt. *pramuditā-bhūmi*) in the *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*).

then achieves complete enlightenment, is fully endowed with the wisdom body; it does not derive from the awakening of another."[208] <These kinds of statements are limitless.>[209]

Question: These kinds of things applaud only virtue among the causes. How can it be resulting virtue?

Answer: This meaning of the one vehicle is of the same essence as causes and results and establishes the conditioned arising of the one: obtaining this is precisely obtaining that. This is because that and this share mutual identity. If results are not obtained, the causes precisely do not establish the causes. The reason why is because results are not obtained because they are not causes.[210]

Question: The distinction of results[211] from location to location is impossible to describe and only the distinction of causes is described. For what reason does the final mind of the ten faiths precisely make a buddha and obtain the dharma of fruition?[212]

Answer: Now, saying that [one] is made a buddha only after initially having seen and heard up to his second lifetime precisely achieves the

208 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 8, T 278.9.449c14–15.

209 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505b26–c17.

210 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505c17–20.

211 The distinction of results (*kwabun*, Ch. *guofen* 果分) should be understood in conjunction with the distinction of causes (*inbun*, Ch. *yinfen* 因分). Here "distinction" (*pun*, Ch. *fen* 分) means uniformity of distinctions (*punje*, Ch. *fenqi* 分齊). Causes (*in*, Ch. *yin* 因) suggests the sphere of causes. With respect to this, the sphere of results is called "distinction of results." With respect to the world of true thusness (*chinyŏ*, Ch. *zhenru* 眞如), which is the content of the Buddha's enlightenment, those who do not comprehend or awaken to the "fruit of Buddhahood" (*pulgwa*, Ch. *foguo* 佛果) are unable to know or understand it. The distinction of results cannot be explained to living beings (*kwabun pulgasŏl* 果分不可說). For the sake of living beings who are at the level of causes for becoming buddhas, the teachings are preached according to their individual fates, to the extent that they can understand (*inbun kasŏl* 因分可說). That which is explained in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* (*Shidi jing lun* 十地經論) is explained in the Huayan yisheng jiaoyi benqi zhang 4, T 1866.45.503a24–29.

212 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505c20–22.

practices leading to Buddhahood;[213] and from the level of causes of the final mind, one who is full to the extremes, in his third lifetime, precisely obtains the result of perfect interfusion that is self-existing in that ultimate state. The reason is that the essence of the cause is dependent on the establishment of the result. One whose causes are full is precisely immersed in the ocean of results. Because this is the sphere of realization it is impossible to describe. This is just like the Dragon King's Daughter, the youth Universal Adornments (Pojangŏm tongja 普莊嚴童子), the youth Sudhana (Sŏnjae tongja 善財童子), the godling of Tuṣita Heaven, and so forth, who within three lifetimes precisely overcame such things as the meaning of those results. It is analyzed in detail like this in the sūtra.[214]

Question: Above it says: "In one thought-moment one is precisely made a buddha." In the three vehicles since there is already this meaning, how do we distinguish it from this?[215]

Answer: When the three vehicles confront principle it is such that in one thought-moment one is precisely made a buddha. Now, with respect to this one vehicle, in one thought-moment one precisely obtains and is fully endowed with all teachings and meanings, principle and phenomena, causes and results, human beings and dharmas, and so forth, all [are fully endowed] at the same time, and at that same time one is made a <ten-layered> buddha. Nevertheless, this one thought-moment is no different from hundreds of thousands of kalpas. It is appropriate and necessary for you to ponder this.[216]

---

213 P'yowŏn's original text reads *chi che isaeng chŭk sŏng purhaeng* 至第二生卽成佛行, but the *Wujiao zhang* reads *zhi di ersheng ji cheng jiexing* 至第二生卽成解行 (up to his second lifetime precisely achieves the [ten] understandings and the [ten] practices).

214 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505c22–29. The expression "you should pay attention to and ponder this" (*ying zhun si zhi* 應準思之) in Fazang's text is deleted from the end. This would make the final sentence more correct: "Since it is analyzed in detail like this in the sūtra, you should pay attention to and ponder this."

215 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.505c29–506a2.

216 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.506a2–12.

問, 如同體一門中, 即攝一切無盡者, 為一時俱現耶, 為前後也?

答, 於一門中, 一時炳然, 現一切者, 屬微細門攝, 隱暎互現重重, 屬因陀羅攝者. 餘義即同即異即多即少即有即無即始即終. 如是自在具足一切無盡法門. 仍隨舉為首, 餘即為伴. 道理一不差失, 舊來如是.

問, 若一門中, 即具足一切者, 餘門何用?

答, 餘門如虛空. 何以故, 同體一門中, 並攝一切, 無不盡故.

問, 此同體中所攝一切者, 但應自門中一切. 豈可攝餘門中一切耶?

答, 既攝自一切, 後攝餘一一門中, 無餘一切. 何以故, 法界緣起無一, 一切並不成故. 此但論法界家實德故, 不可說其邊量. 此經偈云, "不可言說諸劫中, 演說一切不可說. 不可說劫猶可盡, 說不可說不可盡." 又偈云, "一切衆生心, 悉可分別知. 一切刹塵微, 尚可算其數. 十方虛空界, 一毛猶可量. 菩薩初發心, 究竟不可測." 良由一乘法門, 得一即得一切故, 因果俱齊, 無先後別故. 地論云, "以信地菩薩, 乃至與不可思議佛法. 為一緣起, 以六相總別等義而用括之." 明知因果俱時, 相容相即, 各攝一切, 互為主伴, 深須思之, 此事不疑. 又云, "初發心時便成正覺, 具足慧身, 不由他悟."<云云無量>

問, 此等歎因中德耳. 豈可即果德耶?

答, 此一乘義, 因果同體, 成一緣起, 得此即得彼, 由彼此相即故. 若果不得者, 因即不成因. 何以故, 不得果, 故非因也.

問, 處處果分不可說, 但說因分者. 何故十信終心, 即辨作佛得果法也?

答, 今言作佛者, 但初從見聞已去, 至第二生, 即成佛行, 終心因位窮滿者, 於第三生, 即得彼究竟自在圓融果矣. 由是因體依果成故. 但因滿者, 即沒於果海中也. 為是證境界故, 不可說耳. 此如龍女及普莊嚴童子善財童子兜率天子等, 於三生中, 即尅彼果義等. 廣如經辨.

問, 上云, "一念即作佛" 者. 三乘之中, 已有此義, 與此何別,?

答, 三乘望理為一念即作佛. 今此一乘, 一念即得具足一切教義理事因果人法等, 皆悉同時, 同時<十重> 作佛. 然此一念與百千劫, 無有異也. 宜須思之.

Fifth, the approach in which the hidden and manifest[217] [are both

[217] The following description of the approach in which the hidden and manifest (*ŭnmil hyŏllyo mun* 隱密顯了門) was constructed by citing and by joining the simile of the flower regarding the "approach in which the hidden and manifest of the esoteric are both established" (*pimil ŭnhyŏn kusŏng mun*, Ch.

established] means that if the one is able to subsume the many, the one is manifest and the many are hidden; if all subsume the one, then the one is hidden and the many are manifest. Manifest and manifest are not endowed together and hidden and hidden are not coexistent; and the hidden and the manifest and the manifest and the hidden are unimpeded at the same time.[218] The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says: "From this side one penetrates correct feelings[219] and from the other side arises from samādhi. When the root of discernment[220] penetrates correct feelings, the dust of forms[221] arises from samādhi."[222] It is just like within one coin ten coins are said to be manifest and understandable, and the second coin facing within the first coin, the ten coins are precisely hidden and exoteric. Why? It is because they see this and do not see and it is because that they do not know each other. Although they do not see each other, nevertheless, it is because if this is established then precisely that will be established; thus both are said to be established.[223]

---

mimi yinxian jucheng men 秘密隱顯俱成門) is from the *Tanxuan ji,* and the contents of the "approach in which the hidden and manifest are both established" (*ŭnmil hyŏllyo kusŏng mun,* Ch. *yinmi xianliao jucheng men* 隱密顯了俱成門) from the *Wujiao zhang.*

218 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123c11–15.

219 Correct feelings (*chŏngsu,* Ch. *zhengshou* 正受; Skt. *samaya*) is a term for samādhi that is roughly interchangeable with dhyāna-trance (*sŏnjŏng,* Ch. *chanding* 禪定) and refers to the unity of the mind that is doing the observing an object and the object that is being observed, and more precisely the condition of mind in which there is subsuming and penetration (*sŏbip* 攝入) of the object by means of the correct or appropriate kind of mind.

220 The root of discernment (*an'gŭn,* Ch. *yan'gen* 眼根; Skt. *cakṣur-indriya/cakṣur-bala*) is one of the five [wholesome] roots (powers or dominants) (*ogŭn,* Ch. *wugen* 五根) and refers, granted the basic condition of discernment (*ansik* 眼識), to the organ of sight, the eyes, that produce the sensations of conditions, colors, and so forth, by means of discernment.

221 The dust of forms (*saekchin,* Ch. *sechen* 色塵) is one of the five kinds of dust (*ojin* 五塵) and one of the six kinds (*yukchin* 六塵) of dust. It is the object of the root of discernment and discernment, or, in other words, it is the material world. Dust refers to the dirtying of the true nature (*chinsŏng,* Ch. *zhenxing* 眞性) by means of defilements.

222 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 7, T 278.9.438b17–c6; *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.506b23–24.

223 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.506c5–8.

五隱密顯了門者, 謂一能攝多, 則一顯多隱, 一切攝一, 則一隱多顯. 顯[224]顯不俱, 隱[225]隱不並, 隱顯顯隱, 同時無礙. 經云, "於此方入正受, 他方三昧起. 眼根入正受, 色塵三昧起." 如第一錢中十錢名為顯了, 第二錢望第一錢中十即為隱密. 何以故, 見此不見彼故, 不相知故. 雖不相見, 然此成即彼成故, 名俱成也.

Sixth, with respect to the approach in which the minute and subtle are mutually tolerable [and peacefully instituted], all of the foregoing meanings, such as the initial and final, sameness and difference, former and latter, and contrariness and obedience, all approaches to dharma, within one thought-moment are clarified at the same time, equalize the head and are increasingly manifest, and are unavoidably clear and understandable. If I make an analogy, it is just like an approaching arrow would equalize its head and become increasingly manifest. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says: "From bodhisattvas descending into the wombs of gods from Tuṣita Heaven in one thought-moment to the circulation of *śarīra,* all these things are manifest."[226] Furthermore, it says: "Within one particle of dust are minute and subtle countries and lands; they are adorned and ornamented with cleanliness and purity and reside peacefully in their brightness."[227] <You should ponder this by means of principle.>[228]

六微細相容門者, 此上諸義, 始終同別, 前後逆順等一切法門, 於一念中, 炳然同時, 齊頭顯現, 無不明了, 猶如來箭齊頭現了故. 經云, "菩薩於一念中, 從兜率天, 降神入胎, 乃至流通舍利, 皆悉顯現." 又云, "於一塵中, 微細國土, 莊嚴清淨, 曠然安住."<宜如理思>

224 Correcting *ta* 多 to *hyŏn* 顯 following the *Tanxuan ji.*

225 Correcting *il* 一 to *ŭn* 隱 following the *Tanxuan ji.*

226 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 42, T 278.9.666b14–17.

227 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123c15–16; *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 9, T 278.9.410c21–26.

228 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.506b10–17.

Seventh, the approach of Indra's net (*Indara mang mun*, Ch. *Yintuoluo wang men* 因陀羅網門) means that within each and every one of these minute particles of dust, each and every one universally manifest boundless oceans of *kṣetras* [realms];[229] and within these oceans of *kṣetras* there are again minute particles of dust; and inside these minute particles of dust there are again oceans of *kṣetras*. Just like this, one after another, they are utterly inexhaustible. It is not what is reached by conceptualizing and reckoning by means of the mind consciousness. Just as the jewels in the net of Śakra illuminate [all things] thoroughly, [all things] reflect each other and again manifest reflections that are inexhaustible. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says: "It is just like the world system of Indra's net."[230] Furthermore the sūtra says that "within each and every minute particle of dust, each displays nayutas, a numberless *koṭi* of all the buddhas. And in these they preach the dharma. [With respect to] <the world of those who know complete enlightenment>,[231] within each and every minute particle of dust are manifest immeasurable buddhalands, Mt. Sumerus, Diamond Mountains,[232] so the world is not compelled or pressed. [With respect to] <the world

229 The ocean of *kṣetras* (*ch'arhae*, Ch. *chahai* 刹海), short for the great oceans of *kṣetras* (*ch'alt'o taehae*, Ch. *chatu dahai* 刹土大海), refers to the realms of the ten directions, the universe. *Kṣetras* are lands or realms, typically referring to buddhalands.

230 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 23, T 278.9.545c12–13; cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35. 123c16–21.

231 The world of those who know complete enlightenment (*chijŏnggak segan*, Ch. *zhizhengjue shijian* 智正覺世間) is one of the three types of world systems referred to in materials associated with the Huayan tradition. It is the world for the wise who have acquired complete enlightenment according to the wisdom that leaves behind all defilements and all worldly things, and precisely refers to the world system for those who have transcended the three realms (sense-desire, form, and formlessness).

232 Diamond Mountains (Kŭmgangwisan, Ch. Jin'gangweishan 金剛圍山; Skt. Cakravāḍaparvata; also called Ch'ŏrwisan 鐵圍山, Yunwisan 輪圍山, and Kŭmgangsan 金剛山). According to Buddhist cosmology, each world systems posesses a Mt. Sumeru that is surrounded by nine ranges of mountains and eight seas (*kusan p'arhae*, Ch. *jiushan bahai* 九山八海). The outermost mount range is called the Diamond Mountains.

as a vessel>,[233] within each and every minute particle of dust are manifest the three unwholesome paths,[234] gods, humans, and *asuras*; and each one individually receives recompense for their deeds."[235] [It is called] <the world of living beings>.[236] Furthermore, the sūtra says: "All *buddhakṣetras* numbering as much as minute particles of dust, in those places the buddhas are seated on a single pore of skin; all possess immeasurable throngs of bodhisattvas, and each of them individually fully preaches the practices of Samantabhadra (*Pohyŏn haeng* 普賢行). On one pore of skin are immeasurable oceans of *kṣetras*; and all of [the bodhisattvas] are seated on lotus thrones of bodhi [enlightenment] (*pori yŏnhwajwa* 菩提蓮華座), and they universally fill all of the dharma realms, and in all pores of skin they manifest in a self-existing manner."[237] Furthermore, the sūtra says: "Just like that which is displayed and manifested in one minute particle of dust, all minute particles of dust are also just like this."[238] <And so on and so forth>.

These kinds of things are all true meanings; they are not things that change, are crafted, or are attained. This is the sphere of the measure of

---

233 The world as a vessel (*ki segan,* Ch. *qi shijian* 器世間) is one of the three types of world systems referred to in materials associated with the Huayan tradition. It refers to the lands where living beings live.

234 The three unwholesome paths (*sam akto,* Ch. *san edao* 三惡道) are the paths of rebirth followed by evil people. These are divided into three frightening worlds: the path of the denizens of hell (*chiokto* 地獄道), the path of beasts (*ch'uksaengdo* 畜生道), and the path of hungry ghosts (*agwido* 餓鬼道).

235 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 26, T 278.9.564a16–21. This passage, however, seems to have been lifted verbatim from the *Wujiao zhang*; see *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.506a15–19.

236 The world of living beings (*chungsaeng segan,* Ch. *zhongsheng shijian* 衆生世間) is one of the three types of world systems referred to in materials associated with the Huayan tradition. It refers to the world system composed of and characterized by the five aggregates (*oon,* Ch. *wuyun* 五蘊; Skt. *pañca-skandha*): (1) *rūpa* (*saek,* Ch. *se* 色), form, physicality; (2) *vedanā* (*su,* Ch. *shou* 受), sensations, feelings, not emotions; (3) *sañjña* (*sang,* Ch. *xiang* 想), perceptions, conceptions, processes, sensory and mental objects; (4) *samskhāra* (*haeng*, Ch. *xing* 行), formations, volitional impulses; (5) *vijñāna* (*sik*, Ch. *shi* 識), consciousness, discriminative consciousness.

237 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 3, T 278.9.408a15–18.

238 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 6, T 278.9.434c18.

suchness (*yŏryanggyŏng* 如量境) within the wisdom of the principle of suchness.[239] The remainder of things that change, are crafted, or are attained, and so forth, are not contained in these examples. Why? This is because these are the true virtues of the nature of dharmas. Dharmas are just like this. They are not things referring to spheres for discriminated passions.[240] <When one disposes of sentience he is able to perceive it.>

七因陀羅網門者, 謂此一一微塵之中, 各皆普現無邊刹海, 刹海之中, 復有微塵, 彼諸塵內, 復有刹海. 如是重重不可窮盡. 非是心識思量所及, 如帝釋網天珠明徹, 互相影復現影而無窮盡. 經云, “如因陀羅網世界等.” 又云, “於一微塵中, 各示那由他, 無數億諸佛, 於中而說法<智正覺世間>, 於一微塵中, 現無量佛國, 須彌金剛圍山, 世間不迫迮<器世間>, 於一微塵中, 現有三惡道, 天人阿修羅, 各各受業報.<眾生世間>” 又云, “一切佛刹微塵等, 爾所佛坐一毛孔, 皆有無量菩薩眾, 各為具說普賢行. 無量刹海處一毛, 皆坐菩提蓮華座, 遍滿一切諸法界, 一切毛孔自在現.” 又云, “如一微塵所示現, 一切微塵亦如是.”<云云> 此等並是實義, 非變作成. 此是如理智中, 如量境也. 其餘變作等者, 不入此例. 何以故, 此是法性實德. 法爾如是, 非分別情謂境界也.<可去情思之>

---

239 The wisdom of the principle of suchness (*yŏri chi,* Ch. *ruli zhi* 如理智), or noumenal wisdom, is the intrinsic wisdom (*kŭnbonji,* Ch. *genbenzhi* 根本智; Skt. *mūlajñāna*) or universal law. It is also called the intrinsically non-discriminative wisdom (*kŭnbon mubunbyŏl chi* 根本無分別智), wisdom of reality (*silchi* 實智), true wisdom (*chinji* 眞智). It is one of the undiscriminated knowledges. It is the opposite of analytical wisdom (*hudŭk chi,* Ch. *houde zhi* 後得智), which is precisely the wisdom of the measure of suchness (*yŏryangji* 如量智). This wisdom is the basis of all knowledge, and as what realizes the sublime principle of true suchness, it is equal, universal, and realistic; and because it is devoid of distinctions it is said to be “undiscriminated.” It refers to the perfection of wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*) among the ten pāramitās. In contrast to this, with respect to the wisdom of the measure of suchness, after awakening to the truth according to the instrinsic wisdom, when the shallow wisdom that distinguishes between things arises again it is the wisdom that knows the bounds of the mundane world of the nature that arises based on others (*ŭit'a kisŏng* 依他起性).

240 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.506a13–27. Where P'yowŏn's original text says “These are the true virtues of the nature of dharmas” (*ch'a si pŏpsŏng siltŏk* 此是法性實德), the Wujiao zhang says “These are also the true virtues in the household of the dharma nature” (*ci bing shi faxing jia shide* 此并是法性家實德). And where P'yowŏn's original text says “They are not things referring to spheres for discriminated passions” (*pi punbyŏl chŏng wi kyŏnggye* 非分別情謂境界), the *Wujiao zhang* says “They are not things referring to spheres for recognizing discriminated passions” (*fei wei fenbie jingshi jingjie* 非謂分別情識境界).

Question: With respect to the foregoing saying that "within each and every minute particle of dust are manifest immeasurable buddhalands" and so forth, is this one repetition and that is all—in other words, how are these repetitions[241] brought about?

Answer: When the *Avataṃsaka* is preached in this region, within all particles of dust it is also [preached] just like this. When the *Avataṃsaka* is preached within those minute particles of dust, it is also said that it [the sūtra] is also preached within all particles of dust. Just like this, it expands and revolves repeatedly without ever being exhausted.

Question: If we rely on this passage, what kind of classifications and uniformity are there in "repetition without being exhausted" and how do we distinguish its beginning, end, and so forth?

Answer: This is taken up in accordance with its wisdom: If we select one thing and make it the head thing, the remaining things are precisely followers. Based on that head thing, it is precisely called "that which is in the middle" and the remaining things are precisely part of its entourage or family. Completely exhausting the dharma realm, Indra is complete.

Question: How is this meaning different from the foregoing minute and detailed passage?

Answer: Treating the head uniformly and brightly manifesting are the subsuming of the minute and detailed passage. Repeated covert illumination and mutual manifestation are the subsuming of Indra. All these meanings all different and dissimilar, and they should be pondered in great detail.[242]

問, 上云, "於一塵中現無量刹" 等者, 此是一重現而已, 何成重重耶?
答, 此方說華嚴時, 一切塵中亦如是, 彼微塵中說華嚴時, 亦云一切塵中亦是說. 如是展轉重重, 無盡無盡.
問, 若據此文, 重重無盡, 有何分齊, 云何辨其始終等也?
答, 隨其智取, 舉一為首, 餘即為伴. 據其首者, 即名當中, 餘即眷屬, 盡窮法界因陀羅成也.

241 Reading *chung* 重 as *chungjung* 重重 following the *Wujiao zhang*.

242 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.506a28–b10, b19–22.

問, 此義與上微細, 云何別耶?
答, 齊頭炳然現者微細攝, 重重隱暎互現因陀羅攝. 此等諸義, 並別不同, 宜細思之.

Eighth, the approach of approach in which entrusting phenomena and manifesting dharmas [produces understanding] (*t'aksa hyŏnbŏp mun,* Ch. *tuoshi xianfa men* 託事顯法門) refers to seeing these phenomena and is precisely seeing them from the perspective of the inexhaustible dharma realm. It is not entrusting these and what is shown separately. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says: "These floral canapies (*huagai* 華蓋) and so forth are what has arisen from the acquiescene to the non-production of dharmas."[243]

八託事顯法門者, 謂見此事, 即是見於無盡法界, 非是託此別有所表. 經云, "此華蓋等, 從無生法忍所起等."

Question: These kinds of meanings are found in the three vehicles. How is this different?

Answer: The three vehicles are entrusted to the characteristics of different phenomena and manifest different principles. Presently, the characteristics of phenomena on which this one vehicle relies are precisely those that manifest the principles of the Way to enlightenment, and they are no different. They are fully endowed with all principles, phenomena, teachings, and meanings and invariably subsume and are not exhausted.[244]

問, 三乘之中, 以有此義, 與此何別?
答, 三乘託異事相, 表顯異現. 今此一乘所託之事相, 即是彼所顯道理, 更無異也, 具足一切理事教義, 無不攝盡者也.

243 This quotation is actually lifted from Fazang's *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123c21–23. Although no quote from the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says these exact words, the basic idea is presented in *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 13, T 278.9.482a17–19.

244 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.507a22–26.

Ninth, with respect to the approach in which the ten time periods isolate dharmas [and are established diversely] (*sipse kyŏkpŏp mun*, Ch. *shishi gefa men* 十世隔法門), all of these foregoing meanings are universal to all dharmas and are again inclusive of all times. With respect to the three time periods, each of them has three divisions, and because they are subsumed in one thought-moment, they are called the ten time periods (*sipse* 十世). Time does not possess a separate essence and is established relying on dharmas. Dharmas are already without hindrances, and time is also like this. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says: "All kalpas of the past are installed in the future and the present. The present and future kalpas turn back and are installed in past time periods."[245] Furthermore it says: "Immeasurable kalpas are precisely one thought-moment. One thought-moment is precisely immeasurable kalpas, and so forth."[246] Furthermore it says: "Or long kalpas penetrate into short kalpas, and short kalpas penetrate into long kalpas. Kalpas in which buddhas exist penetrate into kalpas without a buddha, and kalpas without a buddha penetrate into kalpas with a buddha, and so forth."[247] <And so on and so forth.>

All the foregoing meanings manifest and appear in a self-existing manner in the ten time periods, and because they bring about conditioned arising they attain mutual identity and mutual interpenetration.[248]

九十世隔法門者, 此上諸義, 遍一切法, 復該一切時. 謂三世各三, 攝為一念, 故為十世也. 以時無別體, 依法以立, 法既無礙, 時亦如是. 經云, "過去一切劫, 安

245 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 43, T 278.9.674b17–18. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* emends "future kalpas" (*mirae kŏp* 未來劫) to "future and present kalpas" (*mirae hyŏnjae kŏp* 未來現在劫), but Fazang's *Tanxuan ji* says "all future kalpas" (*weilai yiqie jie* 未來一切劫); cf. *Huayan tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123c27.

246 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 9, T 278.9.451a20–21; cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123c24–29.

247 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 27, T 278.9.572c19–25; cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.506c23–507a2. P'yowŏn appears to have summarized the passage from the *Wujiao zhang*.

248 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 4, T 1866.45.506c21–22.

置未來今, 未來現在[249]劫, 迴置過去世." 又云, "無量劫即一念, 一念即無量劫等." 又云, "或以長劫入短劫, 短劫入長劫, 有佛劫入無佛劫, 無佛劫入有佛劫等."<云云>

此上諸義, 悉於十世, 自在顯現, 成緣起故, 得即入也.

Tenth, as for the approach in which host and guest are perfectly clear [and endowed with virtue] (*chuban wŏnmyŏng mun*, Ch. *zhuban yuanming men* 主伴圓明門), with respect to the dharma of this perfect teaching,[250] the principle does not arise alone, and necessarily host and guest are produced accordingly. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says: "With respect to this great lotus flower, there are flowers numbering as the particles of dust of the oceans of the world system and these are made its entourage and family."[251] Furthermore, it says: "The Prince Light of Great Majesty[252] <In the Jin edition of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*

249 Adding *hyŏnjae* 現在 following the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

250 The term "perfect teaching" (*wŏn'gyo*, Ch. *yuanjiao* 圓教) originated in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra's* expressions "sūtras on causal connections that are perfect and full" (Ch. *yuanman yinyuan xiuduoluo* 圓滿因緣修多羅) or "sūtras that are perfect and full" (Ch. *yuanman jing* 圓滿經). This expression was used in doctrinal classification systems and established as the three doctrines of the gradual, sudden, and perfect (*chŏm ton wŏn* 漸頓圓). The first to consider the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* as embodying the perfect teaching was the monk Huiguang 惠光 of the Northern Wei period (386–534). Later, the term entered the concept of the four teachings (Ch. *sijiao* 四教) in the Tiantai tradition and the five time periods (Ch. *wushi* 五時) of the Huayan tradition; Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) uses this term in his doctrinal classification system and says that the sūtras he believes the most all fall under the heading of the perfect teaching.

251 This quote may be a paraphrase of *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 4, T 278.9.416c23–a1.

252 The Prince Light of Great Majesty (Taewigwang tongja, Ch. Daweiguang tongzi 大威光童子) is a prince who attains Buddhahood in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* by means of the four with victorious bodies (*sasŭngsin*, Ch. *sishengshen* 四勝神). In the Jin edition of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* he is called the Prince Universal Adornments and Garlands (Puzhuangyan tongzi 普莊嚴童子). The Prince Light of Great Majesty is a previous incarnation of the Buddha Śākyamuni. In the end he entered the ocean of enlightenment (*kwahae* 果海) and attained Buddhahood by means of a body set free from all physical taint (*haehaengshen*, Ch. *jiexingshen* 解行身), which is one of the three births (*samsaeng* 三生) conducive to attaining Buddhahood: seeing and hearing the Buddhadharma in a past life (*kyŏnmunsaeng* 見聞生), liberation in the present life (*haehaengshen* 解行身), and realization of life in

he is called the Prince Universal Adornments and Garlands (Pojangŏm tongja, Ch. Puzhuangyan tongzi 普莊嚴童子).> heard the *Sūtra on the Immaculate Adornments and Garlands of All Dharma Realms* (*Yiqie fajie wugou zhuangyan jing* 一切法界無垢莊嚴經) that was preached by the Buddha, and he made the sūtras numbering as the minute particles of dust in the world system his entourage and family."[253] Furthermore, "It is just like if one direction becomes host, the ten directions become guests and the remaining directions are also like this." For this reason, host and host and guest and guest do not see each other, and host and guest and guest and host are perfectly clear and endowed with virtue.[254]

> 十主伴圓明門者, 此圓教法, 理無孤起, 必主伴隨生, 經云, "此大蓮華, 有世界海塵數華, 以為眷屬", 又云, "大威光太子<晉經普莊嚴童子>, 聞佛說一切法界無垢莊嚴經, 有世界微塵數修多羅, 以為眷屬," 又, "如一方為主, 十方為伴, 餘方亦爾," 是故主主伴伴各不相見, 主伴伴主, 圓明具德.

Nevertheless, here there are meanings; one is of the same class and the other one is of a different class. First, with respect to the one of the same class, it is just like the explanation of the ten abodes.[255] In each of the ten

---

Buddhahood (*chŭngipsaeng* 證入生).

253 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 4, T 278.9.418a18–24.

254 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123c18–22; 123c29–124a4.

255 The ten abodes (*sipchu,* Ch. *shizhu* 十住) are stages eleven through twenty in the Hwaŏm tradition's path of bodhisattva practice; and the merits or character that are obtained, the ten stages (*sipchi,* Ch. *shidi* 十地) are stages forty-one through fifty. The ten abodes refer to the stages in which the aspirant settles his mind in the principles of the ultimate truth (*chinje,* Ch. *zhenti* 眞諦) after passing through the ten faiths (*sipsin,* Ch. *shixin* 十信). The ten abodes are (1) the abode of arousing the aspiration to enlightenment (*palsim chu* 發心住), (2) the abode of clear understanding and mental control (*ch'iji chu* 治地住), (3) the abode of cultivating practices or unhampered liberty in every direction (*suhaeng chu* 修行住), (4) the abode of producing nobility or acquiring the Tathāgata nature (*saenggwi chu* 生貴住), (5) the abode of being endowed with all expedient means or perfect adaptability and resemblance in self-development and the development of others (*pangp'yŏn kujok chu* 方便具足住), (6) the abode of the whole mind becoming Buddha-like (*chŏngsim chu* 正心住), (7) the

directions there were bodhisattvas numbering as the particles of dust of ten *kṣetras* who came and realized [the truth]. All of them together were named Dharma Wisdom (Pŏphye, Ch. Fahui 法慧), and they also preached the ten abodes in the place of our Buddha. The entourage of his great throng and body of statements flavored with words[256] are no different.[257] Therefore, you should know that one *Sūtra on the Ten Abodes* (*Shizhu jing* 十住經) is made an entourage of sūtras numbering as the particles of dust of ten *kṣetras* in each of the ten directions. Just like one of the ten abodes, all of the remaining ten abodes that were preached are subsumed in entourages numbering as all the particles of dust. If the ten abodes are already like this, the remaining ten practices and so forth, each and every one of the chapters and assemblies, all of them attest to the number and measure of dharmas of realization. If you pay attention to the interpretation you should be able to understand it.

Second, with respect to the different class, in accordance with one location and one world system one dharma of an assembly is preached for the sake of the capacity of one class, and already does not combine with and thoroughly comprehend the things preached in the ten directions. Hence, it is not a host sūtra; nevertheless, it became part of the entourage because it becomes a victorious expedient means with the host. Because of this,

---

abode of non-retrogression or perfect unity and contant progress (*pult'oe chu* 不退住), (8) the abode of perfection as a prince of the Dharma or being complete as a son of the Buddha (*tongjin chu* 童眞住), (9) the abode of the prince of the Dharma (*pŏbwangja chu* 法王子住), (10) the abode of consecration (*kwanjŏng chu* 灌頂住).

256 The concept of a "statement flavored with words" (*myŏngmigu* 名味句) is one of the nine classifications of the Abhidharma: (1) explaining precepts by classification (*punbyŏl sŏl kye* 分別說戒), (2) explaining world systems by classification (*punbyŏl sŏl segan* 分別說世間), (3) explaining causes and conditions by classification (*punbyŏl sŏl inyŏn* 分別說因緣), (4) classification of sermons on realms (*punbyŏl sŏl kye* 分別說界), (5) explaining attainment in accordance with similiarities by classification (*punbyŏl sŏl tongsudŭk* 分別說同隨得), (6) explaining statements flavored with words by classification (*punbyŏl sŏl myŏngmigu* 分別說名味句), (7) concentration and trance by classification (*punbyŏl chipchŏng* 分別說集定), (8) explanatory clusters of karma by classification (*punbyŏl sŏl chibŏp* 分別說集業), (9) explaining all concealed things by classification (*punbyŏl sŏl cheŭm* 分別說諸陰). See *Haesimmil-gyŏng so* 解深密經疏 1, HPC 1.22b13.

257 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 8, T 278.9.446c3–10.

although host sūtras necessarily are preached at the same time in the many numbers of the ten directions, guest sūtras are not so since they are each different in accordance with the direction. For this reason, each and every host sūtra is in an entourage numbering as the particles of dust.[258]

Also, in the old essays and commentaries the approach in which all storehouses are both simple and complex and fully endowed with virtue (*chejang sunjap kudŏk mun* 諸藏純雜具德門) and the approach in which the mind only transfers and wholesomeness is attained (*yusim hoejŏn sŏnsŏng mun* 唯心迴轉善成門) were explained,[259] and since the approaches to their meanings were immeasureable, it would be impossible to describe them all.

然此有二義, 一同類, 二異類. 初同類者, 如說十住, 十方各有十刹塵數菩薩來證, 同名法慧, 我我等佛所, 亦說十住, 大眾眷屬, 名味句身, 等無有異. 是故當知, 一十住經, 十方各有十刹塵數修多羅等, 以為眷屬. 如一十住, 餘一切處所說十住, 皆攝爾許塵數眷屬. 十住既爾, 餘十行等, 一一品會, 皆有證法數量. 准釋可

258 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.119c22–120a5.

259 Although Fazang reproduces his mentor Zhiyan's approaches to the ten mysteries (*shixuan men* 十玄門) verbatim in the *Wujiao zhang*, when he wrote his Huayan jing tanxuan ji he made some amendments to them. Therefore, after the *Tanxuan ji*, the theory of the ten mysteries as described in his words is called the "new ten mysteries" and the earlier list was called the "old ten mysteries" (*gu shixuan* 古十玄). The approach in which all storehouses are both simple and complex and fully endowed with virtue (*chejang sunjap kudŏk mun*, Ch. *zhuzang shunza jude wen* 諸藏純雜具德門) was changed to the approach in which the broad and the narrow are self-existent and unimpeded (*kwanghyŏp chajae muae mun*, Ch. *guangxia zizai wuai men* 廣狹自在無礙門) and the approach in which the mind only transfers and wholesomeness is attained (*yusim hoejŏn sŏnsŏng mun*, Ch. *weixin huizhuan shancheng men* 唯心迴轉善成門) was changed to the approach in which host and guest are perfectly clear and endowed with virtue (*chuban wŏnmyŏng kudŏk mun*, Ch. *zhuban yuanming jude men* 主伴圓明具德門). He made these changes because he worried that students would confuse the conditioned arising of the unhindered relationship between phenomena (*shishi wuai yuanqi* 事事無礙緣起) with the unhindered relationship between principle and phenomena (*lishi wuai* 理事無礙). Furthermore, although he changed the name of the approach in which the hidden and esoteric and concealed and manifest are both established (*pimil ŭnhyŏn kusŏng mun*, Ch. *mimi yinxian jucheng men* 秘密隱顯俱成門) to the approach in which the hidden and hidden and manifest and understandable are both established (*ŭnmil hyŏllyo kusŏng mun*, Ch. *yinmi xianliao jucheng men* 隱密顯了俱成門), the contents stayed the same.

知. 二異類者, 謂隨一方一界為一類機, 說一會法, 既無[260]結通十方等說. 故非主經, 然亦與主為勝方便, 故為眷屬. 是故主經必十方塵道同時同說, 伴經不爾, 隨方各別. 是故一一主經, 各有塵數眷屬. 亦古章疏中, 說諸藏純雜具德門, 唯心迴轉善成門, 義門無量, 不可具陳耳.

With respect to the meanings of the ten approaches that have been clarified above, since they share the same conditioned arising they are unimpeded and perfectly interfused; we should be able to consider that being in accordance with one approach is precisely being endowed with all.[261] If the first are already like this, the remaining nine approaches in which the broad and the narrow and so forth are all each fully endowed before the ten time periods, they are merely different in accordance with the approach. For this reason, in each and every approach there are hundreds and thousands of approaches. If you ponder it you should be able to see it.[262] <It is just like saying that the dharma of one phenomenon carries ten meanings by itself: it is endowed with these ten approaches; so there are one hundred. Because the remaining teachings and meanings, and so forth are also paid attention to, it completes a thousand approaches. If teachings and meanings and so forth anticipate the ten meanings of their own class and the ten approaches of the same time, this will be a thousand approaches. If those same times and so forth also anticipate the ten approaches of their own class and the teachings and meanings and so forth, it will also be a thousand approaches. If you pay attention to and ponder these things you will be able to see it.>[263]

上來所明十門義等者, 同一緣起, 無礙圓融, 隨有一門, 即具一切, 應可思之. 如初既爾, 餘廣狹等九門, 皆各具前十時, 但隨門異耳. 是故一一門中, 各有百千等. 思之可見.<謂如一事法帶自十義, 具此十門, 則為一百. 餘教義等, 亦各准之, 故成千門. 如教義等望自類十義, 及同時十門有此千門. 彼同時等亦望自類十門及

260 Adding *mu* 無 following the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji*.

261 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123b4–5.

262 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.123b10–13.

263 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.124a4–8.

教義等亦成千門. 准思可見.>

VI. The Meaning of Universal Dharma[264]

There are three approaches the same as before.

1. Analysis of the Name

Since universal (*po* 普) means broad in scope, encompassing in meaning means universal. Dharma (*pŏp* 法) means possessing the essence of self (*chach'e* 自體) and means a law or statute. <This is just like the common meaning.> All dharmas are mutually interpenetrating and mutually affirmative (*sangsi* 相是). Of that which is called "mutual interpenetration," Wŏnhyo said: "All dharma realms interpenetrate one minute particle of dust, and one minute particle of dust interpenetrates all dharma realms. <Just as it is for one minute particle of dust, it is also so for all.> All kalpas of the three time periods interpenetrate one *kṣaṇa* [thought-moment], and one *kṣaṇa* interpenetrates all kalpas of the three time periods." <Just as it is for one *kṣaṇa*, it is also so for all.> Just as things big and small, urgent [and indulgent] are mutually interpenetrating, the mutual interpenetration of all remaining approaches is also just so.[265] The explanation of mutual affirmation is also just like this. In all dharmas and all approaches, one is all and all is one. Just like this being expansive and broad in scope is called the universal dharma.[266]

---

264 HPC 2.366a13–367c18.

265 Wŏnhyo's original reads "neither great nor small, neither urgent nor indulgent" (*pidae piso pich'ok pisa* 非大非小非促非奢) instead of "big and little, urgent [and indulgent]" (*taesoch'ok* 大少促); see *Hwaŏm-gyŏng so* 華嚴經疏, HPC 1.495a5–6.

266 Wŏnhyo's exegetical explanation of the important meaning of the universal dharma is the only extant Buddhist exegesis on such a doctrinal classification.

普法義
三門同前.
第一釋名者. 普者溥也, 謂遍義是普也. 法自體義, 軌則義.<如常說也> 謂一切法相入相是. 言相入者, 曉云,"謂一切世界入一微塵, 一微塵入一切世界. <如一微塵一切亦爾> 三世諸劫入一刹那, 一刹那入三世諸[267]劫."<如一刹那, 一切亦爾> 如諸大少促相入, 餘一切門相入亦爾, 如說相是亦爾, 謂一切法及一切門, 一是一切, 一切[268]是一. 如是廣蕩, 名為普法.

2. Revealing the Essential Point

The unimpeded dharma realm is the essence.

第二出體者. 以無礙法界為體.

3. Differentiation by Means of Questions and Answers

Question: What kind of causal connections cause all these dharmas to be able to be mixed and interfused and unimpeded like this?

Answer: Master Fazang says: "Causal connections are immeasurable, so it is difficult for them to be fully endowed. By laying out ten classes I will analyze this concept of unimpededness. First, it is because great and small are not fixed. Second, it is because for each, mind only is manifest. Third, it is because they are like illusions and are not real. Fourth, it is because they are produced by causes that are unlimited. Fifth, it is because they are superiorly and thoroughly comprehensive and self-existing. Sixth, it is because samādhi is the great function. Seventh, it is because it is liberation[269]

267 Reading *wi* 謂 as *che* 諸.

268 Supplementing the text with *ilch'e* 一切 following another manuscript. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 176 n. 743.

269 Reading *t'al* 脫 for *sŏl* 說 following the *Tanxuan ji*.

that is difficult to ponder. Eighth, it is because the virtue of its fruition is perfect and extreme. Ninth, it is because conditioned arising is its mutual cause. Tenth, it is because the nature of dharmas is interfused and thoroughly comprehensive.[270]

Master Wŏnhyo says: "If we speak of it in summary fashion, there are ten kinds of causes. First, it is because one and all, being mirror reflections of each other, are like Indra's net. Second, it is because one and all, being a collection of connections with each other, are like counting up coins. Third, it is because all are consciousness only they are like sphere of dreams. Fourth, it is because all things do not really exist they are like the stuff of illusions. Fifth, it is because the characteristics of unity and diversity thoroughly comprehend all. Sixth, it is because the extremely big and the extremely little are equal in size. Seventh, it is because the conditioned arising of the nature of dharmas forsakes characteristics and nature. Eighth, the essence of the dharma (*pŏpch'e* 法體) of the one mind (*ilsim* 一心) is neither the same nor different. Ninth, it is because the unimpeded dharma realm possesses neither bounds nor a center. Tenth, it is because with respect to the dharma realm dharmas are just so, they are unimpeded and unhindered."[271]

The foregoing two masters each has ten approaches. Although both are intricate and detailed descriptions, presently Masters Fazang's first item and Master Wŏnhyo's sixth item show the core essentials.

Master Fazang says: "Because what is said to be big is not fixed as big, it is able to interpenetrate with what is little. Because what is little is not fixed as little, it is able to contain what is big. The "Ten Abodes" chapter says: "Although the numbers of Diamond Mountains are immeasurable, all are able to be enshrined at the end of one strand of hair. If you desire to know

---

270 Although both the question and the answer are drawn from *Tanxuan ji,* the order is different. See *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.124a8–14. The same material is also found in his *Huayan jing zhigui,* but the order is different. See *Huayan jing zhigui* 華嚴經旨歸, T 1871.45.594c25–29.

271 According to this, although Wŏnhyo's and Fazang's explanations of the reasons for all dharmas being mixed and interfused and unimpeded are different, the meaning and significance of the content is similar.

that extremely big things possess the characteristics of the little, bodhisattvas, by means of this, initially arouse the aspiration to enlightenment."[272] An explanation says: It clarifies that because the big is not big within this, it possesses the characteristics of the little.[273]

第三問答分別.

問, 以何因緣故 令此諸法得有如是混融無礙?

答, 法藏師云, "因緣無量難可具, 提十類, 釋此無礙. 一大少無定故, 二各唯心現故, 三如幻不實故, 四無限因生故, 五勝通自在故, 六三昧大用故, 七難思解脫故, 八果德圓極故, 九緣起相由故, 十法性融通故."

元曉師云, "略而言之, 有十種因. 一者, 一與一切, 互為鏡影, 如帝網故. 二者, 一與一切, 更互緣集, 如錢數故. 三者, 皆唯是識, 如夢境故. 四者, 皆非實有, 如幻事故. 五者, 同相異相,[274] 通一切故. 六者, 至大至少, 齊一量故. 七者, 法性緣起, 離相[275]離性故. 八者, 一心法體, 非一非[276]異故. 九者, 無礙法界, 無邊無中故. 十者, 法界法爾, 無障無礙故."

上來二師, 各有十門, 雖繁廣述, 今取藏師初門曉公第六, 示其綱要.

法藏師云, "謂大非定大, 故能入少, 少非定少, 故能容大. 十住品云, '金剛圍山數無量, 悉能安置一毛端. 欲知至大有少相, 菩薩因此初發心.' 解云, 此中明大非大故有少相也."

Question: When the world system interpenetrates a minute particle of dust and Mt. Sumeru interpenetrates a mustard seed, there are already big and little forms, and yet if it does not increase the little and does not decrease the big, how are they able to contain each other?

---

272 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 3, T 278.9.447b2–3.

273 Cf. *Huayan jing zhigui*, T 1871.45.595a1–5.

274 Supplementing the text with *sang* 相 following another manuscript. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 178 n. 749.

275 Supplementing the text with *isang* 離相 following another manuscript. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 178 n. 750.

276 Supplementing the text with *pi* 非 following another manuscript. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 178 n. 751.

Answer: If I speak by means of the meaning of the principle of emptiness (*kongniŭi* 空理義), in conventional worldly truth (*sesok* 世俗) they are false and temporary, but in the meaning of absolute truth (*sŭngŭi* 勝義) they are originally empty. If you are deluded by the false and temporary with a hindered mind, you will be hindered by means of the great and small. If you awaken from the delusion and transform and thoroughly comprehend the significance, what will not be mutually contained? Moreover, the exposing of the difference between large and small, because it is caused by deluded attachments, if one comprehends the meaning of the principle of emptiness, how will hindrances not be thoroughly comprehended? <This is the core teaching of Bhāvaviveka.>[277]

If I speak by means of the meaning of the principle of resonance (*ŭngniŭi* 應理義),[278] in summary there are eight interpretations. First, attachments exist, and in that which is attached large and small things are deemed peculiar. If we know that the objects of attachment are empty, what is little

277 The core teaching of Bhāvaviveka (Ch'ŏngbyŏnjong, Ch. Qingbianzong 清辨宗) refers to the Indian school promoting the doctrinal theory that "all things are empty" (*ilch'e kae kong* 一切皆空), which was claimed by Bhāvaviveka (Qingbian 清辨, ca. 500–570) and other Indian Buddhist thinkers. In other words, it refers to the Indian Madhyamaka school (Chunggwan hakp'a, Ch. Zhongguan xuepai 中觀學派). Bhāvaviveka studied under Saṃgharakṣita (Senghu 僧護) and was familiar with the sūtras of the Mahāyāna tradition and the theories of Nāgārjuna (Longshu 龍樹, ca. 50–150). Later, he promoted the doctrine of emptiness in southern India. It is said that he debated emptiness and existence (*kongyu* 空有) with Dharmapāla (Hufa 護法). Bhāvaviveka, following Nāgārjuna, claimed the emptiness of exhausting existence. He composed the *Zhonglun shi* 中論釋, *Karatalaratna* [*Dasheng zhangzhen lun* 大乘掌珍論, T 1578], *Boredeng lunshi* 般若燈論釋, *Zhongguan xin lunsong* 中觀心論頌.

278 The principle of resonance (*ŭngni,* Ch. *yingli* 應理) is a term related to consciousness-only (*yusik,* Ch. *weishi* 唯識). Kuiji 窺基 (632–682), the exegete who completed the Faxiang school 法相宗 (Kor. Pŏpsangjong), concluded his eight core teachings of the Cien school (*Chaŭn p'alchong* 慈恩八宗) with (7) the core teaching that the meaning of the ultimate truth is that all things are empty (*sŭngŭi kaegong chong* 勝義皆空宗) and (8) the core teaching of perfect reality by means of the principle of resonance (*ŭngni wŏnsil chong* 應理圓實宗). It goes by a different name in the Faxiang school.

and what is big? Second, not comprehending dependence on others[279] one will say that there truly are big and little. The original essence is false and counterfeit; how can principle not be thoroughly comprehended? Third, in phenomena's completion of bigness and littleness, sometimes they are unable to be tolerated. Perfect completion[280] is being thoroughly interfused. How are they not mutually receptive? Fourth, if one is attached to dharmas' possession functions, big and little are contrary to this. Knowing the causes and conditions of dharmas, if both are false how are they interfused? Fifth, if one is attached to spheres by means of a deluded mind, would he be able to accept his own sphere of reality? With respect to the sphere of awakening, all is consciousness. How could anyone not attain it? Sixth, if dharmas truly have characteristics, large and small are not accepted. If we regard the lack of characteristics as truth, what is large and what is small? Seventh, not yet compatible to true thusness (*chinyŏ* 眞如), one is far separated by means of his foolish mind. If one knows truth and comprehends the counterfeit, his wisdom will be penetrating and able to thoroughly comprehend. Eighth, the minds of ordinary people of the lower levels are unable to be thoroughly comprehended and contented. If it is the majesty and power of people of the upper levels, what things will he not be capable of? <This is the core teaching of Dharmapāla.>[281]

279 Dependence on others (*ŭit'a,* Ch. *yita* 依他; short for *ŭit'a kisŏng,* Ch. *yita qixing* 依他起性; Skt. *para-tantra-svabhāva*) is one of the three natures or levels of knowledge in consciousness-only thought. It refers to the condition in which things are produced relying on other causal connections. All forms are produced in harmony with causal connections, and when those causal connections are all used up, all dharmas will disappear. Thus, if all dharmas are existent (*yu* 有), they are non-existent (*piyu* 非有); while being non-existing (*mu* 無) they are not non-existing (*pimu* 非無).

280 Perfect completion (*wŏnsŏng,* Ch. *yuancheng* 圓成; short for *wŏnsŏng silsŏng,* Ch. *yuancheng shixing* 圓成實性; Skt. *parinispanna-svabhāva*) is one of the three natures or levels of knowledge in consciousness-only thought. It refers to ultimate reality (*chinsilsŏng* 眞實性) and comprises complete and perfect understanding; it penetrates the veil of impermanence to attain absolute knowledge that transcends all conditionality and relativity.

281 The original source of this information is unclear. Kim Ch'ŏnhak suggests that in terms of the context, P'yowŏn is drawing from the writings of Wŏnhyo. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong*

> 問, 世界入微塵, 須彌入芥時, 既有大少之形, 而不增少不減大, 如何得相容耶? 答, 空理義云, 世俗虛假, 勝義本空. 迷虛假以礙心, 小大由隔, 悟幻化而通意, 何不相容? 況乎大少懸著, 由迷執有, 達空勝義, 何礙不通?<此清辨宗也> 應理義云, 略有八釋. 一執有所執, 大小懸殊. 知所執空, 何少何大? 二不達依他, 謂真大少. 體之虛偽, 何理不通? 三事成大少, 或不能容. 圓成融通, 何不相納? 四執法有用, 大少乃乖. 知法因緣, 同虛豈融? 五迷心執境, 實境誰容? 悟境皆識, 何誰不得? 六法真有相, 大小不容. 無相為真, 何大何小? 七未契真如, 愚心杳隔. 知真達偽, 智洞能通. 八下位庸心, 不能通含. 上人威力, 何事不能?<此護法宗也>

Master Wŏnhyo says:

> First, the theories of the southern direction say: "Since they are already deemed inconceivable, they are merely the spheres of saints. If the two vehicles cannot be estimated, how then can ordinary beings be deciphered?" For this reason, they are only just installed and not analyzed. Second, the masters of the northern lands say: "Because big things do not possess the characteristic of bigness, big things are able to interpenetrate small things. Because small things do not possess the characteristic of smallness, small things are able to contain big things."

---

munŭi yogyŏl mundap, 180 n. 754. The core teaching of Dharmapāla (Hobŏpchong, Ch. Hufazong 護法宗) refers to the Indian school led by the consciousness-only exegete Dharmapāla. In other words, it refers to the Yogācāra school or Consciousness-only school (Yusik hakpa, Ch. Weishi xuepai 唯識學派). Dharmapāla (Hufa 護法, ca. 530–561) was one of the ten great consciousness-only thinkers. Hailing from southern India, he was versed in the orthodox traditions of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna doctrinal learning. He taught his several thousand disciples at the monastic university, Nālandā Monastery, in the country of Magadha. He went to Mahābodhi Monastery (Daputisi 大菩提寺) at twenty-nine years of age, immersed himself in his studies, and passed away not long thereafter. His writings include the *Dasheng guangbailun shilun* 大乘廣百論釋論 (T 1571), *Cheng weishi lun shenglun* 成唯識寶生論 (T 1591), *Guan suoyuan lunsh i* 觀所緣論釋 (T 1625). According to Xuanzang, his intellectual thought, as organized in the *Vijñapatimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* (*Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, T 1585), served as the basis for the Faxiang school.

Third, the masters[282] say: "Big things are not of themselves big; with respect to small things they are big. Small things are not of themselves small; with respect to big things they are small. With respect to small things they are big, and big things are called slightly big things (*sodae* 小大). With respect to big things they are small, and small things are called largish small things (*taeso* 大小). Because we take small things as being largish small things, they can contain big things. Because we take big things as slightly big things, they can interpenetrate with the small things." Thus, this breaks the meaning established by the second master. Saying that already they do not possess the characteristic of bigness is precisely the lack of bigness. What kind of big things interpenetrate small things? Small things do not possess the characteristic of smallness is precisely the lack of smallness. What kind of [small things] contain big things? If one says that because there are big things that do not possess characteristics and small things that do not possess characteristics they are able to contain and interpenetrate, let us now study this case seriously: with respect to big things that do not possess characteristics, do they possess bigness or do they not possess bigness? If one says that they possess bigness, they precisely still possess the characteristic [of bigness]. If they do not possess the characteristic, they precisely do not have bigness. If they do not possess the characteristic and have bigness, this is because they do not resonate with principle.[283]

Fourth, is refuting the opinion of the third master. With reference to that which is said to be slightly big, are they bigger than largish small

[282] This opinion seems to be that of the theories of the Sinitic Madhyamaka or Sanlun masters (Samnon'ga, Ch. Sanlunjia 三論家). See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 182 n. 762. It resembles passages in Jizang's (549–623) *Jingming xuanlun.*

[283] *Jingming xuanlun* 淨名玄論 3, T 1780.38.870c5–11. This text is a book in which Jizang elucides the core teachings of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* (*Weimo jing* 維摩經). Wŏnhyo is citing Jizang's position; and this otherwise unknown work by Wŏnhyo will be cited again in P'yowŏn's *Hwaŏm-gyŏng munŭi yogyŏl mundap.*

things or are they not bigger than largish small things? If one says that they are not bigger, one precisely cannot call them slightly big. This is because slightly big is the same as largish small. If one says that they are big, largish small things are precisely not able to interpenetrate the slightly big things. This is because largish small things are smaller than slightly big things. If, although largish small things are smaller than slightly big things and slightly big things are larger than largish small things, because it is the interpenetration of non-interpenetration (*purip ip* 不入入), we say they are able to interpenetrate; because of the non-interpenetration of interpenetration (*ip purip* 入不入) they are not able to interpenetrate because the interpenetration of non-interpenetration is different from the non-interpenetration of interpenetration. If, because largish small is different from slightly big, largish small with respect to slightly big is able to interpenetrate because of the interpenetration of non-interpenetration, and slightly big with respect to largish small is not able to interpenetrate because of the non-interpenetration of interpenetration. If one says that because of the interpenetration of non-interpenetration slightly big also interpenetrates largish small, because of the bigness of non-bigness, slightly big is also largish small.[284]

元曉師云, "一南方說言, 既稱不思議, 唯聖境界. 二乘不測, 凡豈能解? 故且置而不釋耳. 二北土[285]師云, '大無大相故, 大得入小[286], 小無小相故, 小得容大.' 三師云, '大不自大, 由小故大, 小不自小, 由大故小. 由小故大, 大名小大, 由大故小, 小名大小. 以小是大小, 故得容大, 大是小大, 故得入小.' 則破第二師立義, 言既無大相, 是即無大, 誰大入小耶? 小無小相, 是即無小, 誰容大耶? 若言有無相之大無相之小故得容入者, 今重考之, 無相之大, 猶有大而無大耶? 若言有大, 即

[284] Because the original exegesis of Wŏnhyo, which is cited by P'yowŏn here, is lost, I cannot be certain where the passage by Wŏnhyo ends. The conclusion of this discussion of bigness and smallness seems the most probable.

[285] Correcting *ch'achu* 此主 to read *pukt'o* 北土 following *Jingming xuanlun* 淨名玄論 3, T 1780.38.870c3–5.

[286] Reading *so* 少 as *so* 小. In the passage that follows, although *so* 少 and *so* 小 are used interchangeably, the meaning should be *so* 小.

猶有相, 如其無相, 即無有大. 無相有大, 不應理故. 四破第三師義. 言所言小大, 為大於大小耶? 為不大於大小耶? 若言不大者, 即不名小大, 以小大同於大小故. 若言大者, 即不得入大小於小大. 以大小小於小大故. 若言雖大小小於小大, 小大[287]大於大小, 而以不入入故得入者, 以入不入, 故不能入, 以不入入異於入不入故. 如大小異於小大故, 大小於小大, 以不入入故得入, 小大於大小, 以入不入故, 不得入. 若言以不入入故, 小大亦入大小者, 以不大大故, 小大亦是大小."

If this is not permissible then that is also not permissible. If all are permissible, big and small are confused and chaotic. For this reason, you should know that the opinion of the third master also is not able to complete the meaning of mutual interpenetration. If something is already not mutually interpenetrating, how is it able to be mutually affirmative? Therefore, I have now clarified mutual interpenetration and mutual affirmation. The cause of mutual interpenetration is not one but a throng of many.

Now, moreover, if we put forth one, that which is said to be extremely big and extremely small, because they are equal in size, those things that are big and small all are able to be mutually interpenetrating. It is just as the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says: "If you desire to know that extremely big things possess the characteristics of the small, bodhisattvas, by means of this, initially arouse the aspiration to enlightenment."[288] What does this mean? Speaking of extremely big things, it means there is no exterior. If there was an exterior, it is because it was not extremely big. Extremely small is also so since it means there is no interior. If there was an interior established, it is because it was not extremely small. Something big that does not have an exterior means that it is largely vacant (*taehŏ* 大虛), and something small that does not have an interior means that it is close to vacant (*inhŏ* 隣虛). Because it does not have an interior it also does not have an exterior: this is because exteriors and interiors are mutually anticipating (*sangdae* 相待).

287 Supplementing the text with *sodae* 小大 following another manuscript. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 185 n. 769.

288 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 3, T 278.9.447b3.

This is precisely so since extremely small things are equal to extremely big things. Because largely vacant does not have an exterior, it also does not have an interior. This is precisely so since extremely big things are the same as extremely small things. Therefore, it is said that extremely big things have the characteristic of smallness. If one is able to know, like this, that big and small are of the same measure, then with respect to all big and small things, they are all caused to be without hindrances and impediments. This is precisely the liberation of the inconceivable consciousness. Therefore, it is said for this cause to be the initial arousal of the aspiration to enlightenment.

Why? Although Mt. Sumeru is large, it is still smaller than something without an exterior. Although a mustard seed is small, it is still bigger than something without an interior. You should know that something largely vacant does not have an exterior and that it interpenetrates a mustard seed and there is nothing remaining because it is the same as something extremely small. Close to vacant does not have an interior and that it contains Mt. Sumeru and there is space remaining because it is the same as something extremely big. Moreover, a high seat interpenetrates an abbot, and Mt. Sumeru interpenetrates a mustard seed. Although a mustard seed is small, it is still larger than largely vacant. Although Mt. Sumeru is larger, it is still finer than something extremely minute.[289]

289 Extremely minute (*kŭngmi,* Ch. *jiwei* 極微; Skt. *paramāṇu*) is the designation or unit of measure used in analyzing material things where one gets down to the point where something can no longer be divided or broken down further. It is also referred to as an "extremely minute particle of dust" (*kŭngmijin* 極微塵). In the old translation (of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*) it was called "close to vacant" (*inhŏ,* Ch. *linxu* 隣虛). Centered on one "extremely minute," one mote or particle of dust in the six directions (the four cardinal directions and up and down) is called a "minute" (*mi* 微) or "minute particle of dust" (*mijin* 微塵); seven minute are one particle of gold dust (*kŭmjin* 金塵); seven particles of gold dust are one particle of water dust (*sujin* 水塵); seven particles of water dust are one particle of rabbit's hair (*t'omojin* 兎毛塵); seven particles of rabbit's hair are one particle of sheep's hair (*yangmojin* 羊毛塵); seven particles of sheep's hair are one particle of cow's hair (*umojin* 牛毛塵); and seven particles of cow's hair are one particle of dust remaining in a crevice (*kŭgyujin* 隙遺塵). These things refer to small particles of dust drifting about in the light we are able to see with our natural, physical eyes. An extremely minute thing refers to something a level smaller, finer, and more minute.

The Mt. Sumeru that is now going towards a fine extremely minute interpenetrates a mustard seed that is larger than a great vacuity (*taehŏ* 大虛). If it is mutually interpenetrating just like this, what kind of difficulties will there be? Merely, although a mustard seed is larger than a great vacuity, it does not increase its minute size. Although Mt. Sumeru is smaller than an extremely minute, it does not decrease its height. For this cause, the principles of the Way to enlightenment are incomprehensible. The bigness and smallness of things is the cause of their mutual interpenetration. The condition of mutual affirmation also emerges from this one kind of thing because the characteristics of unity and diversity are not mutually separate from each other. Why is it called the characteristic of diversity? This is because the characteristic of self of all dharmas, each one, is diverse. Speaking of the characteristic of unity, all dharmas are the approach of wisdom of one characteristic. Since all dharmas exist because they possess the characteristic of self, all of them also do not exist because they do not have the characteristic of otherness. Being right together is being wrong together. All dharmas are as one and so forth, and just like this unity and diversity do not forsake or separate from each other. Because diversity does not separate from unity all is one. Because unity does not separate from diversity, one is all. As a result of these principles of the Way to enlightenment, one and all are unimpeded and unhindered. Therefore, seven days becomes one kalpa and one kalpa becomes seven days.[290] <And so on and so forth.>

若此不許, 彼亦不許, 若皆許者, 大小雜亂. 是故當知第三師義, 亦不得成相入義也. 既不相入, 何得相是? 故今便明相入相是. 相入之由, 非一衆多. 今且出一, 所謂至大至小, 齊一量故, 所有大小, 皆得相入. 如華嚴經言, '欲知至大有小相, 菩薩因此初發心.' 是義云何? 言至大者, 所謂無外, 如有[291]其外, 非至大故. 至小亦爾, 所謂無內, 設有內者, 非至小故. 無外之大, 所謂大虛, 無內之小, 所謂隣虛. 無內故亦無外, 外與內, 必相待故. 是即至小齊於至大. 大虛無外故, 亦無內. 是

290 Cf. *Weimoji suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*) 3, T 475.14.546c8–12.

291 Supplementing the text with *yu* 有 following another manuscript. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 187 n. 773.

> 即至大同於至小. 故云至大有小相也. 若能知如是大小同量, 即於一切大小, 皆得無所障礙, 即是不可思議解脫. 故言因是初發心也. 何者? 須彌雖大, 而猶小於無外, 芥子雖小, 而猶大於無內. 當知大虛無外, 入芥子而無遺, 同於至小故, 隣虛無內, 含須彌而有餘, 同於至大故. 況乎高座入於方丈, 須彌入於芥子. 芥子雖小, 而猶巨於大虛, 須彌雖大, 而猶細於極微. 今將細極微之須彌, 入寬大虛之芥子, 如是相入, 有何所難? 但以芥子雖巨大虛, 而不增其細量, 須彌雖細極微, 而不咸[292]其高形. 由是道理不可思議耳. 是謂大小相入之由, 相是之緣, 亦出一種, 所謂同相異相不相離故. 何謂異相? 諸法自相各異故. 言同相者, 所謂諸法一相智門. 謂一切法皆是有, 有自相故, 亦皆無, 無他相故. 同是是同非, 皆法皆一等, 如是同異不相捨離. 以異不離同故, 一切是一也, 同不離異故, 一是一切. 由是道理, 一與一切, 無障無礙. 故能以七日作一劫, 以一劫作七日.<云云>

Furthermore, it says that all dharmas do not possess hindrances or impediments. Just like the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* says:

> O Subhuti, six masters of those heterodox paths, who do not see the Buddha and do not hear the Dharma, are your masters. For this reason, you left home and became a monk and where those masters fall you also will fall accordingly, and you will then be able to get sustenance. If you are able to obtain the samādhi of non-contention (*mujaeng sammae* 無諍三昧), all living beings will also obtain this trance. Those who provide you with donations are not called fields of merit (*pokchŏn* 福田). Those who give offerings to you will fall into the three unwholesome paths, and they will join hands together with throngs of demons [*māras*] who will be their companions in all manner of hardship, so you will be no different from the throngs of demons [*māras*] and all manner of mundane hardship. You will have a mind of resentment toward all living beings, slander all the buddhas, and injure the dharma. You will not enter the great assembly

292 Reading *ham* 咸 (*meaning myŏl* 滅) for *sŏng* 成. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 188 n. 777.

and in the end you will not attain nirvāṇa.[293] If you are like this you will choose sustenance.[294]

It is the case that from the standpoint of the approach, the characteristics of unity and diversity are not mutually separate (*tongsang isang pulsangni mun* 同相異相不相離門); because one and all are moreover mutually affirming, it can be explained that they are neither hindered nor impeded. It is not simply the emptiness of the True Dharma (*ch'ebŏp* 諦法) and the two approaches to non-being (*mu* 無). The reason, nevertheless, is the antidote to the approach of the emptiness of dharmas (*pŏpkongmun* 法空門). This is because that which Subhuti[295] comprehends [ordinary living beings] should not hear it and be afraid. <The remaining meanings are just like special explanations. I have chosen and discarded the meanings of all the foregoing masters depending on my feelings.>

又說諸法無所障礙, 如維摩云, '若須菩提, 不見佛, 不聞法, 彼外道六師, 是汝之師, 因其出家, 彼師所墮, 汝亦隨墮, 乃可取食. 汝得無諍三昧, 一切眾生, 亦得是定. 其施汝者, 不名福田, 供養汝者, 墮三惡道, 為與眾魔共一手作諸勞侶, 汝與眾魔及諸塵勞, 等無有異. 於一切眾生, 而有怨心, 謗諸佛, 毀於法, 不入眾數, 終不得滅度. 汝若如是, 乃取食.'"
案云, 此就同相異相不相離門, 一與一切更互相是, 故作如是無障礙說. 非約諦法空無二門, 所以然者, 對法空門. 善吉所達, 不應聞彼懼故.<餘義如別說也. 此上諸師義, 取捨任情.>

293 What I have translated as nirvāṇa (*myŏldo*, Ch. *miedu* 滅度) refers to eradication of hindrances and passing over or crossing over suffering (*myŏlchang togo* 滅障度苦). It refers to the attainment of nirvāṇa, having passed over the defilements of saṃsāra.

294 The passage is a summary of *Weimoji suoshuo jing* 1, T 475.14.540b29–540c12.

295 Reading Sŏn'gil 善吉 as Subori 須菩提 following another manuscript. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 191 n.790.

VII. The Meaning of Dharma Realm[296]

There are three approaches the same as before.

1. Analysis of the Name

Master Fazang said: "Dharma has three meanings: first, it means something that maintains self-nature (*chasŏng* 自性), second, it means a law or ordinance (*kwech'ik* 軌則), and third it means an idea or object of consciousness (*taei* 對意). Realm also has three meanings: first, it means a cause (*in* 因) because, relying on this, it produces the Saintly Way to Enlightenment; second it means [original] nature (*sŏng* 性); and third it means distinction (*punje* 分齊)."[297] Master Lin says: "That which is really true to its essence of self is called 'dharma.' That which completely lays out the capital city is called the 'realm.'"

法界義
三門同前.
第一釋名者. 法藏師云, "法有三義. 一是持自性義, 二是軌則義, 三對意義. 界亦

296 HPC 2.372b4–373c10, 375a23–373a6.

297 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 18, T 1733.35.440b11–18. Fazang, in explaining the meaning of the title of the "Entry into the Dharma Realm" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* explains four approaches. First is a section in which he "analyzes the name" (*shiming* 釋名). Here in this first part are analyses of the "section name" (*fenming* 分名), the "assembly name" (*huiming* 會名), and the "chapter name" (*pinming* 品名). The portion P'yowŏn cites comes from the "chapter name" portion.

298 Mental dharmas (*simbŏp,* Ch. *xinfa* 心法; Skt. *cittadharma*) are one of the classifications of dharmas in five groups (*owi,* Ch. *wuwei* 五位): dharmas of form (*saekpŏp,* Ch. *sefa* 色法), the mind (*simbŏp,* Ch. *xinfa* 心法), mental functions (*simsobŏp,* Ch. *xinsuofa* 心所法), forces not concomitant with the mind (*sim pulsangŭngbŏp,* Ch. *xin buxiangyingfa* 心不相應法), and unconditioned dharmas (*muwibŏp,* Ch. *wuweifa* 無爲法). When the myriad things existing in the universe (*uju manyu* 宇宙萬有) are divided into the two dimensions of material existence and mind, mental dharmas are the function of consciousness regarding material objects.

三義. 一是因義, 依生聖道故. 二是性義, 三是分齊義." 懍云, "自體如實, 名之為法. 該羅都城, 名之為界."

2. Revealing the Essential Point

Master Lin says: "Take thusness (*yŏyŏ* 如如) as the essence."

Master Huiyuan says: "Among the two teachings of the provisional Hīnayāna (*kwŏn sosŭng* 權小乘), with respect to phenomenal dharmas[298] (*sabŏp* 事法), mental dharmas, the mind, and forces not concomitant with the mind[299] are all made by forms, which they take as their [original] nature. The dharma realm of principle (*i pŏpkye* 理法界) of the Hīnayāna of the provisional teaching regards emptiness at birth[300] as that which manifests

[299] Forces not concomitant with the mind (*pulsangŭng,* Ch. *buxiangying* 不相應; short for *sim pulsangŭngbŏp,* Ch. *xin buxiangyingfa* 心不相應法; Skt. *citta-viprayukta, asaṃprayukta*) are one of the classification of dharmas in five groups (*owi,* Ch. *wuwei* 五位). See the previous note for the list. Among conditioned dharmas (*yuwibŏp,* Ch. *youweifa* 有爲法), these refer to dharmas that do not belong to dharmas of form (material existence), mental dharmas, mental functions. In Consciousness-only Yogācāra, there are twenty-four groups. They are acquisition (*de* 得), life force (*minggen* 命根), human commonality (*zhongtongfen* 衆同分), nature of unenlightened sentient beings (*yishengxing* 異生性), concentration of no conceptualization (*muxiangding* 無想定), results of non-conceptualization (*wuxiangbao* 無想報), concentration of extinction (*miejinding* 滅盡定), gathering of names (*mingshen* 名身), gathering of phrases (*jushen* 句身), gathering of syllables (*wenshen* 文身), birth (*sheng* 生), old age (*lao* 老), abiding (*zhu* 住), impermanence (*wuchang* 無常), continuous flow (*liuzhuan* 流轉), distinction of good and evil causes (*dingyi* 定異), concomitance (*xiangying* 相應), activity (*shisu* 勢速), sequence (*cidi* 次第), direction (*fang* 方), time (*shi* 時), number (*shu* 數), combining nature (*hehexing* 和合性), and non-combining nature (*buhehexing* 不和合性). See *Dasheng baifa mingmen lun* 大乘百法明門論, T 1614.31.855b–c.

[300] Emptiness at birth (*saenggong,* Ch. *shengkong* 生空) is also called emptiness of self (*agong,* Ch. *wokong* 我空) and emptiness of personhood (*in'gong,* Ch. *renkong* 人空), referring to the void of a permanent ego. It is said that to rid oneself of grasping at the wrong view of a permanent self, the Buddha introduced the concept of emptiness. Because what living beings mistake for an enduring self is merely a conglomeration of the five skandhas, the Buddha taught that the notion of self is empty and void.

the nature of being unconditioned. The dharma realm of principle of Mahāyāna of the provisional teaching[301] regards the emptiness of self and the emptiness of dharmas as that which manifests the nature of unchanging true thusness.[302] The dharma realm of the unhindered nature of principle and phenomena of the Mahāyāna of the true teaching[303] is non-dual with respect to being conditioned and unconditioned, and melts and interfuses the dharma realm, which is its [original] nature. The dharma realm of the unhindered nature of phenomena and phenomena is non-dual with respect to being conditioned and unconditioned; perception[304] is its [original] nature. <If they jointly reveal reliance on the discrimination of function, then they thoroughly comprehend outflows [defilements] and the five skandhas as their [original] nature.>"

Master Wŏnhyo says: "If one thoroughly comprehends and discourses on the dharma realm, he will not exceed four statements: first, the dharma

---

301 The Mahāyāna of the provisional teaching (*kwŏn'gyo taesŭng,* Ch. *quanjiao dasheng* 權教大乘) is also called the provisional teaching of the Mahāyāna or the provisional Mahāyāna teaching (*kwŏn taesŭnggyo* 權大乘教). It refers to the Buddhist teachings preached by the Buddha by means of expedient means (*upāya*) in order to lead toward the true teaching of the Mahāyāna (*sil taesŭnggyo* 實大乘教), which give the true Buddhist teachings without resorting to expedient means. These refer to the Buddhist doctrines and teachings preached by Śākyamuni for the benefit of living people of inferior spiritual capacity in order to guide them to the greater truths by means of expedient means.

302 Unchanging true thusness (*pulbyŏn chinyŏ,* Ch. *bubian zhenru* 不變眞如) is the opposite of conditional true thusness or the thusness that accords with conditions (*suyŏn chinyŏ,* Ch. *suiyuan zhenru* 隨緣眞如). The original essence of true thusness is in the end equal and unchanging and is precisely the eternally abiding buddha nature (pulsŏng 佛性) in the true mind of original nature. According to conditions of ignorance exterior to his unchanging original essence, that which gives birth to the six paths of rebirth in the three realms (desire, form, and formlessness) is called conditional true thusness.

303 The Mahāyāna of the true teaching (*silgyo taesŭng,* Ch. *shijiao dasheng* 實教大乘) is also called the true teaching of the Mahāyāna (*sil taesŭnggyo* 實大乘教) and refers to the true teachings of the Mahāyāna that do not resort to expedient means.

304 Perception (*sangon,* Ch. *changyun* 常蘊) is one of the five skandhas (*oon,* Ch. *wuyun* 五蘊). Human beings possess all manner of sentience (*chŏngsang,* Ch. *jingxiang* 情想), the ability to perceive good and evil, right and wrong, and so forth. All these things are lumped together in this term.

realm of the conditioned (*yuwi pŏpkye* 有爲法界); second, the dharma realm of the unconditioned (*muwi pŏpkye* 無爲法界); third, the dharma realm of the conditioned and unconditioned (*yuwi muwi pŏpkye* 有爲無爲法界); and fourth, the dharma realm of the neither conditioned nor unconditioned (*piyuwi pimuwi pŏpkye* 非有爲非無爲法界)."

Master Fazang says: "There are two kinds of dharma realms. First, there are five approaches of the meaning of the dharma realm which is entered (*soip* 所入). The first four dharma realms are the same those listed by Wŏnhyo. <They are only dissimilar in analyzing their meaning.> The fifth is the dharma realm devoid of hindrances and impediments (*mujangae pŏpkye* 無障礙法界).[305] Second, with respect to clarifying the dharma realm one is able to enter (*nŭngip* 能入), there are also five approaches: first, pure belief; second, correct understanding; third, practice; fourth, realization; and fifth, perfect fullness."[306] <And so on and so forth.>

第二出體者. 懍云, "以如如為體." 慧苑師云, "權小二教中, 事法以心法及心并不相應, 能所造色, 以為其性. 小乘教, 理法界, 以生空所顯無為性. 權教大乘, 理法界, 以二空所顯不變真如而為其性. 實教大乘, 理事無礙法界, 以為無為無二, 鎔融法界, 而為其性. 事事無礙法界, 以為無為無二, 常蘊為性.<若兼顯辨用所依則通有漏五蘊為性>" 元曉師云, "通論法界, 不出四句. 一有為法界, 二者無為法界, 三者有為無為法界, 四者非有為非無為法界." 法藏師云, "法界有二. 先所入法界義有五門. 初四法界, 同曉所列<釋義不同有耳>, 五無障礙法界. 二明能入, 亦有五門. 一淨信, 二正解, 三修行, 四證得, 五圓滿."<云云>

3. Differentiation by Means of Questions and Answers

A. The Four Kinds of Dharma Realms

305 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 18, T 1733.35.440b25–27.

306 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 18, T 1733.35.441a14–15.

Question: Master Lin says: "Now, in discussing the diversity of essence, it is wrong with respect to falseness and trueness." Why is this so?

Answer: If we summarize their essences into four kinds, the first is the dharma realm that accords with conditions (*suyŏn pŏpkye* 隨緣法界), the second is the dharma realm that opposes conditions (*taeyŏn pŏpkye* 對緣法界), the third is the dharma realm that neglects conditions (*mangyŏn pŏpkye* 忘緣法界), and the fourth is the dharma realm of conditioned arising (*yŏn'gi pŏpkye* 緣起法界).

a. The Dharma Realm That Accords with Conditions

Among the previous three approaches, with respect to the essence of the dharma realm, although the dharma realm is not a sphere and wisdom, it explains spheres and wisdom according to conditions. Although the dharma realm is not form and mind, it explains form and mind according to conditions. Although there are various kinds of flavors according to these assorted locations, nevertheless, all of these various flavors are not the original flavor. Although there are differences according to conditions, the differences are not the dharma realm. There are only names and letters, no dharmas. When explaining in accordance with feelings, because feelings are not the dharma realm, among the first, the dharma realm that accords with conditions, there is no essence of the dharma realm.

b. The Dharma Realm That Opposes Conditions

Second, with respect to [the dharma realm that] opposes conditions, now, the illness of being attached to existence (*yu* 有) explains non-existence (*mu* 無) as the cure. The illness of being attached to non-existence explains existence as the cure. <Permanence (*sang* 常) and impermanence (*musang* 無常) and so forth are all examples of this.> The antidote to the illness is not the dharma realm, but the medicine that is able to cure it is provisionally

called the "dharma." If one again becomes attached to this dharma, the illness will completely return. When the illness is cured, the medicine is discarded. When one is fully endowed, he is explained as being pure. It is not only throwing away the cure, it is also throwing away what was thrown away. For this reason, in [the dharma realm that] opposes conditions, there is no essence of the dharma realm.

c. The Dharma Realm That Neglects Conditions

Third, with respect to [the dharma realm that] neglects conditions, because it neglects conditions and neglects objects, it is called the dharma realm that neglects conditions. Neglecting what has been obtained and neglecting what has not been obtained, neglecting duality and neglecting non-duality are also neglecting what has been neglected. It is not only neglecting names; becausae it is also neglecting the essence of the dharma realm and neglecting the function of the dharma realm, it does not establish the essence of the dharma realm. Now, with respect to its not establishing [this principle], it is also because it is one in the midst of the dharma realm.

d. The Dharma Realm of Conditioned Arising

Fourth, with respect to the dharma realm of conditioned arising, by previously neglecting conditions there is already nothing on which to rely or be attached. Now, again neglecting these conditions is called neglecting conditions (*mangyŏn* 忘緣). After neglecting conditions, one then establishes the meaning of the dharma realm of conditioned arising.

第三問答分別.

問, 懍云, "凡論體異, 濫於虛實." 何耶?

答, 以四種簡體, 一者隨緣法界, 二對緣法界, 三忘緣法界, 四緣起法界. 前三門中, 法界體者, 法界非境智, 隨緣說境智, 法界非色心, 隨緣說色心. 此隨流處有

種種味, 然種種味. 皆非本味, 隨緣有差別, 差別非法界. 但有名字下無法. 隨情而說, 情非法界故, 第一隨緣法界中, 無法界體,

二對緣者, 夫著有之病, 說無以治, 著無之病, 說有以治, 著無之病說有以治.<常無常等一切例此> 所對病, 非是法界, 能治之藥, 假名為法. 若復執此法, 還復成病. 病治藥去, 俱時說淨, 非但遣治, 亦復遣遣. 故對緣中, 無法界體.

三忘緣者, 忘緣忘對故, 曰忘緣法界也. 忘有所得, 忘無所得, 忘二, 忘不二, 亦復忘於忘. 非但忘名, 亦忘法界體, 忘法界用, 故不立法界體也. 夫不立者, 亦法界中一故.

四緣起法界者, 前忘緣既無所依著, 今復忘此緣, 謂之忘緣. 忘緣也然後, 乃立緣起法界義耳.

Since all dharmas are thusness, true characteristics are non-produced, and now they are also not destroyed; they neither increase nor decrease; they neither exist nor do not exist; and while existing they do not exist. Existence is the existence of non-existence. Non-existence is the non-existence of existence. Existence and non-existence are non-dual. These, while being non-dual are dual. Existence does not exist and non-existence does not exist. These two are non-dual. Also, duality is also non-duality. There is no non-duality while being dual. <Permanence and impermanence and so forth are all examples of this.> Now, in the dharma realm of conditioned arising, it is essence while being devoid of essence. Thusness is the essence of the dharma realm. The unhindered nature of conditioned arising is the function of the dharma realm. Being devoid of essence and devoid of function, function is essence and essence is function. Thusness is conditioned arising, and conditioned arising is thusness.

Question: In the phrase "sphere and wisdom," what is the reason it is not the dharma realm?

Answer: Sphere and wisdom also derive from sentiments for absurd language. The sentiment of illness is devoid of dharmas.

Question: In the phrase "cut off and obtain and throw away and obtain," it is also what is ultimately forsaken. What is called the dharma realm?

Answer: If one contracts an illness, it must be broken. One removes the

illness but does not remove the dharma.

Question: In the phrase "the Middle Way," if one neglects conditions, there is already no illness. For what reason is there no essence of the dharma realm?

Answer: Even if one is removed from falsehood, since the dharma of conditioned arising has not yet been clarified, it is not the essence of the dharma realm, the essence necessarily has a function, and since the function has already not been discussed, it is also still an essence that has not yet been clarified.

Question: If it were already not conditionally arisen, can it not concomitantly enter the dharma realm of conditioned arising?

Answer: The sūtras say: "You should know that all dharma realms do not forsake this dharma of non-discrimination." <With respect to these five phrases, you should again pay attention to the *Treatise on Sūtras of the Dharma* (*Fajing lun* 法經論).>

一切法如如, 實相本不生, 今亦無滅. 無增無減,[307] 無有無無, 而有而無也. 有是無有也, 無是有無也. 無有無二, 是不二二也. 無有無無, 是二不二也. 亦二亦不二也, 無二不二也.<常無常等一切例也> 今緣起法界中, 無體而體, 以如如為法界體也, 緣起無礙, 為法界用也. 無體無用, 用體體用, 如如緣起, 緣起如如.

問, 境智節中, 何故非法界?

答, 境之與智, 亦出妄語之情, 病情無法.

問, 斷得及遣得節中, 亦究竟被除, 何名法界?

答, 帶病須破之, 除病不除法.

問, 中道節中, 忘緣既無病, 何故非法界體?

答, 若離虛妄, 未明緣起法者, 非法界體, 體必有用, 既未論用, 亦未明體.

問, 既非緣起, 不應入緣起法界中?

答, 經云, "汝應知一切法界, 莫捨此無分別法"<此中五節更准鏡論也>

B. The Four Kinds of Conditioned Dharma Realms

307 Reading *myŏl* 滅 as *kam* 減. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 234 n. 932.

Furthermore, I will explain the four kinds of conditioned dharma realms. First is the dharma realm of the conditioned accumulation of conditioned phenomena (*yuwi yŏnjip pŏpkye* 有爲緣集法界). Second is the dharma realm of the conditioned accumulation of unconditioned phenomena (*muwi yŏnjip pŏpkye* 無爲緣集法界). Third is the dharma realm of the conditioned accumulation of self-essence (*chach'e yŏnjip pŏpkye* 自體緣集法界). Fourth is the dharma realm of the conditioned accumulation of universality (*p'yŏngdŭng yŏnjip pŏpkye* 平等緣集法界).[308]

a. Dharma Realm of the Conditioned Accumulation of Conditioned Phenomena

If one clarifies existence (*yu* 有) then all things exist. In other words, there are production and destruction. There are causes and results. There are saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. There are the center and the non-center. There are the one characteristic[309] and the lack of characteristics.[310] There is the lack of that which is possessed. Now, the existence of waiting and the existence of responding are called conditioned dharmas.[311] Being produced while not producing and being destroyed while not being destroyed, if

308 P'yowŏn considers these dharma realms of conditioned accumulation as a unique characteristic of Huayan/Hwaŏm learning. Because P'yowŏn transcends differences, seeks after universality, and concludes with the practices of samādhi and visualization, he shows himself to be an inheritor of Wŏnhyo's thought. On this scholarly appraisal of P'yowŏn, see Kim Doo Jin (Kim Tujin) 金杜珍, *Silla Hwaŏm sasangsa yŏn'gu* 신라화엄사상사연구 [Research on the history of Hwaŏm thought in Silla] (Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2002), 161–192.

309 The one characteristic (*ilsang,* Ch. *yixiang* 一相) refers to the characteristic of absolute universal thusness, which is without distinctions.

310 The lack of characteristics (*musang,* Ch. *wuxiang* 無相), with respect to the dharma nature of thusness, refers to the absence of form or appearance in phenomena like cognition by means of deluded thought.

311 Conditioned dharmas (*yuwi pŏp,* Ch. *youwei fa* 有爲法) refer to all manner of phenomena that appear to be real through the joining of causes and conditions.

something is destroyed and yet is not produced the meaning of production is not accomplished. Now, merely because production and destruction are accomplished, it is accumulated (*chip* 集). Causes and results are mutually accomplished, and all the way up to the mutual accomplishment of waiting and responding becomes the conditioned accumulation of the conditioned. It is the accumulation of non-accumulation.

又緣法界中, 開為四種. 一者有為緣集法界, 二者無為緣集[312]法界, 三者自體緣集法界, 四者平等緣集法界. 若明有則一切有. 所謂有生有滅, 有因有果, 有生死有涅槃, 有中非中, 有一相無相, 有無所有. 夫有待有對, 有謂有為法也. 不生而生, 不滅而滅, 滅而非生, 生義不成. 今只生滅成, 故為集也. 因果相成, 乃至待對相成, 為有為緣集, 無集之集也.

b. Dharma Realm of the Conditioned Accumulation of Unconditioned Phenomena

If one clarifies non-existence (*mu* 無), then all things do not exist. In other words, things are neither produced nor destroyed. There are neither causes nor results. There are no saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. There are no center and non-center. There are no one characteristic or a lack of characteristics, up to the lack of that which is devoid of possession. The non-existence of waiting and non-existence of responding are called unconditioned dharmas.[313] Now, they are unhindered and devoid of possession, and yet because non-existence is clarified in accordance with dharmas, the essence of the many does not exist, which is precisely being an unconditioned dharma. Non-existence and non-existence are mutually accomplished, and since all interpenetrate the numbers of non-dual dharmas, it is the accumulation of unconditioned phenomena.

---

312 Reading *ki* 起 as *chip* 集. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 235 n. 938.

313 Unconditioned dharmas (*wuwi pŏp*, Ch. *wuwei fa* 無爲法) do not arise as a result of causes and conditions. They transcend the changes and transformation, the impermanence of production and destruction, and are true dharmas that permanently abide (*sangju* 常住) and are unchanging.

若明無則一切無. 所謂無生無滅, 無因無果, 無生死無涅槃, 無中無非中, 無一相無相, 乃至無無所有, 無[314]待無對者, 謂無為法也. 夫無礙無所有, 而歷法明無, 故多體無, 即為無為法也. 無無互相成, 皆入無二法數, 為無為緣集也.

c. Dharma Realm of the Conditioned Accumulation of Self-Essence

If it is neither conditioned nor unconditioned, since it is non-dual, this is called self-existence. The sūtras say: "Dharmas are called the essence of self (*chach'e* 自體)."[315] Furthermore, they say: "The essence of self is originally emptiness (*kong* 空); it is non-dual and non-exhaustible."[316] If it is clarified as being non-dual according to dharmas, then since a great amount of non-duality is accumulated, it becomes a conditioned accumulation of self-essence. Conditioned and unconditioned become two functions, and neither existence nor non-existence is precisely the original essence of existence and non-existence. Since essence is not made from conditions, it is called a dharma of self (*chabŏp* 自法), and dharmas of self are originally empty. If one sees the non-duality of the essence of self, he does not see that they are conditioned and he does not see that they are unconditioned. They are absolutely non-dual and are said to be the dharma realm of universality (*p'yŏngdŭng pŏpkye* 平等法界). Mere duality establishes non-duality and mere non-duality establishes duality. Mere universality establishes non-universality and mere non-universality establishes universality.

若非有為非無為, 為不二者, 謂之自體. 經云, "法名自體," 又云, "自體本來空, 有

---

314 Supplementing the text with *mu* 無. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 235 n. 940.

315 Although a similar passage is found in the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra* (*Chengshi lun* 成實論 7, T 1646.32.289c8), it is unclear what "sūtra" he is citing here. This passage is also found in Fashang's 法上 *Shidi lun yishu* 十地論義疏 1, T 2799.85.772a2–3), and Huiyuan's 慧遠 *Shidi jing lun yiji* 十地經論義記 1, X 45.26a1.

316 *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論 2, T 1522.26.132b10.

不二不盡.” 若歷法明不二, 則有衆多不二而集, 為自體緣集[317]也. 有為無為為二用, 非有非無, 即為有無之本體也. 體不從緣造, 名為自法, 自法本來空也. 若見自體無二, 不見有為, 不見無為, 不無無二, 謂平等法界. 只二成無二, 只無二成二, 只平等成不平等, 只不平等成為平等.

d. Dharma Realm of the Conditioned Accumulation of Universality

Among the dharma realms of conditioned accumulation, there are three kinds from the standpoint of being within the dharma realm of the conditioned accumulation of universality: first, the conditioned accumulation of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye yŏnjip* 法界緣集); second, the unhindered and unimpeded nature of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye mujangae* 法界無障礙); and third, the liberation of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye haet'al* 法界解脫). If, with this universality, there is not principle and no teaching, it will be principle and teaching. Because it is the principle of teaching, it is an accumulation of principle. Because it is the teaching of principle, it is an accumulation of teaching. Because principle and teaching are non-dual, it is an accumulation of dharma. Since there are neither dharmas nor people, there are dharmas and people. Because there is a dharma of a person, it is an accumulation of dharma. Because there is a person of a dharma, it is an accumulation of a person. Because the people and dharmas are non-dual, they are an accumulation of impulses [*saṃskāra*]. Because there are no impulses that are different from people and dharmas and there are no people and dharmas that are different from impulses, it is the Mahāyāna. This is the conditioned accumulation of the great dharma realm (*tae pŏpkye yŏnjip* 大法界緣集).

If, under the condition that there is no accumulation and there is no dispersal, there is accumulation and dispersal, it is the accumulation of dispersal and the dispersal of accumulation up to the nirvāṇa of saṃsāra and

317 Correcting *ki* 起 to read *chip* 集 following the logic of the text. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 236 n. 942.

the saṃsāra of nirvāṇa, the non-existence of existence and the existence of non-existence, the unhindered and unimpeded nature of all is the unhindered and unimpeded nature of the dharma realm.

If accumulation is unobtainable and dispersal is unobtainable, up to saṃsāra being unobtainable, nirvāṇa being unobtainable, and existence being unobtainable, duality, non-duality, and also the existence of duality and the non-existence of duality, the non-existence of duality, and the lack of duality and the lack of non-duality, these also would all be unobtainable. The unhindered and unimpeded nature would be unobtainable, liberation and non-liberation also would be unobtainable. Just like this unparalleled language, the mere unparalleled nature of language is also unobtainable. The nature of being unobtainable is called the liberation of the dharma realm.

> 緣集法界中, 又就平等緣集法界中, 復開為三種. 一者法界緣集, 二者法界無障礙, 三者法界解脫. 若此平等, 無理無教, 而理而教. 教理故理集也, 理教故教集也, 理教不二故法集也. 無法無人, 而法而人, 人法故法集也, 法人故人集也, 人法不二故行集也. 無行異人法, 無人法異行, 故大乘也. 是為大法界緣集也. 若無集無散, 而集而散, 散集集散. 乃至生死涅槃, 涅槃生死, 有無無有, 一切無障無礙者, 法界無障礙也. 若集不可得, 散不可得, 乃至生死不可得, 涅槃不可得, 有不可得, 二不二, 亦二亦無二, 無二無無二, 亦亦不可得. 無障礙不可得, 解脫不解脫, 亦不可得. 如此絶言, 只言絶亦不可得, 不可得謂法界解脫也.

C. The Four Dharma Realms and the Five Dharma Realms

a. The Dharma Realm of Conditioned Phenomena

Question: What are the similarities and differences between the four dharma realms and five dharma realms of Wŏnhyo and Fazang?

Answer: First, is the dharma realm of conditioned phenomena (*yuwi pŏpkye* 有爲法界). <The two masters identically say:> There are two approaches. With respect to the first, original consciousness (*ponsik* 本識) is able to apprehend the seeds of all dharmas, which is called the dharma realm.

It is as the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* says: "The [dharma] realm has been from the time when there was no beginning" and so forth.[318] <This approximates the identical meaning.> With respect to the second, the limits of the distinctions of all dharmas of the three realms are called the dharma realm. This is because, as the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says, "All buddhas know all the dharma realms of the past without remainder; they know all the dharma realms of the future without remainder, and they know all the dharma realms of the present without remainder."[319]

問, 曉與藏二師, 四乃五法界, 同異云何?
答, 初有為法界.<二師同云> 有二門. 一本識, 能持諸法種子, 名為法界. 如論云, "無始時來界" 等<此約同義> 二三世諸法差別邊際, 名為法界. 經云, "一切諸佛, 知過去一切法界, 悉無有餘, 知未來一切法界, 悉無有餘, 知現在一切法界, 悉無有餘" 故.

b. The Dharma Realm of Unconditioned Phenomena

Second is the dharma realm of unconditioned phenomena (*muwi pŏpkye* 無爲法界). <The two masters both say:> There are also two approaches. With respect to the first, by means of the approach of the purity of the [original] nature, although they are at the level of ordinary beings, it is because the [original] nature is always pure. True emptiness[320] has one taste because it is devoid of distinctions. <This meaning derives from the *Treatise on the Great*

---

318 *She dasheng lun ben* 攝大乘論本 (*Mahāyānasaṃgraha*), T 1594.31.133b15–16. This passage is not found in the Chinese translations of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* by Paramārtha (Zhenti 眞諦) and Buddhaśānta (Fotuoshanduo 佛陀扇多); see T 1595 and T 1592, respectively.

319 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 31, T 278.9.597c12–14; cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 18, T 1733.35. 440b27–c4.

320 True emptiness (*chin'gong*, Ch. *zhenkong* 眞空) refers to leaving behind seeing phenomena by means of all manner of deluded thought and seeing the principle nature of thusness.

Perfection of Wisdom,[321] and so forth.> The second is the approach of departing from flaws. Because of the antidotes,[322] it is because it straightly manifests purity. Because they are separated into ten groups in accordance with the shallowness and depth of one's practice, there are the ten kinds of dharma realms, such as the [dharma realm] of Fullness Everywhere (*p'yŏnman* [*pŏpkye*] 遍滿 [法界]). <This meaning derives from the *Madhyātavibhaṅgabhāṣya*[323] and

321 The *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom* (*Dazhidu lun* 大智度論, T 1509). There is nothing in Indian Mahāyāna literature that remotely approaches the authority this work enjoyed in medieval Sinitic Buddhism. It is a large compendium of Mahāyāna views and practices attributed to the scholar-monk Nāgārjuna (*Longshu* 龍樹, ca. 150–200). It was translated into Chinese between 402 and 406 by Kumārajīva (*Jiumoluoshi* 鳩摩羅什, 344–413), the famous Central Asian translator and explicator of Buddhism to the Chinese and founder of Madhyamaka philosophy in China. See Étienne Lamotte, trans., *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*), 5 vols. (Louvain: Institut orientaliste, Université de Louvain, 1944–1981). On many different names by which this text was known in medieval China and on the attribution of the text to Nāgārjuna, see Paul Demiéville's review of the second volume of Lamotte's translation (originally published in 1950) in *Choix d'études bouddiques* (1929–1970) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 470, n. 1, 475–476. The recent dissertation of Chou Po-kan presents a strong case for a "partly Chinese" authorship of the work, since the hand of Kumārajīva's editor and scribe Sengrui 僧叡 (352–436) can be seen in the translation and because some subjects treated by Kumārajīva appear to be responses to questions by Sengrui and the project's sponsor, Yao Xing 姚興 (365–416), sovereign of the Later Qin 後秦 dynasty. Some of the most notable evidence provided by Chou is that the *Dazhidu lun's* commentary on the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* follows Chinese word order rather than Indian and that the whole of the commentary is in the form of a dialogue. Dialogue was commonly employed not only in Sarvāstivādin commentarial literature, with which Kumārajīva was familiar, but also in contemporary Chinese "Neo-Daoism." (This is a misleading translation of *xuanxue* 玄學, "dark learning" or "learning of the arcane/mysterious," which is to be preferred.) Questions appear to be written into the text and answered as the text proceeds. Furthermore, Sengrui appears to have written down everything that Kumārajīva said and perhaps, because of other involvements, did not edit out old translations of technical terms; hence, both old and new Buddhist terms remain in the *Dazhidu lun*. Thus, the *Dazhidu lun* seems to reflect the work-in-progress nature of this translation. See Chou Po-kan, "The Translation of the *Dazhidu lun*: Buddhist Evolution in China in the Early Fifth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2000), 62, 68, 74–77, 78, 80, 81–84.

322 An antidote (*taech'i*, Ch. *duizhi* 對治; Skt. *pratipakṣa*) is something that severs the defilements by means of the Way to enlightenment. There are four kinds of antidotes for severing defilements.

323 The *Madhyātavibhaṅgabhāsya* (*Zhongbian lun* 中邊論, or *Zhongbian fenbie lun* 中邊分別論, T 1599)

so forth.>[324]

二無為法界.<二師同云> 亦有二門. 一性淨門, 謂在凡位, 性恒淨故. 真空一味, 無差別故.<此義出智度論等> 二離垢門, 謂由對治, 方顯淨故. 隨行淺深, 分十種故. 如遍滿等十種法界.<此義出中邊論等>

c. The Dharma Realm of Conditioned and Unconditioned Phenomena

Third is the dharma realm of conditioned and unconditioned phenomena (*yŏk yuwi yŏk muwi pŏpkye* 亦有爲亦無爲法界). <Master Fazang says:> There are also two approaches. The first is the approach that accords with characteristics. The aggregates of feelings,[325] perceptions,[326] and impulses,[327] and the five kinds of forms,[328] in addition to the eight kinds

is a discussion of the distinctions with respect to the meaning and significance of the Middle Way that sublates the two bounds. Although it was composed by Vasubhandu (Shiqin 世親, ca. 400–480), it is said that Asaṅga (Wuzhao 無着) received the gāthās from Maitreya and transmitted them to Vasubandhu, and that only the prose essay portion is the work of Vasubandhu.

324 See *Zhongbian fenbie lun* 中邊分別論, T 1599.31.454c21–455a12, where the passage is the explanation of the dharma realm following differences in practices; cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 18, T 1733.35.440c4–7.

325 The aggregate of feelings (*suon,* Ch. *shouyun* 受蘊; Skt. *vedāna-skhanda*) refers to the function of feelings such as pleasure and pain, or the lack of pleasure and pain.

326 The aggregate of perceptions (*sangon,* Ch. *xiangyun* 想蘊; Skt. *sañjñā-skhanda*) refers to all manner of emotions and thoughts associated with accepting, imagining, and seeing certain events or things in one's mind.

327 The aggregate of impulses (*haengon,* Ch. *xingyun* 行蘊; Skt. *saṃskāra-skhanda*) is the fourth of the five aggregates (*pañca-skhanda*). Having passed by the aggregates of form, feelings, and perceptions, it refers to the condition in which formations of deep attachment are continually and more firmly added.

328 With respect to the five kinds of forms (*ojongsaek,* Ch. *wuzhongse* 五種色), the *Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyā* says: "The forms that belong to the locations of dharmas are summarized in five groups: (1) material objects too small to be seen (*kŭngnyaksaek* 極略色) [The understanding of the atomic nature of existence of the five faculties, the five object realms, the four

of unconditioned phenomena,[329] these sixteen dharmas, because they are known merely by means of mental consciousness, are called dharma realms within the eighteen realms. The approaches of the twelve locations are also called locations of dharmas (*pŏpch'ŏ* 法處). <This meaning derives from the *Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyā*.[330] To Master Wŏnhyo this is by means of the third approach.> The second is the unimpeded approach, which refers

---

elements and so forth, due to the analysis by wisdom. This is a level of subtlety that can be theorized through analysis, but cannot be perceived by the sense organs. Material objects too small to be seen. The existence of atoms cannot be directly perceived by the five senses, but their existence can be inferred.]; (2) the extreme subtlety of the visible colors of the relative category [such as light, shadow, brightness, dullness, and the relative categories of forms, such as length, shortness, squareness and roundness] (*kŭkhyŏngsaek* 極逈色); (3) unmanifest matter that is created as a result of receiving the precepts into one's mind (*susoinsaek* 受所引色); (4) the situation of the sixth consciousness, unconnected to the other five consciousnesses, reflecting on the past, or giving rise to illusory objects [such as flowers in the sky. This form (object) is risen through the mistaken discriminatory power of the sixth consciousness] (*p'yŏn'gye sogisaek* 遍計所起色); (5) forms that are produced by means of their own existence (自在所生色) [This seems to be similar to *chŏng soinsaek* 定所引色: forms of magical production and transformation. This is a form element where the sage in meditation can freely transform and manifest things. By thinking of water or fire, he can manifest water or fire. Or he can transform sand and soil into gold and silver and so forth.]; see *Dasheng apidamo zaji lun* 大乘阿毘達磨雜集論 1, T 1606.31.696b27–28.

329 With respect to the eight kinds of unconditioned dharmas (*p'al muwi,* Ch. *ba wuwei* 八無爲), the *Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyā* says: "There are eight kinds of these unconditioned dharmas: (1) the true thusness of wholesome dharmas (*sŏnbŏp chinyŏ* 善法眞如), (2) the true thusness of unwholesome dharmas (*busŏnbŏp chinyŏ* 不善法眞如), (3) the true thusness of indeterminate (lit. "unrecordable") dharmas (*mugibŏp chinyŏ* 無記法眞如), (4) empty space (*hŏgong* 虛空), (5) eradication [nirvāṇa] by means of non-discrimination (*pit'angmyŏl* 非擇滅), (6) eradication [nirvāṇa] by means of discrimination (*t'aengmyŏl* 擇滅), (7) immovability (*pudong* 不動), and (8) the eradication of perceptions and feelings (*sangsumyŏl* 想受滅)." See *Dasheng apidamo zaji lun* 2, T 1606.31.702a29–702b3.

330 The *Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyā* (*Duifa lun* 對法論, Treatise on the Abhidharma), the *Dasheng apidamo zaji lun* 大乘阿毘達磨雜集論 (T 1606), is a commentary on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* [*Dasheng apitamo ji lun* 大乘阿毘達磨集論, T 1605]. Because it is a commentary that explains the characteristics of dharmas according to the Indian Yogācāra tradition, it became one of the eleven primary commentaries studied in the Faxiang tradition (Pŏpsangjong 法相宗). Although usually attributed to Asaṅga, it is also believed to be the joining of separate commentaries on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* by Asaṅga's disciple Shizijue 師子覺 and Sthiramati (Anhui 安慧).

to the dharma realm of the one mind (*ilsim pŏpkye* 一心法界). It contains the two [approaches] of [the approach of] true thusness and [the approach of] production and destruction. It thoroughly comprehends and makes that which relies on the conditioned and unconditioned. With respect to true and worldly [absolute and conventional] dharmas (*chinsok pŏp* 眞俗法), there is no place to be partial or biased towards. With respect to all approaches, there is no place that is not thoroughly comprehended. For this reason, it is described and named as unimpeded. That is compared to the non-serenity of a wave that subsumes water and the immovability of water that subsumes waves. Hence, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says: "The realm of conditioned phenomena emerges from the realm of unconditioned phenomena, and yet it does not deteriorate the nature of unconditioned phenomena. The realm of unconditioned phenomena emerges from the realm of conditioned phenomena, and yet it does not deteriorate the nature of conditioned phenomena."[331] The *Awakening of Faith*[332] says: "Because it does not comprehend the one dharma realm, the mind does not mutually respond; thoughts arising suddenly are called ignorance (*mumyŏng* 無明)."[333] <To Master Wŏnhyo this is by means of the fourth approach. This core teaching of the sūtra is appropriately found here. In addition, although there are three, it is because previously they did not derive from this.>

---

331 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 15, T 278.9.496b10–12; cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 16, T 1733.35. 440c12–15, from "That is compared to the wave that subsumes water ..." For the whole passage, see *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 16, T 1733.35.440c7–15.

332 The *Awakening of Faith* (*Qixin lun* 起信論), short for the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論, T 1666), is said to have been composed by Aśvaghoṣa (*Maming* 馬鳴, fl. second century) in the second century and translated into Chinese by Paramārtha (Zhenti 眞諦, 499–569) in the sixth century. It does not exist in any Sanskrit or Indic manuscript and was apparently completely unknown in India. Nevertheless, the *Awakening of Faith* was, along with the *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom* (*Dazhidu lun,* T 1509), was one of the most important and influential texts of medieval Sinitic Buddhism. See Yoshito S. Hakeda, trans., *The Awakening of Faith: Attributed to Aśvaghosha* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).

333 Cf. *Dasheng qixin lun,* T 1666.32.577c5–7.

三亦有為亦無為法界者.<法藏師云> 亦有二門. 一隨相門. 謂受想行蘊, 及五種色, 并八無為, 此十六法, 唯意識所知故, 十八界中名法界也. 十二處門, 亦名法處.<此義出對法論也. 曉公此為第三門> 二無礙門. 謂一心法界, 含有真如生滅二, 通作有為無為所依. 於真俗法, 無所偏黨, 於一切門, 無所不通. 是故說名無礙. 其猶攝水之波非靜, 攝波之水非動. 故經云, "於無為界, 出有為界, 而亦不壞無為之性, 於有為界, 出無為界, 而亦不壞有為之性." 起信論云, "不達一法界, 故心不相應, 忽然念起, 名為無明."<曉公此為第四門. 此經宗正在此中. 兼有三, 前不出此故.>

d. The Dharma Realm of Neither Conditioned nor Unconditioned Phenomena

Fourth is the dharma realm of neither conditioned nor unconditioned phenomena (*piyuwi pimuwi pŏpkye* 非有爲非無爲法界). There are also two approaches. <That which follows has all been described by the Dharma Master Fazang.> The first is the approach in which form is deprived. This means that because conditions are not conditions that are non-principle, they are not conditioned. Because principle is not principle that is non-conditioned, it is not unconditioned. The essence of dharmas is universal, form is deprived, and both vanish. The thirty-ninth roll of the *Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*[334] says:

> Subhuti asked the Buddha, "Since dharmas are universal, are they conditioned dharmas or unconditioned dharmas?" The Buddha replied, "They are neither conditioned dharmas nor unconditioned dharmas. Why is this so? When one departs from conditioned dharmas, unconditioned

334 The *Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Dapin bore jing* 大品般若經, official title: *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, T 223), in twenty-seven rolls, was translated by Kumārajīva and completed in 404 C.E. It should not to be confused with the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Da bore boluomi jing* 大般若波羅蜜經, T 220), in 600 rolls, that was translated by Xuanzang between 660 or 659 and 663 C.E.

dharmas are not obtained. When one departs from unconditioned dharmas, conditioned dharmas are not obtained. O Subhuti, this is the nature of conditioned phenomena and the nature of unconditioned phenomena. These two dharmas are neither combined nor dispersed."[335]

<This is what it means.> The second is the approach of committing nothing. This means that because the dharma realm departs from forms and departs from [original] nature, it is neither of these two [conditioned or unconditioned]. Because forms are left behind, it is not conditioned, and because [original] nature is left behind, it is not unconditioned. Furthermore, because this is absolute truth (*chinje* 眞諦), it is not conditioned. For this reason, because it is a conventionally established truth, it is not unconditioned. Furthermore, because these two names and words are not that which is able to be attained, for these reasons both are not. The first roll of the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*[336] says: "All dharmas are summarized into two groups: so-called conditioned phenomena and unconditioned phenomena. Among these, conditioned phenomena are neither conditioned nor

---

335 *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 26, T 223.8.415b13–20.

336 The *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* (*Jieshenmi jing* 解深密經, T 676) is one of the seminal sūtras of the Yogācāra tradition. It is a sūtra divided into eight chapters that explains the deep meaning of "consciousness-only." It belongs to the middle period of the Mahāyāna sūtras. Although the exact date of his compilation is unknown, since it is cited in Asaṅga's (Wuzhao 無着, 385–480) *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* (*She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論), it was probably compiled and composed before that time. The sūtra clarifies the boundaries of consciousness-only, the visualization methods (*kwanbŏp,* Ch. *guangfa* 觀法), and the fruits of practice/functioning (*haenggwa,* Ch. *xingguo* 行果); it also clarifies the appearance of the *ālayavijñāna* (immaculate consciousness) and the nature of the mind in three aspects. The sūtra also explains that the Buddha "turned the wheel of the dharma" (*chŏn pŏmnyun,* Ch. *zhuan falun* 轉法輪) three times: the first being the Hīnayāna teaching of the four noble truths in Deer Park, the second being the early Mahāyāna teaching of "emptiness" (*kong* 空; Skt. *śūnyatā*) of the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, and the third and final teaching being the advanced Mahāyāna teaching that "all dharmas lack substantial marks (*ch'esang,* Ch. *tixiang* 體相; Skt. *svabhāva-lakṣaṇa*), are neither produced nor destroyed but are in quiescence and that their self-nature is nirvāṇa." *Shenmi jietuo jing* 深密解脫經 2, T 675, 16.673c; see John Powers, trans., *Wisdom of Buddha: The Saṃdhinirmocana Mahāyāna Sūtra* (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1995), 138–141.

unconditioned, and unconditioned phenomena are neither unconditioned nor conditioned."[337] <I have provided a detailed explanation up to this point.>[338]

四非有為非無為者, 亦有二門.<自此以後共法藏師述之> 一形奪門. 謂緣無不理之緣故, 非有為, 理無不緣之理故, 非無為. 法體平等, 形奪雙泯. 大品三十九云, "須菩提白佛言, '是法平等, 為是有為, 是無為法.' 佛言, '非有為法, 非無為法. 何以故. 離有為法無為法不可得,[339] 離無為法有為法不可得. 須菩提, 是有為性無為性, 是二法, 不合不散.'"<此之謂也> 二無寄門. 謂此法界, 離相離性故, 非此二. 由離相故, 非有為, 離性故, 非無為. 又由是真諦故, 非有為, 由是[340]安立諦[341]故, 非無為. 又非二名言所能至故, 是故俱非. 解深密經第一云, "一切法者, 略有二種, 所謂有為無為. 是中有為, 非有為非無為, 無爲,[342] 非無為非有為."<乃至廣說>

e. The Dharma Realm Devoid of Hindrances and Impediments

Fifth is the dharma realm devoid of hindrances and impediments (*mujangae pŏpkye* 無障礙法界). There are also two approaches. The first is the approach of universal subsuming. This means that with respect to the above four approaches, if one follows one, it subsumes all of the remaining four. For this reason, Sudhana, whether he gazed upon a mountain or an ocean, whether

---

337 *Jieshenmi jing* (*Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*)1, T 676.16.688c23–26.

338 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 18, T 1733.35.440c15–19.

339 Supplementing the original text with *tŭk* 得. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 253 n. 983.

340 Although the logograph *fei* 非 (Kor. *pi*) appears even in received text of the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji*, looking at it from meaning, we follow other manuscripts of the *Tanxuan ji* that use the word *shi* 是 (Kor. si). See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, 253 n. 985.

341 Supplementing the original text with *che* 諦. A conventionally established truth (*allipche,* Ch. *anriti* 安立諦) refers to things established by thoughts and words and appearing with distinctions and names by provisions and hypothetical developments that do not attain to true thusness.

he saw a hall or a house, the names of all that he says interpenetrated the dharma realm. The second is the approach of perfect interfusion. This means that because principle is interfused with phenomena, all phenomena are completely devoid of limits (*punje* 分齊). This means that a minute particle of dust is not small and is able to contain ten *kṣetras* [lands] and that an ocean of *kṣetras* is not large and is concealed and interpenetrates a particle of dust. Because phenomena are interfused with principle, all principle is not unlimited. This means that the one and the many are unimpeded, or it is called the realm of the one dharma (*il pŏpkye* 一法界, alt. "one dharma realm"), or the realm of all dharmas (*che pŏpkye* 諸法界). "The Origination of the Nature [of the Tathāgata Jewel King]" chapter says: "If we make a comparison, with respect to the realm of all dharmas, limits (*punje* 分齊) cannot be obtained, all are not all, it is unable to be seen and impossible to choose."[343] This clarifies that all dharmas are precisely not all dharmas. The "Vairocana" chapter says: "Within this Lotus Flower Storehouse World System, within each and every minute particle of dust are seen all dharma realms."[344] This clarifies that one is not one. Therefore, when Sudhana from a brief moment of time grasps his hand, it follows that he passes over many kalpas; or when he enters the observation tower he universally sees three thousand world systems. All these are its sorts of things.

The above five approaches and ten meanings comprehensively clarify "entering the dharma realm." You should pay attention to the perfect interfusion of the six characteristics, the whole and parts.[345]

五無障礙法界者. 亦有二門. 一普攝門. 謂於上四門, 隨一即攝餘一切故. 是故善財, 或覩山海, 或見堂宇, 皆名入法界. 二者圓融門. 謂以理融事故, 全事無分齊.

342 Supplementing the original text with *muwi* 無爲 following the *Jieshenmi jing* and the *Huayan tanxuan ji*.

343 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 33, T 278.9.614c16–17.

344 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 3, T 278.9.412c7–8.

345 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 18, T 1733.35.440c29–441a14.

謂微塵非小, 能容十刹, 刹海非大, 潛入塵也. 以事融理故, 全理非無分. 謂一多無礙, 或云一法界, 或云諸法界. 性起品云, "譬如諸法界, 分齊不可得, 一切非一切, 非見不可取." 此明諸則非諸[346]也. 舍那品云, "於此蓮華藏世界之內, 一一微塵中, 見一切法界." 此明一即非一也. 是故善財或暫時執手, 遂經多劫, 或入樓觀, 普見三千, 皆此類也.

上來五門十義, 總明所入法界. 應以總別圓融六相准之.

VIII. The Meaning of the One Vehicle[347]

There are three approaches the same as before.

1. Analysis of the Name

"One" means that there are no others. Its causes have no other destinations. Its effects have no distinct reciprocations. Although causes and effects are mutually established (*sangsŏng* 相成), since its essence is not established it is called "one" (*il* 一). "Vehicle" (*sŭng* 乘) means something that loads and transports. When it goes, it is able to transport people; and because it is that which is ridden (*sosŭng* 所乘) it is called a "vehicle" (*sŭng* 乘). Furthermore, the One Way to enlightenment (*ilto* 一道) is the road travelled by all sage people, and because there is no separate path, it is called the One Way to enlightenment. A "way" (*to* 道) means something that can be gone through, and "vehicle" means something that is able to transport by means of merit. A vehicle goes out moving, and going out it arrives at bodhi. The Way to enlightenment is quiescent and thoroughly comprehending [of all], it goes through and penetrates nirvāṇa.

If one relies on this meaning, principle is not something that transfers

346 Supplementing the original text with *ch'ik pi che* 則非諸 following the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji*.

347 HPC 2.376c20–377c20.

and moves. Merely the Way to enlightenment does not have a vehicle. Functions (*haeng* 行) proceed to destinations. Only the vehicle is contrary to the Way to enlightenment. Furthermore, just as the sūtras say: "Precisely, if one circulates in the five paths of rebirth from this dharma realm, one is called a living being. If one circulates and exhausts the source this is explained as being called 'buddha.'"[348] If one relies on this meaning, because principle is neither produced nor destroyed, it is able to transport and move according to conditions and rightly falls under the meaning of "vehicle." Although functions are produced and destroyed, because they neither go nor come they do not transfer and move and so they directly fall under the designation "Way."

If I speak about it in a thoroughly comprehensive manner, within principle it is fully endowed with the meanings of Way and vehicle. From the standpoint of the approach of leaving behind characteristics, it is because it is originally quiescent. From the perspective of the approach of leaving behind [original] nature, it is because it moves according to conditions. Within functions, they are also fully endowed with the two meanings of Way and vehicle. If one relies on the approach of production and destruction, it is because they neither transfer nor move. If one relies on the approach of continuation,[349] it is because they transfer and move.

Provided one relies on this name, if one chooses the meaning according

---

348 The sūtra referred to here is the *Foshuo buzeng bujian jing* 佛說不增不減經 (T 668), one roll, translated by Bodhiruci in 525 C.E. Fazang says that he is citing this sūtra and provides a quote that is similar to the one presented by P'yowŏn; see *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 2, T 1733.35.130c21. In fact, Fazang similarly narrates the contents of the scriptural passage by citing the name of the sūtra; see *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 6, T 1733.35.226a29–b2. This corresponds to the following passage in the *Buzeng bujian jing,* T 668.16.467b6–8. Wŏnhyo provides a similar quotation in his *Taesŭng kisillon pyŏlgi* 大乘起信論別記, T 1845.44.231a9–10. However, the source of the second part cannot be known for sure.

349 Continuation (Kor. *sangsok,* Ch. *xiangxu* 相續) is a common translation for the technical Sanskrit terms *anusaṃdhi* and *prabandha,* which are often used in Buddhist texts referring to the state or process in which dharmas continue after they have arisen and continue on without ceasing. See *Apidamo jushe lun* (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) 30, T 1558.29.159a6.

to the words, this is called the hindrance of wisdom. All things that are obtained are not vehicles. This is precisely the case whether principle or function; both are not that which is obtained. It straightly becomes the place travelled and the vehicle ridden by sagely people. The vehicle ridden by sagely people is without function and is not principle. The place travelled by sagely people is without principle and does not function. For this reason, being without reason and without function, they straightly become principle and function. Provided there is no Way and no vehicle, it therefore becomes a Way and a vehicle. You should know that although it is not difficult to analyze a name, it is not easy to get its meaning. Suppose that one is able to distinguish meaning directly by relying on the name in this manner, if he is not able to break the meaning of its name, he will become wrapped up in names and will not analyze the name. <The above are the words of Wŏnhyo; you should bear these things in mind in a detailed manner and know them.>[350]

一乘義

三門同前.

第一釋名者. 一者無他之義. 因無異趣, 果無別酬, 因果相成, 其體不成, 名之為一. 乘者運載之義. 行能運人, 所乘故名為乘. 又一道, 一切聖人所遊之路, 更無別岐, 故名一道. 道以能通為義, 乘以能運為功. 乘動而出, 出到菩提. 道靜而通, 通入涅槃. 若依此義, 理非遷動. 但道無乘, 行有進趣, 唯乘乖道. 又如經說, "即此法界, 流轉五道, 名為眾生, 返流盡源, 說名為佛." 若依此意, 理非生滅, 故能隨緣而有運動, 正當乘義. 行是生滅, 無去無來, 故無遷動, 直當道名. 通而言之, 理中具有道乘之義. 就離相門, 本來靜故, 約離性門, 隨緣動故. 行中亦具道乘二義, 依生滅門, 無遷動故, 依相續門, 有遷動故. 若依是名, 如言取義, 是謂智障. 諸有所得非乘, 是即若理若行, 皆無所得, 方為聖人所遊所乘. 聖人所乘, 無行非理, 聖人所遊, 無理非行. 所以無理無行, 方為理行, 無道無乘, 乃為道乘. 當知非釋名之為難, 得意之不易耳. 設使直爾依名辨義, 不還破折其名義者, 是謂結名, 非釋名也.<上來元曉師言, 宜審記知之.>

350 From this we can know that the foregoing was the opinion of Wŏnhyo; hence, this is source material on Wŏnhyo's thoughts on the one vehicle.

2. Revealing the Essential Point

In summary there are three essential points: original nature (*sŏng* 性), function (*haeng* 行), and the results of functioning (*haenggwa* 行果). With respect to original nature there are two meanings: permanent nature (*sangsŏng* 常性) and impermanent nature (*musangsŏng* 無常性). Speaking of "nature," by means of the principle of the Tathāgatagarbha, fully endowed with the virtues of nature[351] numbering as the sands of the Ganges, one is able to carry the results of functioning and make the right causes. <It is just as the *Treatise on the Buddha Nature*[352] explains.> With respect to impermanence and permanence there are two meanings. This refers to innate proclivity[353] and

351 Virtues of nature (*sŏngdŏk,* Ch. *xingde* 性德) refer to the case that all things are fully endowed with all manner of capabilities and capacities in their original natures, such as wholesomeness and unwholesomeness, delusion and enlightenment.

352 The *Treatise on the Buddha Nature* (*Foxing lun* 佛性論, T 1610) was composed by Vasubandhu (Shiqin 世親) and translated into Chinese by Paramārtha (Zhenti 眞諦) between 557 and 569 C.E. It systematically discourses on Buddha nature, criticizes the intellectual position that denies the possession of Buddha nature by all living beings, such as beings adhering to the Hīnayāna, heterodox paths (other religions, e.g., Hinduism), and the Mahāyāna. It clarifies the intellectual position that all beings have from the beginning been endowed with Buddha nature.

353 Innate proclivity (*sŏngjongsŏng,* Ch. *xingzhongxing* 性種性) refers to the innate proclivity for enlightenment—in other words, a proclivity that is inborn as a result of the extensive practices of prior lifetimes. It also refers to the concept of undefiled seeds. It is also described as "the seed-nature abiding in the original nature" (*ponsŏngju chongsŏng,* Ch. *benxingzhu zhongxing* 本性住種姓; Skt. *prakriṭistha-gotra*). It is one of the six seed-natures (*yuk chongsŏng,* Ch. *liu zhongxing* 六種性) that comprise the seed-natures of the level of functioning (*haengwi chongsŏng,* Ch. *xingwei zhongxing* 行位種性), which go from the causal practices of bodhisattvas to their results. The six seed-natures are (1) seed-nature of practice or proclivity acquired by practice (*sŭpchongsŏng,* Ch. *xizhongxing* 習種性), which is the study of emptiness and which corrects all illusions of time and space; it corresponds to the level of the ten abodes; (2) seed-nature of nature or innate proclivity (*sŏngjongsŏng,* Ch. *xingzhongxing* 性種性), which does not reside in emptiness and is the nature that goes out and distinguishes false, provisional, or impermanent natures (*kasŏng,* Ch. *jiaxing* 假性); it has the ability to discriminate all the natures of phenomena and transform the living; it corresponds to the level of the ten practices; (3) seed-nature of the Middle Way (*tojongsŏng,* Ch. *daozhongxing* 道中性), which practices the sublime visualizations and meditations of the Middle Way and attains insight into

proclivity acquired by practice.[354] <It is just as the *Yogācārabhūmi*[355] explains.> With respect to essence of the function, after the arousal of the mind (*palsim* 發心) and until equal enlightenment is restored, the myriad practices that were cultivated are regarded as its essence. With respect to the essence of the result, within the stage of sublime enlightenment,[356] the bodhi of the three bodies[357] is regarded as its essence.

---

and thoroughly comprehends the Buddhadharma; it corresponds to the ten transferences; (4) seed-nature of the sage/saint (*sŏngjongsŏng,* Ch. *shengzhongxing* 聖種性), which is the nature by which one realizes or enters the level of sanctity by destroying ignorance by means of sublime visualizations; it corresponds to the ten practices; (5) seed-nature of equal enlightenment (*tŭnggak chongsŏng,* Ch. *dengjue zhongxing* 等覺種性), which is the bodhi-rank germ-nature that produces Buddhahood; it only differs from the succeeding level only by grade; (6) nature of sublime enlightenment (*myogaksŏng,* Ch. *miaojuexing* 妙覺性), which is the profound, enlightened nature of the buddhas, the unsurpassed fruit of Buddhahood (*pulgwa,* Ch. *foguo* 佛果; Skt. *buddhaphala*).

354 Proclivity acquired by practice (*sŭpchongsŏng,* Ch. *xizhongxing* 習種性) refers to the proclivity for enlightenment cultivated in a posterior or post-natal manner as a result of practice.

355 The *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuga lun* 瑜伽論, short for *Yuga shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論, T 1579) is believed to have been composed by Maitreya and transposed by Asaṅga. Xuanzang executed the translation into Chinese between 646 and 648 C.E. This work is one of the representative works of the Yogācāra tradition and provides a detailed discussion of the spheres, practices, and fruits of the practitioner of Yogācāra, the theory of the *ālayavijñāna*, the theory of the three natures (*samsŏngsŏl* 三性說), the theory of the three non-natures (*sammusŏngsŏl* 三無性說), the theory of consciousness-only, and so forth. It served as the basis for the Consciousness-Only school's theory of the Middle Way, the theory of dependent arising, and the teaching of the three vehicles. It was one of the seminal treatises of the Faxiang school 法相宗 (Kor. Pŏpsangjong).

356 The stage of sublime enlightenment (*myogakchi,* Ch. *miaojuedi* 妙覺地) is the last stage in the fifty-two- or forty-one-stage paths of bodhisattva practice. The bodhisattva at the stage of equal enlightenment (*tŭnggakchi,* Ch. *dengjuedi* 等覺地) again severs the ignorance of one degree and advances to or enters this stage. It is the place of a buddha who has severed all defilements.

357 The three bodies (*samsin,* Ch. *sanshen* 三身, also *sambul,* Ch. *sanfo* 三佛; Skt. *trikāya*), in the developed Mahāyāna intellectual tradition, refer to the (1) *dharmakāya* (*pŏpsin,* Ch. *fashen* 法身), the body of the teaching or body of principle, the buddha as a representation of the universe as it really it or reality as it really is; (2) the *sambhogakāya,* the reward body (*posin,* Ch. *baoshen* 報身) or the body formed as a result of the merit and vows made by a buddha and the way he appears in his buddhaland; and (3) *nirmāṇakāya,* the transformation body (*hwasin,* Ch. *huashen* 化身) or response body (*ŭngsin,* Ch. *yingshen* 應身), the way a buddha appears when he manifests in the mundane world with the

Wŏnhyo says: "Also, relying on this approach to the dharma, you should craft your explanation in this manner. Expounding until principle is exhausted is not necessary. Why is this so? They are principle and phenomena; they are defiled and pure. All dharmas, all of them, are the essence of the vehicle. In whatever place dharmas exist, will there be something that is not a vehicle?"

第二出體. 略說有三, 謂性行行果. 性有二義, 謂常無常性. 言性者, 如來藏理, 具恒沙性德, 能與行果而作正因.<如佛性論說> 無常常者, 有二義, 謂性種性及習種性.<如瑜伽論說> 行體者, 發心已去, 等覺以還, 所修萬行, 以為其體. 果體者, 妙覺地中, 三身菩提, 以為其體. 曉云, "且依法門, 應作是說, 盡理而說, 未必然也. 何者? 若理若事, 若染若淨, 一切諸法, 皆是乘體. 何處有法而非乘耶?"

3. Questions and Answers

Question: How can we know that all dharmas, all of them, are the essence of the vehicle?

Answer: Master Wŏnhyo says:

Just as the physician Jīvaka[358] always crafted this explanation: "There is nothing that is not medicine under heaven. Bodhisattvas are also like this. In explaining all dharmas, there is nothing that is not bodhi."[359]

---

thirty-two major marks and eighty minor marks of a buddha. The cosmic buddha Vairocana is an example of the *dharmakāya,* Amitābha is an example of a buddha in *sambhogakāya* form, and Śākyamuni is an example of a buddha in *nirmāṇakāya* form.

358 Jīvaka (Kiba, Ch. Qibo 耆婆) was a physician in Śrāvastī in India. He took refuge in the Buddha Śākyamuni. He was revered as the king of physicians because he cured Śākyamuni's paralysis, Belaṭṭhasīsa's (Analü 阿那律) eye disease, and Ānanda's syphilis.

359 Cf. *Dafangdeng daji jing* 大方等大集經 ([*Mahāvaipulyamahā*] *sannipāta-sūtra*) 9, T 397.13. 54c28–55a1.

Furthermore, a sūtra says: "Licentious desire is precisely the Way to enlightenment, and rage and stupidity are also just so. Within three things like this, are all the measureless Ways to Buddhahood. If someone discriminates between licentiousness, rage, stupidity, and the Way to enlightenment, this person is far removed from Buddhahood and is like heaven and earth."[360] Relying on passages such as these, one can know that all dharmas are absolutely the Way to enlightenment.

Nevertheless, with respect to these passages, in summary there are several meanings. First, the pure mind of self-nature is called the truth of the path.[361] With respect to all dharmas, they are absolutely empty of original nature. The emptiness of original nature also is the bodhi of the purity of original nature (*sŏngjŏng pori* 性淨菩提). Therefore, it is explained that all dharmas are absolutely bodhi. Second, the [monastic] precepts [*śīla*], [meditative] absorption, wisdom, and so forth are called the Way to enlightenment. The [monastic] precepts, [meditative] absorption, and wisdom are as good as licentiousness, anger, and stupidity. They are only just like one; they are non-dual and non-discriminative. Therefore, it is explained that licentiousness and so forth are precisely the Way to enlightenment. Third, the wisdom of non-discrimination[362] is the Way to enlightenment. As for true essence, non-discriminative wisdom, when one realizes true thusness, all the dharmas of the three ages together manifest the one mind (*ilsim* 一心), and there is not one dharma that is

360 Cf. *Dazhidu lun* 6, T 1509.15.107c21–24.

361 The truth of the path (*toje,* Ch. *daoti* 道諦; Skt. *mārga-satya*) is one of the four noble truths (*saje,* Ch. *siti* 四諦). It refers to the path by which one severs all defilements and karma and thoroughly comprehends nirvāṇa.

362 Non-discriminative wisdom (*mubunbyŏlchi,* Ch. *wufenbiezhi* 無分別智; Skt. *nirvikalpajñāna*) is the wisdom that realizes true thusness. Because the shape of true thusness cannot be expressed, verbalized, or discriminated in human words, concepts, or expressions, the possession of a discriminating mind is incapable of processing the nature of its essence (*ch'esŏng* 體性). Therefore, we can know it only by means of true wisdom that is stripped of the forms and appearance of all thoughts, discriminations, and conceptualizations. This kind of wisdom is called non-discriminative wisdom.

separate from the enlightened mind (*kaksim* 覺心). Therefore, birth and death are combined with the Way to enlightenment. Fourth, the dharma realm is dharmas as they are. All dharmas are mutually intruding and interpenetrating. It is just like the three ages of the ten directions all entering into one particle of dust. One particle of dust also enters into the world systems of the ten directions; one thought-moment enters a measureless span and a measureless span, enters one thought-moment. Just like this, the wisdom of all the buddhas enters a covetous mind, and in one thought-moment, a covetous mind enters the wisdom of all the buddhas. Therefore, it is explained that birth and death are combined with the Way to enlightenment. Fifth is relying on the approach to dharma of the unhindered and unimpeded dharma realm. It is not only one and all mutually intruding and interpenetrating, but one dharma is all, and all dharmas are one. Therefore, it is explained that licentiousness is precisely the Way to enlightenment. Sixth is arriving at and interpenetrating the lack of one's own mind [*svacitta*] (*mujasim* 無自心). With respect to all [phenomena], they are regarding mind [*citta*] as mind [*citta*]. As for the Tathāgata, since he does not possess his own body, all bodies are his body. The reason for this is because for a long time, without break, he cultivated a view of no-self (*muagwan* 無我觀) and was able to reach the lack of his own body and mind. Because he accumulated measureless merit for three numberless kalpas,[363] he was able to perceive and obtain his own mind. If

[363] Three numberless kalpas (*sammusu kŏp* 三無數劫) is the same as three *asaṃkhya* kalpas (*sam asŭngji kŏp* 三阿僧祇劫). It is the extremely long length of time necessary for a bodhisattva to perform all of his practices and attain Buddhahood. The word kalpa may be translated into English essentially as an eon of time. There are three kinds of kalpas. Buddhist literature on the topic of cosmology speaks of a small kalpa, a middling kalpa, and a great kalpa. According to the *Abhidharmakośabhāsya,* a small or intermediate kalpa (Skt. *antarakalpa*) is the period in which human life increases by one year a century until it reaches 84,000 with people reaching a height of 8,400 feet. Then it is reduced at the same rate until the lifespan reaches ten years with people being a foot high. Each of these two processes each is a small kalpa. The *Dazhidu lun* says that both together are one small kalpa (See *Dazhidu lun* 38, T 1509.25.339b25–c26). Twenty small kalpas make up a middling kalpa. A middling kalpa is a period of 336,000,000 years. Eighty middling kalpas make up a great kalpa (Skt.

one characteristic exists and it is regarded as essence of self, since grasping at self (*chiba* 執我) is not removed, [such a one] is not said to be a sagely person. Although one characteristic has been established and if it is not equipped with a self, the medicine has not been endowed, and [one] does not become a king of physicians. Truly, because there is nothing that is obtained there is nothing that is not obtained; so it is called the perfectly full, unsurpassed, and completely universal bodhi (*wŏnman musang chŏngdŭng pori* 圓滿無上正等菩提). Because one relies on this meaning, it is explained that all dharmas are absolutely bodhi, just as Jīvaka explained. Because of this sagely teaching and the principle of all dharmas, you should know that all dharmas are the essence of the vehicle.

Master Fazang says: "There are two approaches to the one vehicle: first, the teaching of distinction (*pyŏlgyo* 別教); and second, the teaching of commonality (*tonggyo* 同教). In the first there are also two approaches. The first is discrimination of the results of the ocean of original nature (*sŏnghae kwabun* 性海果分). This comes under the heading of unexplainable meaning. Since it is not mutually resonant with the teaching, it is a sphere of the ten buddhas. The second is discrimination of the causes of conditioned arising (*yon'gi inbun* 緣起因分). This is precisely the sphere of Samantabhadra. These two are non-dual, and since its totality is found everywhere, it is compared to water and waves. Ponder this."[364]

第三問答.
問, 以何得知一切諸法皆是乘體?
答, 曉公云, "如耆婆醫, 常作是說. '天下所有莫非是藥.' 菩薩亦爾. 說一切法莫非菩提. 又經云, '婬欲即是道, 恚癡亦復然, 如是三事中, 無量諸佛道. 若有人分別, 婬怒癡及道, 是人去佛遠, 猶如天與地.' 依此等文, 故知諸法莫不是道. 然此等文, 略有數意. 一者自性淨心, 名道諦. 一切諸法, 無不性空, 性空亦是性淨菩提.

---

mahākalpa). It is the span of time from the beginning of a universe until it is destroyed and a new universe takes its place.

364 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 1, T 1866.45.477a13–19.

故說諸法莫非菩提. 二者戒定慧等, 是名為道. 戒定慧如, 婬怒癡如, 唯一如無二無別. 故說婬等即是道也. 三者無分別智是道. 正體無分別智, 證真如時, 三世諸法, 並現一心, 無有一法離覺心. 故說生死與道合也. 四者法界法爾. 一切諸法更相涉入, 如十方三世皆入一塵, 一塵亦入十方世界, 一念入無量, 無量入一念. 如是諸佛智慧入貪心, 一念貪心入諸佛慧. 故說生死與道合. 五者依無障礙法界法門. 非但一與一切更相涉入, 亦乃一法是一切, 諸法即是一. 故說婬等即是道也. 六者至入無自心. 一切以心為心, 如來無自身, 一切身為身. 所以然者, 長時無間, 修無我觀, 故能得至無自身心, 三無數劫集無量福, 故能感得一切自心. 若存一相為自體者, 我執不除, 非謂聖人. 設有一相不自備者, 即藥不具, 不作醫王. 良由無所得故, 無所不得, 乃名圓滿無上正等菩提. 依此義故, 說一切法莫非菩提, 如耆婆說. 由此聖教及諸道理, 當知諸法皆是乘體."

法藏師云, "一乘為二門, 一別教, 二同教. 初中亦二. 一是性海果分, 是當不可說義, 不與教相應, 即十佛境界. 二緣起因分, 即普賢境界也. 此二無二, 全體遍收, 猶水波. 思之."

IX. The Meaning of Classifying the Teachings[365]

There are three approaches the same as before.

1. Analysis of the Name

"Classifying" (*pun* 分) means classifying the limits (*punje* 分齊) and also has the meaning of classifying and identifying (*punp'an* 分判). "Teaching" (*kyo* 敎) is the dharma of the teachings (*kyobŏp* 敎法) and refers to the meaning of that which has been expounded, and there are also distinctions of the teachings that are able to be expounded according to their shallowness and depth.

Master Fazang says:

365 HPC 2.382c4–383c18.

There are five kinds of teachings, and from this standpoint their meanings are classified, but they are not bound to time periods (*si* 時) and phenomenal forms (*sa* 事). The first is the teaching of the Hīnayāna (*sosŭnggyo* 小乘敎); the second is the initial teaching of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng sigyo* 大乘始敎) <also called the first teaching (*ch'ogyo* 初敎)>; the third is the final teaching [of the Mahāyāna] <also called the received teaching (*ch'wigyo* 就敎); the fourth is the sudden teaching (*ton'gyo* 頓敎); and the fifth is called the perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo* 圓敎) <also called the teaching of the ultimate explanation (*chisŏlgyo* 至說敎) and it is the same as this special teaching (*pyŏlgyo* 別敎)>.

First, the Hīnayāna can be known. Second, with respect to the initial teaching of the Mahāyāna, as the teachings of the second and third time periods in the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* are exactly the same as the two vehicles of determined nature,[366] because all do not attain Buddhahood, if one combines them they are summarized as one teaching. This already

366 The two vehicles of determined nature (*chŏngsŏng isŭng,* Ch. *dingxing ersheng* 定性二乘) are the pratyekabuddha (solitary buddha) of determined nature (*chŏngsŏng yŏn'gak,* Ch. *dingxing yuanjue* 定性緣覺) and the śrāvaka (disciple) of determined nature (*chŏngsŏng sŏngmun,* Ch. *dingxing shengwen* 定性聲聞). Determined nature refers to living beings endowed with only the seeds enabling them to achieve the three vehicles of the bodhisattva, pratyekabuddha, and śrāvaka. The minds of such beings are fixed on arhatship not Buddhahood. In contrast to this, the group of beings who are endowed with the three kinds of seeds but whose natures are not yet determined are called beings of undetermined natures (*pujŏngsŏng,* Ch. *budingxing* 不定性). Although beings of undetermined natures have the ability to change their focus to the Mahāyāna after practicing the two vehicles, the pratyekabuddha of determined nature and śrāvaka of determined nature are of the group who are fixed to obtain only the fruit of prakyekabuddhahood (*pyŏkchi bulgwa* 辟支佛果) or the fruit of arhatship (*arahan'gwa* 阿羅漢果). In the Faxiang tradition (Pŏpsangjong), living beings are divided into five classes based on their inherently dissimilar dispositions, which is known as the classification of the five kinds of nature (*osŏng kakpyŏl,* Ch. *wuxing gebie* 五性各別). The first is the determined nature of the bodhisattva; the second and third are the two vehicles of the determined nature; and after this come those of undetermined seed-natures (*pujŏng chongsŏng,* Ch. *buding zhongxing* 不定種性) and those devoid of seed-nature (*mujongsŏng,* Ch. *wuzhongxing* 無種性). Beings devoid of seed-nature refer to the class of beings who permanently or eternally fall into the world of delusion, are unable to free themselves from suffering, and can only be reborn as humans and gods (*inch'ŏn* 人天) provided they practice wholesome causes (*sŏnin,* Ch. *shanyin* 善因).

does not yet exhaust the principle of the great dharma. Because of this, it is established as the initial teaching of the Mahāyāna. Third, with respect to the final teaching, [adherents of] the two vehicles of determined nature and icchantikas devoid of buddha nature,[367] all of them, rightly attain Buddhahood, and since they straightly exhaust the explanation of the ultimate teaching of the Mahāyāna it is established as the final teaching. Nevertheless, the foregoing two teachings [the initial and final teachings of the Mahāyāna] both are cultivated gradually relying on levels and stages[368] and are all called gradual teachings (*chŏmgyo* 漸教). Hence, the *Sūtra on the Dharma Drum*[369] says: "Take the approach of emptiness (*kongmun* 空門) as the initial [teaching of the Mahāyāna] and take the approach of non-emptiness (*pulgongmun* 不空門) as the final [teaching of the Mahāyāna].[370] Hence, that sūtra says: "Kāśyapa addressed the Buddha: 'All the Mahāyāna sūtras provide many explanations of the meaning of emptiness.' The Buddha replied to Kāśyapa saying: 'Even in all the sūtras on emptiness, although there is more to be explained, still there is nothing more to be explained since this sūtra provides an unsurpassed explanation.' "[371] <This is precisely if it accords with the

367 Icchantikas devoid of buddha nature (*musŏng ch'ŏnje,* Ch. *wuxing chanti* 無性闡提) are icchantikas (*ilch'ŏnje,* Ch. *yichanti* 一闡提), which are beings not possessed of the capacity for Buddhahood. They are living beings who are incapable of Buddhahood because they do not possess the seed-cause for attaining Buddhahood. This is another name for those devoid of seed-nature (*mujongsŏng,* Ch. *wuzhongxing* 無種性).

368 Reading *hwawi* 化位 as *wiji* 位地 following the *Wujiao zhang.*

369 The *Sūtra on the Dharma Drum* (*Fagu jing* 法鼓經, also *Da fagu jing* 大法鼓經, T 270) was translated into Chinese by Guṇabhadra (Jiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅). It describes the meritorious virtues of the names of the Buddha, the permanent abiding (*sangju* 常住) of nirvāṇa, and the possession of tathāgatagarbha by all living beings. It employs the two parables of the impoverished son (*kungja* 窮子) and the magical city (*hwasŏng* 化城) and clarifies that the three vehicles are merely an expedient means and that the one vehicle is the truth.

370 This quotation from the *Da fagu jing* is taken directly from the *Wujiao zhang.*

371 Cf. *Da fagu jing* 大法鼓經 2, T 270.9.296b8–10; the remainder of Fazang's analysis is a citation from the *Tanxuan ji,* but this part is from *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi benqi zhang* 1, T 1866.45.481b24–27.

principle of emptiness, and since there is remainder, it is called the initial teaching. If it accords with the Tathāgatagarbha, because it abides permanently and is unsurpassed, it is called the final teaching.>[372] Fourth, with respect to the sudden teaching, the non-production of so much as one thought is precisely called "buddha." Because it is not explained gradually as relying on levels and stages, it is established suddenly. The *Bramaviśeṣacintīparipṛcchā*[373] says: "One who obtains the correct original nature of all dharmas is not fixed at one stage and attains all stages."[374] The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*[375] says: "The initial stage is precisely the eighth stage; and up to being devoid of what is possessed, what is the next?"[376] Furthermore, it says: " 'Gradual' is like the gradual ripening of a mango

---

372 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi benqi zhang* 1, T 1866.45.481c4–7.

373 The *Bramaviśeṣacintīparipṛcchā* (*Siyi jing* 思益經, short for *Siyi fantian suowen jing* 思益梵天所問經, T 586), in four rolls, was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 402. This sūtra explains the reasons for the emptiness of all dharmas in the myriad things in existence (*manyu chebŏp* 萬有諸法) for the benefit of the Bodhisattva Jaliniprabha (Wangming tongzi 網明童子) and Brahmā (Siyi fantian 思益梵天).

374 Cf. *Siyi fantian suowen jing* 思益梵天所問經 (*Bramaviśeṣacintīparipṛcchā*), T 586.15.36c6–8. "If someone hears the true nature of all dharmas, and if he diligently makes seminal progress and practices as has been explained, he will not follow from one stage to another one stage." The original passage from the sūtra is quite different from what is cited by Fazang and P'yowŏn.

375 The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (*Lengga jing* 楞伽經 or *Dasheng ru lengga jing* 大乘入楞伽經, T 672) is a sūtra in which the Buddha preaches the principle of the conditioned arising of the tathāgatagarbha for the benefit of the Bodhisattva Great Wisdom (Mahāprajñā, Dahui pusa 大慧菩薩) on the island mountain of Laṅkā (Sri Lanka).

376 The citation from the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* is found as it appears in the *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi benqi zhang* 1, T 1866.45.481b15–19. Accordingly, we can know that P'yowŏn followed the *Tanxuan ji* and the *Wujiao zhang* as necessary.

377 With respect to what I have translated here as mango fruit, the *ŏmmarŭkkwa* 掩摩勒果 of P'yowŏn's original text is also called *amarŭkkwa* 阿摩勒果 (Skt. *āmala, āmlikā*), which is a translation of the meaning of "fruit of surplus sweetness" (*yŏgamja,* Ch. *yuganzi* 餘甘子). As a fruit with a sour citrus flavor, it is used for food and medicine. However, what is referred to here, just as it says in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra,* is commonly reckoned to be the mango. The mango (Skt. *āmra*) is transliterated into Chinese as *ammolla* 菴沒羅, *ammara* 菴摩羅, *amna* 菴羅, and so forth.

fruit[377] and is not sudden. 'Sudden' is like the sudden appearance of an image in a mirror and is not gradual."[378] <This is its meaning.> Fifth, the perfect teaching clarifies that one level is precisely all levels and that all levels are precisely one level. For this reason, if the ten faiths fill one's mind, they precisely subsume the five levels[379] and attain complete enlightenment, and so forth. If one relies on the dharma realm of Samantabhadra, because Indra's net is repetitive, host and guest are fully endowed, and it is called the perfect teaching. It is just as these sūtras explain.[380]

分教義
三門同前.
第一釋名者. 言分者分齊, 亦分判義. 教者教法, 謂所詮義隨淺深, 能詮之教亦有差別.
法藏師云, "教類有五, 此就義分, 非約時事. 一小乘教, 二大乘始教<亦名初教>, 三終教<亦名就教>, 四頓教, 五圓教<亦名至說教, 同此之別教>. 初小乘可知. 二始教者, 以深密經中第二第三時教, 同許定性二乘俱不成佛故, 故令合之, 總為一教. 此既未盡大法理, 是故立為大乘始教. 三終教者, 定性二乘無性闡提, 悉當成佛, 方盡大乘至極之說, 立為終教. 然上二教, 並依位地漸次修成, 俱名漸教. 故法鼓經中, '以空門為始, 以不空門為終.' 故彼經云, '迦葉白佛言,「諸摩訶衍經, 多說空義.」佛告迦葉,「一切空經是有餘說, 唯有此經是無上說, 非有餘說.」' <此即約空理有餘名始教, 約如來藏常住無上名為終教> 四頓教者, 但一念不生, 即名為佛, 不依位地漸次而說, 故立為頓. 如思益云, '得諸法正性者, 不定一地, 至於一切地.' 楞伽云, '初地即八地, 乃至無所有何次?' 又云, '漸者, 如掩摩勒菓漸熟非頓, 頓者, 如鏡中像頓現非漸.'<此之謂也> 五圓教者, 明一位即一切, 一切位即一位. 是故十信滿心即攝五位, 成正覺等. 依普賢法界帝網重重主伴具足, 故名圓故. 如此經等說."

---

378 Cf. *Dasheng ru lengga jing* (*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*) 大乘入楞伽經, 2, T 672.16.596a25–26; *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi benqi zhang* 1, T 1866.45.481b15–19.

379 The five levels (*owi,* Ch. *wuwei* 五位) refer to the five levels of bodhisattva practice according to the mārga scheme of the Huayan/Hwaŏm tradition: the ten faiths, the ten abodes, the ten practices, the ten transferences, and the ten stages.

380 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.115c4–20.

2. Revealing the Essential Point

If one discusses the essence of the teaching in a comprehensive manner, there are approximately ten approaches ranging from the shallow to the deep. The first is the approach of verbal expounding to distinguish the essence (*ŏnjŏn pyŏnch'e mun* 言詮辨體門); the second is the approach of the comprehensive subsuming of what has been expounded (*t'ongsŏp sojŏn mun* 通攝所詮門); the third is the approach of the universal preparation of all dharmas (*p'yŏnhae chebŏp mun* 遍該諸法門); the fourth is the approach that conditioned arising is mind only (*yŏn'gi yusim mun* 緣起唯心門); the fifth is the approach of gathering conditions and penetrating reality (*hoeyŏn ipsil mun* 會緣入實門); the sixth is the approach of the unhindered nature of principle and phenomena (*isa muae mun* 理事無礙門); the seventh is the approach that phenomena are interfused and mutually subsuming (*sayung sangsŏp mun* 事融相攝門); the eighth is the approach that Indra's net is repetitive (*chemang chungjung mun* 帝網重重門); the ninth is the approach that the ocean seal is brightly manifest (*haein pyŏnghyŏn mun* 海印炳現門); and the tenth is the approach that host and guest are perfectly prepared (*chuban wŏnbi mun* 主伴圓備門).[381]

> 第二出體者. 通論教體, 從淺至深, 略有十門. 一言詮辨體門, 二通攝所詮門, 三遍該諸法門, 四緣起唯心門, 五會緣入實門, 六理事無礙門, 七事融相攝門, 八帝網重重門, 九海印炳現門, 十主伴圓備門.

In the first, the approach of verbal expounding to distinguish the essence, there are two approaches. The former is the Hīnayāna <There are three theories.> and the latter is the Mahāyāna. In the Mahāyāna there are four statements. The first is subsuming provisional things and relying on reality (*sŏpka ŭisil* 攝假依實), which is only taking sound as the original essence. The second is classifying provisional things and differentiating them from reality

381 *Huayan tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.117c10–14.

(*pun'ga isil* 分假異實), which is taking the name and so forth as the original nature. The third is the combining and distinguishing of the provisional and reality (*kasil happyŏn* 假實合辨), which is also taking the sound and the name and so forth [as the original essence]. The *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* says: "Explaining is the explaining by means of two things; hearing is hearing by means of two things."[382] This refers to sounds and names. The fourth is the twin extinguishing of the provisional and reality (*kasil ssangmin* 假實雙泯), which is neither sound nor name. It is precisely because they are empty. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* says: "Departing from the nature of letters is precisely liberation."[383] The foregoing four statements are the essence of the one teaching. For this reason, emptiness and existence are unhindered and are called the Dharma of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭngbŏp* 大乘法). This means that emptiness is no different from existence, and existence is an illusion. Illusion is completely so and its essence is empty. Existence is no different from emptiness; emptiness is true emptiness; true emptiness is profound, and all its essence is existence. For this reason, there is not a hair's bit of difference[384] between emptiness and existence.[385]

初中有二. 先小乘<三說云云> 後大乘. 中有四句. 初攝假依實, 唯聲為體. 二分假異實, 以名等為性. 三假實合辨, 亦聲亦名等. 十地論云, "說者以二事說, 聽者以二事聞." 謂音聲名字. 四假實雙泯, 非聲非名, 以即空故. 維摩云, "文字性離, 是即解脫." 此上四句, 為一教體. 是故空有無礙, 名大乘法. 謂空不異有, 有是幻有, 幻有完然舉體是空. 有不異空, 空是真空, 真空湛然, 舉體是有. 是故空有無毫差別.

382 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.129a20.

383 *Weimoji suoshuo jing* (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*) 1, T 475.14.540c19.

384 What I have translated as difference (*ch'abyŏl* 差別) here in P'yowŏn's original text is given classification (*punbyŏl* 分別) in the *Huayan tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.118a20.

385 Cf. *Huayan tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.117c14–118a23. P'yowŏn cites only the most seminally necessary parts of Fazang's explanation.

Second is the approach of the comprehensive subsuming of what has been expounded. It is not only being able to expound but also thoroughly comprehend what has been expounded.[386] It is just as the eighty-first roll of the *Yogācārabhūmi* says: "The essences of all sūtras may be summarized in two groups: first, writing; and second, meaning."[387] <If it is decoded, it says: it is because meaning relies on words and phrases in order for it to be made manifest.>[388]

二通攝所詮門者. 非但能詮, 亦通所詮, 如瑜伽八十一云, "諸[389]契經體, 略有二種, 一文, 二義."<解云, 以義依文句得顯故.>

Third is the approach of the universal preparation of all dharmas. It means that all dharmas, each and every one, are the essence of the teaching. It means that by means of conditioned and unconditioned dharmas, living beings are invariably enabled[390] to become enlightened and awakened. It is just like the following statement: "The approach to dharma of the dharma realm of a bejeweled land covered with a bouquet of flowers, fragrant trees, and a cloud-encircled pavilion is absolutely the work of the Buddha." It is just like the Bodhisattva Victorious Sound (Sŭngŭm posal 勝音菩薩) and the lotus throne on which he sat thoroughly comprehending people and the dharmas, teachings and meanings, practices and levels [of attainment], causes and results, and principle and phenomena. <Because one is generally able to produce superior understanding and actual practice, all becomes the essence of the teaching.>[391]

386 The passage 非但能詮 亦通所詮 in P'yowŏn's original text is 非但如前取能詮教 亦漸通取所詮之義 in the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.118a23–24.

387 Cf. *Yuga shidi lun* (*Yogācārabhūmi*) 81, T 1579.30.750a1–2.

388 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.118a23–28.

389 Although the *Yuga shidi lun* (*Yogācārabhūmi*) has *wi* 謂, the *Tanxuan ji* has *che* 諸; this is because P'yowŏn's *Yogyŏl mundap* cites the *Tanxuan ji* almost verbatim.

390 Correcting *chŏn* 全 to *ryŏng* 令 following the *Tanxuan ji.*

391 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.118a28–b4.

三遍該諸法門者. 謂一切諸法悉為教體. 謂有為無為法, 以無不能令生開覺故. 如下文,“華鬘寶地香樹雲閣, 法界法門, 無非佛事.” 如勝音菩薩及所坐蓮華, 即通人法教義行位因果理事.<總能發生勝解行故, 並為教體.>

Fourth is the approach that conditioned arising is mind only. This is that all of the foregoing differentiated dharmas of the teaching, all of them, are invariably that which is manifest by means of mind only. Because of this, all things regard consciousness only as their essence. There are two meanings in this statement above: first, original [essence] and shadowy reflections are mutual opposites (*ponyŏng sangdae* 本影相對); second, preaching and listening are completely subsumed (*sŏlch'ŏng chŏnsŏp* 說聽全攝).

In the first there are four statements. First, there is only original [essence], there are no reflections. <Hīnayāna> Second, there are both original [essence] and reflections. This is like the initial teaching of the Mahāyāna. Outside of the minds of living beings are the subtle and profound forms and sounds, and so forth, of the Buddha. <This is like the [position of the] logician Dharmapāla (Hufa 護法).> Third, there are only reflections and no original [essence]. This is like the final teaching of the Mahāyāna. Leaving behind the minds of living beings, the fruit of Buddhahood does not possess the phenomena and characteristics of forms and sounds or meritorious virtues. <This is like the position of the logicians Longjun 龍軍 and Sthiramati[392] and so forth.> Fourth, there are neither original [essence] nor reflections. This is as in the sudden teaching. It is not directly that outside of the mind there is not the form of the Buddha and so forth and inside the mind of living beings the Buddha is that which manifests. Likewise characteristics fall under emptiness. <It is like [the position of] Nāgārjuna and so forth.> These foregoing four positions, generally, by means of the essence of the

392 Sthiramati (Jianhui 堅慧) lived in the fourth to fifth centuries C.E. He was a famous scholarly monk at the Nālandā Monastery, the Buddhist university in central India, along with Guṇamati (Dehui 德慧). Among his extant writings translated into Chinese is the *Dasheng fajie wucha bielun* 大乘法界無差別論 (T 1627).

one teaching, are perfectly interfused and unhindered, and all are devoid of mutual obstructions. <This is because each of these sagely teachings, from the shallow to the deep, subsumes living beings.>

Second, with respect to preaching and listening being completely subsumed, there are also four statements. First, leaving behind the mind, outside of that there are no living beings who are converted. Moreover, will there be any teaching preached! <This means that all living beings do not possess a specific essence of self and since they are in possession of Tathāgatagarbha they become living beings. Nevertheless, this Tathāgatagarbha precisely takes the realization of Buddha knowledge as its essence of self. Leaving behind the mind and knowledge of the Buddha, there is not one dharma it is able to obtain.> Second, all things are in the minds of living beings because in leaving behind the mind of living beings there is no distinct virtue of the Buddha. <This means that the realization of Buddhahood in the minds of living beings is true thusness and the attainment of Buddhahood.> Third, according to the one sagely teaching, altogether there are only two minds because the foregoing two theories are not mutually separable. <This means that the buddha inside the minds of livings beings preaches for the sake of living beings within the minds of buddhas. Living beings within the minds of buddhas hear the Buddhadharma in the minds of living beings. Just like this, all are received, and preaching and hearing are without impediment. This is said to be the very profound principle of the Way to enlightenment.> Fourth perhaps sagely teaching altogether is not of two minds. It is because both sides get rid of forms and do not manifest side by side, and because of the twined interfusion of the two levels they invariably disappear.[393]

四緣起唯心門者. 此上一切差別教法, 無不皆是唯心所現. 是故俱以唯識為體. 此上有二義, 一本影相對, 二說聽全攝. 初中四句. 一唯本無影.<小乘> 二亦本亦影. 如大乘始教. 眾生心外佛有微妙色聲等.<如護法論師等> 三唯影無本. 如大

393 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.118b5–119a8. P'yowŏn summarizes and paraphrases this passage.

乘終教. 離眾生心, 佛果無有色聲事相功德.<如龍軍堅慧師等> 四非本非影. 如頓教中. 非直心外無佛色等, 眾生心內所現之佛, 亦當相空.<如龍樹等> 此前四說, 總為一教體, 圓融無礙, 皆無相妨.<以各聖教, 從淺至深, 攝眾生故> 二說聽全攝者, 亦有四句. 一離心以外, 無所化眾生, 況所說教.<謂諸眾生, 無別自體攬如來藏, 以成於眾生. 然此如來藏, 即是佛智證為自體, 離佛心智, 無一法可得.> 二總在眾生心中, 以離眾生心無別佛德故.<謂佛證於眾生心中真如成佛> 三隨一聖教, 全唯二心, 以前二說不相離故.<謂眾生心內佛, 為佛心中眾生說法, 佛心中眾生, 聽眾生心中佛法. 如是全收, 說聽無礙, 是謂甚深道理.> 四或彼聖教, 俱非二心, 以兩俱形奪不並現故, 雙融二位, 無不泯故.

Fifth is the approach of gathering conditions and penetrating reality. It also has two meanings. First is helping the end by means of the origin (*ibon sumal* 以本收末). All the sagely teachings flow from the truth. <It is like although the ocean rises the tide, it does not lose its salty flavor.> Second is gathering characteristics and manifesting [original] nature (*hoesang hyŏnsŏng* 會相顯性). It means that all differentiated dharmas of the teachings, all of them, derive from conditioned arising. Because they derive from conditioned arising they necessarily do not possess self-nature. Because they do not possess self-nature they are precisely true thusness. For this reason, void characteristics[394] are exhausted from the origin, and true nature manifests from the origin.[395]

五會緣入實門者, 亦有二義. 一以本收末. 以諸聖教皆從真流.<如海起潮, 不失鹹味.> 二會相顯性. 謂彼一切差別教法, 悉從緣起. 從緣起故必無自性, 無自性故即是真如. 是故虛相本盡, 真性本現.

394 P'yowŏn's original gives *hŏsang* 虛相 (void characteristics), but the *Tanxuan ji* it is given as *kongsang* 空相 (empty characteristics). However, from the standpoint of context and meaning, the reading in P'yowŏn's text is more appropriate. See Kim Ch'ŏnhak, *Hwaŏm-gyong munŭi yogyŏl mundap,* 313 n. 1240.

395 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.119a8–17. P'yowŏn paraphrases and summarizes the contents of this passage.

Sixth is the approach of the unhindered nature of principle and phenomena. It also has two meanings. First, it means that with respect to all dharmas of the teaching, the essence is true thusness, and it does not impede the successive distinctions of the characteristics of phenomena. Second, with respect to true thusness, its essence is all dharmas, and they do not impede the depth and universality of the one flavor. If it is the former, it is like waves precisely being water. It does not impede the characteristic of movement. If it is the latter, it is like water precisely being waves. It does not lose the essence of moistness.[396]

六理事無礙門者, 亦有二義. 一謂一切教法舉體真如, 不礙事相歷然差別. 二真如舉體, 為一切法, 不礙一味湛然平等. 前則如波即水, 不礙動相, 後則如水即波, 不失濕體.

Seventh is the approach that phenomena are interfused and mutually subsuming. It also has two meanings. First is mutual existence (*sangjae* 相在). Second is mutual affirmation (*sangsi* 相是).[397] <These two approaches are just like ordinary explanations.>

七事融相攝門者, 亦有二義, 一相在, 二相是.<此二門者如常說也>

Eighth is the approach that Indra's net is repetitive.[398] <It is just like ordinary explanations.>

八帝網重重門者. <如常說也>

Ninth is the approach that the ocean seal[399] is brightly manifest. It is like

---

396 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.119a17–21.

397 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.119a26–27.

398 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.119b29.

399 Ocean seal (*haein*, Ch. *haiyin* 海印) is an analogy: when the wind ceases and the waves grow

the foregoing dharma of the inexhaustible teaching (*mujin kyobŏp* 無盡教法). All things at the same time are brightly manifest within the ocean seal samādhi.[400] Although one speaks of the capacity to convert, because this is

---

silent and the water becomes clear on the great ocean, everything in the whole world is reflected and illuminated on the surface of the ocean. Just like this, the waves of discrimination do not arise and are clear and silent within the mind of the Buddha, and everything in nature (*samna mansang* 森羅萬象) is reflected all at once, and all the dharmas of the three realms—the material world, the world of living beings, and the world of enlightened wisdom—appear at once.

400 The ocean seal samādhi (*haein sammae,* Ch. *haiyin sanmei* 海印三昧; Skt. *sāgara-mudrā-samādhi*) refers to the totalistic meditative absorption of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls comprises eight assemblies in seven locations (*ch'ilch'ŏ p'arhoe,* Ch. *qiqu bahui* 七處八會). The eighty-roll edition comprises nine assemblies in seven locations (*ch'ilch'ŏ kuhoe,* Ch. *qiqu jiuhui* 七處九會). In each of the assemblies before the Buddha preaches the Dharma he enters a particular meditative absorption. Ocean seal is an analogy: when the wind ceases and the waves grow silent and the water becomes clear on the great ocean, everything in the whole world is reflected and illuminated on the surface of the ocean. Just like this, the waves of discrimination do not arise and are clear and silent within the mind of the Buddha, and everything in nature (*samna mansang* 森羅萬象) is reflected all at once, and all the dharmas of the three realms—the material world, the world of living beings, and the world of enlightened wisdom—appear at once. This samādhi of the Buddha is called the ocean seal samādhi. See Fazang's 法藏 (643–712) *Xiu huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀 [Observations on exhausting delusion and returning to the source by cultivating the deep meaning of Huayan], T 1876.45.637b21–28. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* vividly depicts what happens in this ocean seal samādhi based on all things in the universe that reflect and appear. With respect to the eight assemblies in seven locations, Fazang says that the Tathāgata's ocean seal samādhi is very mysterious, and he classifies the samādhis the Buddha entered in each assembly as follows: in the first assembly, the samādhi of the pure storehouse of all the Tathāgatas (*ilch'e yŏrae chŏngjang sammae* 一切如來淨藏三昧); in the second assembly, meditative absorption (*sŏnjŏng* 禪定); in the third assembly, the samādhi of the bodhisattva's measureless expedient means (*posal muryang pangp'yŏn sammae* 菩薩無量方便三昧); in the fourth assembly, the samādhi of wholesome submission (*sŏnbok sammae* 善伏三昧); in the fifth assembly, the samādhi of great wisdom and brightness (*taejihye kwangmyŏng sammae* 大智慧光明三昧); in the seventh assembly, the samādhi of the flower garland of the Buddha (*pul hwaŏm sammae* 佛華嚴三昧); and in the eighth assembly, the samādhi of the exertion and quickness of the lion of the Tathāgatas (*yŏrae saja punsin sammae* 如來師子奮迅三昧). See *Huayan wenyi gangmu* 華嚴文義綱目, T 1734.35.498c25–499a11. Furthermore, in the preface to the *Composition on the Five teachings* (*Wujiao zhang* 五教章), which presents an outline of the doctrinal teachings of the Huayan/Hwaŏm tradition, Fazang analyzes the doctrinal meaning and significance of the one vehicle of the Tathāgata's ocean seal samādhi in ten approaches. See *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 1, T 1866.45.477a6–7. In Ŭisang's *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 一乘法界圖,

the same conditioned arising, only this ocean of samādhi is regarded as the essence of this teaching. <It is just as the following passage says: "All things are manifest, nothing remaining, because of the power of the ocean seal samādhi.">[401]

九海印炳現門者, 如前無盡教法. 皆是如來海印定中, 同時炳然顯現. 設所化機, 亦同緣起, 是故唯以此三昧海, 為斯教體.<如下文云, "一切示現無有餘, 海印三昧勢力故.">

Tenth is the approach that host and guest are perfectly prepared. It means this teaching of the universal dharma does not arise by itself; it must be produced according to host and guest. <It is like the Prince Universal Adornments and Garlands (*Pojangŏm tongja*, Ch. *Puzhuangyan tongzi* 普莊嚴童子) who heard: "The Buddha preached the Sūtra on the Immaculate Adornments and Garlands of all the Dharma Realms (*Ilch'e pŏpkye mugu changŏm kyŏng*, Ch. *Yiqie fajie wugou zhuangyan jing* 一切法界無垢莊嚴經) and sūtras numbering as much as the minute particles of dust in the world are its entourage.">[402]

十主伴圓備門者. 謂此普法教不孤起, 必主伴隨生.<如普莊嚴童子, 聞"佛說一切法界無垢莊嚴經, 有世界微塵修多羅以為眷屬" 也.>

---

in his analysis of the seal-diagram of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye toin* 法界圖印), he responds to the question of why he relied on the form of a seal saying that the form of the seal expresses that the three worlds—the material world, the world of living beings, and the world of perfectly enlightened wisdom—contained in Śākyamuni's teaching are produced from the ocean seal samādhi. See *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, HPC 2.1a2–4. All of these passages outlining Hwaŏm thought display a close and intimate connection with the ocean seal samādhi.

401 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 6, T 278.9.434c6; *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.119c11–15.

402 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 4, T 278.9.418a20–24; *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 1, T 1733.35.119c18–21.

X. The Meaning of the Ten Stages[403]

There are three approaches the same as before.

1. Analysis of the Name

"Ten" (*sip* 十) is the name of a number, and the number divided by two is five and is called ten.

With respect to "stages" (*chi* 地), although there are several discursive analyses, according to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra,* "stages" is differentiated and analyzed into four meanings. The first is production (*saeng* 生), the second is attainment (*sŏng* 成), the third is abiding (*chu* 住), and the fourth is maintenance (*chi* 持). Therefore, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* says: "Producing and attaining Buddha wisdom and abiding in and maintaining it are called stages."[404]

Master Huiyuan says:

> As for production and attainment, with regard to the fruit of Buddhahood, that which arises initially is called production and that which is fulfilled in the end is called attainment. Also, with regard to Buddhahood, causes are called production and conditions are designated attainment. How does one dharma of a stage become a cause, and furthermore, how does it become a condition? If one in the present relies on past times, although the results will not wholly exist, because it is said to be able to exist, it is called a cause. If one relies on those future results, results will be able to exist, and the dharma that things are able to exist, since the stage is manifest, is called a condition. Also, with respect to stages, there are the distinctions of realizing the Way to

403 HPC 2.392b3–354a13.

404 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a6–7.

enlightenment (*chŭngdo* 證道) and teaching the Way to enlightenment (*kyodo* 敎道). As a result, there are differences between the purity of nature (*sŏngjŏng* 性淨) and expedient means (*pangp'yŏn* 方便; Skt. *upāya*). If seen by means of the fruit of the purity of nature (*sŏngjŏnggwa* 性淨果), the realization of the Way to enlightenment becomes the cause, and teaching the Way to enlightenment becomes the condition. If seen by means of the fruit of expedient means (*pangp'yŏn'gwa* 方便果), teaching the Way to enlightenment because the cause, and realization of the Way to enlightenment becomes the condition. Therefore, from the standpoint of a stage, the causes explain the conditions. With respect to that which is termed abiding (*chu* 住), one should speak of dividing; a place where virtue is attained is called an abode (*chu* 住). With respect to that which is termed maintenance (*chi* 持), it thoroughly comprehends and confronts causes and conditions. The first stage explains that maintenance (*chi* 持) is anticipating two stages, and it anticipates all the stages all the way to anticipating [the stage] of Buddhahood. The sequence serves as an example of this.

The dharma of stages is not the same, but one approach explains ten stages. What are these ten? First is the joyous stage (*hwanhŭi chi*, Ch. *huanxi di* 歡喜地; Skt. *pramuditā-bhūmi*). Second is the immaculate stage (*igu chi*, Ch. *ligou di* 離垢地; Skt. *vimalā-bhūmi*). Third is the light-giving stage (*palgwang chi*, Ch. *faguang di* 發光地; Skt. *prabhākari-bhūmi*). <The Jin translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*, and the *Daśabhūmika* all call this the brilliant stage (*myŏng chi*, Ch. *ming di* 明地).> Fourth is the brilliant stage (*yŏmhye chi*, Ch. *yanhui di* 燄慧地; Skt. *arciṣmatī-bhūmi*). <The Jin translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*, and the *Daśabhūmika* all call this the blazing stage (*yŏm chi*, Ch. *yan di* 炎地).> Fifth is the stage that is very difficult to conquer (*nansŭng chi*, Ch. *nansheng di* 難勝地; Skt. *sudurjayā-bhūmi*). Sixth is the stage that is face-to-face (*hyŏnjŏn chi*, Ch. *xianqian di* 現前地; Skt. *abhimukhī-bhūmi*). Seventh is the far-reaching stage (*wŏnhaeng chi*, Ch. *yuanxing di* 遠行地; Skt. *dūraṁgamā-bhūmi*). Eighth is the immovable stage (*pudong chi*, Ch. *budong di* 不動地; Skt. *acalā-bhūmi*).

Ninth is the stage of wholesome wisdom (*sŏnhye chi*, Ch. *shanhui di* 善慧地; Skt. *sādhumatī-bhūmi*). Tenth is the stage of the cloud of dharma (*pŏbun chi*, Ch. *fayun di* 法雲地; Skt. *dharmameghā-bhūmi*).[405]

十地義

三門分別.

第一釋名者. 十者數名, 數分二五, 稱之為十.

地者, 雖諸論釋不同, 且依地論, 四義辨釋. 一生, 二成, 三住, 四持. 故彼論言, "生成佛智住持名地." 遠公云, "生之與成, 望於佛果, 始起名生, 終滿曰成. 亦可望佛為因名生, 為緣稱成. 地之一法, 云何為因, 而復稱緣? 據今[406]因時, 果全未有, 辨可令有, 故名為因. 據彼當果, 果是可有, 可有之法, 地能令現, 目之為緣.[407]亦可地有 證教之別, 果有性淨方便之異.[408] 望性淨果, 證道為因, 教道爲緣[409]. 望方便果, 教道為因, 證道為緣. 故復就地因說緣. 所言住者, 當分為言. 德成之所, 名之為住. 所言持者,[410] 通望因果. 如似初地望二地說持,[411] 乃至望佛, 諸地望後, 次第例然.[412] 地法不同, 一門說十, 十名是何? 一歡喜地, 二離垢地, 三發光地<晋經論經同名明地>, 四燄慧地<晋經論經同名炎地>, 五難勝地, 六現前地, 七遠行地, 八不動地, 九善慧地, 十法雲地."

First, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* says: "Because one accomplishes the unexcelled practices that benefit oneself and benefit others, initially realizes the position of the saints, and produces much pleasure and joy, it is called the

---

405 Cf. *Dasheng yizhang* 14, T 1851.44.749b13–c4. P'yowŏn's paraphrasing and citing from Jingying Huiyuan's work starts from the beginning of the section.

406 Reading *ryŏng* 令 as *kŭm* 今 following the *Dasheng yizhang*.

407 Reading *kayu* 可有 to *yu* 有 following the *Dasheng yizhang*.

408 Reading *i* 異 as *kwa* 果 following the *Dasheng yizhang*.

409 Correcting *yŏn* 緣 to *kyodo wi yŏn* 教道爲緣 following the *Dasheng yizhang*.

410 Correcting *chuja chuja* 住者住者 to *chuja* 住者 following the *Dasheng yizhang*.

411 Correcting *yŏi ch'oji mang ijiji sŏl* 如以初地望二持地說 to *yŏsa ch'oji mang iji sŏl chu* 如似初地望二地說持 following the *Dasheng yizhang*.

412 Correcting *chi mang chehuji* 地望諸後地 to *cheji mang hu* 諸地望後 following the *Dasheng yizhang*.

joyous stage."[413]

Master Fazang says: "There are three meanings. The first is that it initially accomplishes two benefits. The second is that it initially realizes the truth. The third is that it newly obtains the abode of the saints. [Therefore] subsequently, in a mind that has originally pledged itself [to seek the Way to enlightenment], much pleasure and joy are produced."[414]

Huiyuan says:

> In the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* it is called the stage of the pure mind (*chŏngsin chi* 淨心地). When one abides in this stage, amidst true thusness, since one realizes the cleanliness and purity of the mind, it is called the stage of the pure mind. Furthermore, with respect to the Three Jewels, obtaining clean and pure faith is also called the pure mind. Nevertheless, this first stage, in contrast to the preceding level of ordinary human beings, should be called a stage of the saints (*sŏng chi* 聖地). In contrast to those ordinary human beings who choose the obstacle of the self, this should be called the stage of no-self (*mua chi* 無我地). In contrast to the preceding level of the [ten] faiths, this should be called the stage of realization (*chŭng chi* 證地). In contrast to the cultivating of the Way to enlightenment later, it should be called the stage of sight (*kyŏnji* 見地). Just like this, there are so many meanings it is impossible to arrange them all. Moreover, from the standpoint of benefits it is called joyous.[415]

一論云, "成就無上自利利他行, 初證聖處, 多生歡喜故, 名歡喜地." 法藏師云, "有三義, 一二利創成故, 二真理初證故, 三聖住新得故. 遂本期心, 多生歡喜." 遠云, "經中亦名淨心地也. 住此地時, 於真如中, 證心清淨, 名淨心地. 又於三寶, 得清淨信, 亦名淨心. 然此初地, 對前凡位, 應名聖地. 對彼凡夫取我之障,

413 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a18–19.

414 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 2, T 1733.35.287b1–3.

415 Cf. *Dasheng yizhang* 14, T 1851.44.749c4–11.

應名無我地. 對前信位, 應名證地. 對後修道, 應名見地. 如是多義不可並陳, 且就利益, 名為歡喜."

Second, because it leaves behind arousing false thoughts and the defilements and flaws of breaking the precepts and is fully endowed with the clean and pure precepts, it is called the immaculate stage.[416] Master Fazang says: "There are also three meanings. The first is being bereft of defilements, which is precisely the leaving behind of causes, and means being able to arouse false thoughts and so forth. The second is being bereft of unwholesome karma, which is precisely leaving behind the practices that produce the results, and means breaking the precepts and so forth. The third is being bereft of antidotes.[417] It means being fully endowed with the clean and pure precepts."[418]

二離能起誤[419]心犯戒煩惱垢, 清淨戒具足故, 名離垢地. 藏師云, "亦有三義. 一離煩惱. 即因離, 謂能起誤[420]心等. 二離惡業. 即果行離, 謂犯戒等. 三對治離. 謂清戒具足也."

Third, because one illuminates the dharma and manifests [the Way to enlightenment] according to hearing, thought, practice, and so forth, it is called the brilliant stage.[421] An interpretation says: Brilliance (*myŏng* 明) is precisely that which gives light (*palgwang* 發光). Master Fazang says:

416 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a19–20.

417 An antidote (*taech'i*, Ch. *duizhi* 對治; Skt. *pratipakṣa*) is something that severs the defilements by means of the Way to enlightenment. There are four kinds of antidotes for severing defilements. The Way to enlightenment is an enabling antidote (*nŭng taech'i* 能對治), and defilements are that which needs an antidote (*sodaech'i* 所對治)

418 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.287b3–7.

419 Reading *o* 悞 as *o* 誤 following the *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sutra-śāstra*). The meaning of both logographs is the same nevertheless.

420 Reading *o* 悞 as *o* 誤 following the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji.*

421 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a20–21.

There are also three meanings. The first is that by means of this stage one can obtain the fourth stage, the characteristics of the light (*kwangmyŏng* 光明) of wisdom. It is like the trance in which brilliance is obtained.[422] Hence, the following explanation says: "That wisdom that is not practiced and not produced, this is called light (*kwangmyŏng*)."[423] The second is that one produces the light of wisdom of the next stage relying on the dhyāna of this stage, it is the samādhi of the light of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng kwangmyŏng sammae* 大乘光明三昧), and so forth. The third is that one obtains three wisdoms and illuminates the dharma, it is called the brilliant stage. This is an analysis regarding the stages corresponding to the aids to penetration (*kahaengwi* 加行位). The *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* (*Di lun* 地論) only analyzes[424] from the standpoint of this approach.[425]

三隨聞思修等照法顯現, 故名明地. 解云, 明即所發光也. 藏師, "亦有三義. 一以此地得四地智慧光明相故, 如明得定等. 故下說云, '彼無行無生慧, 此名光明.' 二依此地禪, 發起後地慧光明故, 大乘光明三昧等. 三得三慧照法, 故名明地. 此約當地加行等釋. 地論唯就此門釋."

Fourth, because it is able to burn with the fire of wisdom, which is the fuel of the defilement of non-forgetting (*pulmang pŏnnoe* 不忘煩惱), it is called the blazing stage.[426]

422 The trance in which brilliance is obtained (*myŏngdŭk chŏng*, Ch. *mingde ding* 明得定) is a dhyāna trance obtained from the level of heat (Skt. *ūṣmagata*) among the four aids to penetration (*sa sŏn'gŭn*, Ch. *si shangen* 四善根; Skt. *catuṣ-nirvedha-bhāgīya*; also called sa *kahaeng wi* 四加行位). This is a samādhi in the bodhisattva's four good roots or sources from which spring good fruit or development in which there are the bright beginnings of release from illusion. In this absorption as a result of the changes in his own mind regarding the four dharmas of the names and meanings of objects, the nature of the self, and discriminations, the practitioner observes the temporary, ephemeral, provisional existence (*kayu* 假有) of things and knows that in reality they cannot be obtained.

423 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 5, T 1522.26.155a7–8.

424 Supplementing the text with *sŏk* 釋 following the *Tanxuan ji*.

425 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.287b8–16.

426 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a21–22.

Master Fazang says:

> Here there are two meanings. The first is the wisdom of inner realization,[427] and because it consumes the fuel of delusion it is called blazing. And precisely since in the preceding stage one hears and maintains, it is called not forgetting, and because it maintains this and arouses arrogance, it is called defilements. This is what is burned, and from this simile it is called fuel. This is precisely the obstacle of arrogance in understanding the dharma; and since it is the wisdom that is able to burn, from the standpoint of this simile it is called blazing.[428] The second is the arousal of function from the standpoint of analytical wisdom.[429] Hence, the following [passage from the] *Daśabhūmika-sutra-śāstra* says: "Because that dharma on realizing wisdom clarifies in the light of the maṇi-jewel (*mani poju* 摩尼寶珠) and frees the light of the Āgamas, it is called blazing."[430] <Huiyuan also gives the same explanation as this.>

Master Lin says:

> As for the defilement of non-forgetting, in other places it is said that it should be made with the logograph *mang* 妄 (false) and means no false characteristics (*mangsang* 妄相). Now, since it may be understood as not laboring to control, even the treatises also use the logograph

[427] Inner realization (*naejŭng,* Ch. *neizheng* 内證; Skt. *pratyātṇādhigama*) or inner realization of the self (*chanaejŭng,* Ch. *zineizheng* 自内證) refers to one's own assurance of the truth, apprehending one's own mind, enlightenment. Based on this inner realization, activities manifest on the outside area called outer functioning (*oeyong,* Ch. *waiyong* 外用).

[428] Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.287b16–20.

[429] Analytical wisdom (*hudŭk chi,* Ch. *houde zhi* 後得智), which is precisely the wisdom of the measure of suchness (*yŏryangji* 如量智), is detailed or specific knowledge or wisdom succeeding upon or arising from intrinsic wisdom (*kŭnbonji,* Ch. *genbenzhi* 根本智; Skt. *mūlajñāna*).

[430] Cf. *Huayan tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.287b20–26; P'yowŏn paraphrases liberally. The scripture that he cites is *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 6, T 1522.26.162c22.

mang. Nevertheless, there are two kinds: the first are false passions (*mangjŏng* 妄情) and the second are false functions (*mangyong* 妄用). Why are they called false passions? Whether they exist or do not exist, all are false characteristics. If one is attached to reality and says that it is not false, this is precisely inscribed as not false and becomes the fuel of defilements. If one knows this is false, then one is able to sever it by means of wisdom. Now, discriminate by means of this understanding. <It probably resides in the previous stage.> The second is removing false passions and manifesting the function of true reality. At this time one sees that false is different from true and sees that true is different from false. Then, since one is attached to the true not being false, it becomes the fuel of defilements. If one knows it is neither true nor false and that it is able to be either true or false, this true thusness, as it is, consumes the wisdom of conditioned arising. Because one is able to remove attachment to the truth and oppose the delusion of the false, it is said that the fire of wisdom is able to burn it. <Choosing and forsaking are entrusted to sentient [beings].>

四不忘煩惱薪智火能燒, 故名焰地. 藏師云, "此有二義. 一內證之智, 焚燒惑薪, 故名為餤. 即前地聞持名[431]為不忘, 持此起慢, 名為煩惱. 為是所燒, 從喻名薪. 即是解法慢障, 能燒之智, 就喻名焰. 二就後智起用. 故下論云, '彼證智法明摩尼寶光中, 放阿含光明, 故名炎地.'"<遠公亦同此說> 懍師云, "不忘煩惱者, 他云應作妄字, 謂不妄相也. 今解不勞治, 論亦作妄字. 然有二種, 一者妄情, 二妄用. 何者名妄情? 若有若無, 皆是妄相. 若執為實, 謂之不妄, 即諂此不妄, 為煩惱薪也. 若知是妄, 則智能斷之. 今判此解.<可在地前也> 二者除妄情而顯真實用. 爾時見妄異真, 見真異妄. 便以執真不妄, 為煩惱薪. 若知非真非妄能真能妄, 此真如爾炎緣起之智. 能除執真乖妄之惑故, 云智火能燒也."<取捨任情>

Fifth, because one obtains supramundane wisdom and the wholesome skills of expedient means and is able to reach (*to* 度) that which is difficult

431 Reading *myŏng* 明 as *myŏng* 名 following the *Tanxuan ji*.

to reach (*nando* 難度) <to means to reach (*chi* 至)>, it is called difficult to conquer.[432] Fazang says:

> The interpretation of obtaining supramundane [wisdom] and so forth is the meaning of superiority (*sŭng* 勝). The interpretation of being able to reach [that which is difficult to reach] is the meaning of difficult (*nan* 難). Furthermore, in contrast to the foregoing three stages, because it is difficult to obtain supramundane [wisdom], the following discussion says: "It is because it is very difficult to obtain the ten universalities."[433] Hence, it is called "obtaining supramundane wisdom." In contrast to the foregoing four stages, because being able to accord with the supramundane is difficult, the following discussion says: "Furthermore, it is because manifesting the supramundane is the most difficult to obtain."[434] Hence, they are called the wholesome skills of expedient means. Thus, in the following five stages, the mind of the ten universalities and the five intellectual studies[435] and so forth are the meaning of the latter. Since these two are mutually contradictory, they are difficult to mutually attain;

432 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a22–23.

433 With respect to the ten universalities (*sip p'yŏngdŭng*, Ch. *shi pingdeng* 十平等), I translate the Sino-Korean term *p'yŏngdŭng* 平等 (Ch. *pingdeng*) as "universality" and "universal." This term is often employed as a translation for such Sanskrit words as *sāmānya* (universal, equal, common, joint), *sāmya* (equipoise, equality), and *sādhāraṇa* (universality, common to all), and so forth. The term *p'yŏngdŭng* is used 517 times in the sixty-roll version of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, T 278; 636 times in the 80-roll version of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*; and twenty times in the *Da Piluzhena chengfo jing* (**Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, T 848). Rather than referring to any particular list of ten items, the ten universalities probably refers to the fullness of all universalities.

434 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 7, T 1522.26.167b2–3.

435 The five intellectual studies (*o myŏngch'ŏ*, Ch. *wu mingchu* 五明處; Skt. *pañca-vidyā*) or five studies (*omyŏng*, Ch. *wuming* 五明) are the five topics studied by monks at monastic universities: (1) grammar and composition (*sŏngmyŏng*, Ch. *shengming* 聲明; Skt. *śabda*), (2) arts and mathematics (*konggyomyŏng*, Ch. *gongqiaoming* 工巧明; Skt. *śilpakarmasthāna*), (3) medicine (*ŭibangmyŏng*, Ch. *yifangming* 醫方明; Skt. *cikitsā*), (4) logic (*inmyŏng*, Ch. *yinming* 因明; Skt. *hetu*), and (5) philosophy or the study of Buddhist truth (*naemyŏng*, Ch. *neiming* 內明; Skt. *adhyātma*).

> and yet within this stage because one is caused to be able to mutually attain them, it is regarded as difficult. Hence, one is able to reach to what is difficult to reach.[436] <Huiyuan says: "Obtaining the supramundane and so forth was analyzed by the difficulty of it. Being able to reach what is difficult to reach was deciphered by its superiority.">[437]
>
> 五得出世間智方便善巧,[438] 能度難度,<度者至也> 故名難勝地. 藏云, "得出世等釋勝義, 能度等釋難義.[439] 又對前三地, 得出世難. 故下論言, '十平等甚難得故.' 故云得出世間智也. 對前四地, 能隨世間難. 故下論云, '又現世間最難得故.' 故云方便善巧也. 即下五地中, 十平等心, 及五明處等, 是後義也. 此二相違, 難以相到, 於此地中, 能令相到, 故以為難. 故云能度難度.<遠云, "得出世等也釋其難也, 能度難度解其勝也.">

Sixth, because there are differences in the prajñāpāramitā [perfection of wisdom], and great wisdom is manifest in front, it is called the stage which is face-to-face.[440] Master Fazang says:

> There are two meanings in this name. First, in contrast to the latter, the displaying of inferiority (*yŏl* 劣) means realizing that the true wisdom of emptiness is called prajñā [wisdom]. Above the seventh stage although thoughts constantly manifest, because now here they are not yet able to do so, they are termed differences (*yugan* 有間). Second, in contrast to the former, the manifesting of superiority (*sŭng* 勝) [means] that the prajñā that directly precedes it is called great wisdom. Because this wisdom is manifest it is called being face-to-face. This stage, from the standpoint

436 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.287b26–287c7. P'yowŏn paraphrases according to his needs.

437 *Dasheng yizhang* 14, T 1851.44.750a2–4. This interpretation is the opposite of the foregoing interpretation presented by Fazang.

438 Reading *sŏn kongdŏk* 善功德 as *sŏn'gyo* 善巧 following the *Tanxuan ji*.

439 Reading *sŭng* 勝 as *ŭi* 義 following the *Tanxuan ji*.

440 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a23–24.

of latter meanings, establishes names, and if one follows the previous meanings they must be called stages with differences.[441]

六般若波羅蜜有間大智現前故, 名現前地. 藏師云, "此有二義, 一對後彰劣, 謂證空實慧, 名為般若. 七地已上, 念念常現, 今此未能, 故名有間. 二對前顯勝, 自前般若名為大智. 此智現故名為現前. 此地就後義立名, 從前義應名有間地."

Seventh, in cultivating well the practices of the characteristics of non-existence (*musang* 無相) and meritorious functioning,[442] one arrives at its ultimate end (*kugyŏng* 究竟); because one is able to transcend the mundane world and the supramundane worlds of the two vehicles it is called the far-reaching stage.[443] Master Fazang says:

There are also two meanings here. First, in this level, because one cultivates well the practices, practices that leave behind the characteristics of existence (*yusang* 有相) and non-existence (*musang* 無相), it is called cultivating well the characteristics of non-existence. This explains the word "practice" (*haeng* 行). Second, meritorious functioning arriving at its ultimate end and so forth, explains "far-reaching" (*wŏn* 遠). In this there are three meanings. First, because the level in which meritorious functioning is practiced until it is completely exhausted and becomes the final boundary, it is called the ultimate end. Second, if one sees the foregoing first, second, and third stages, the characteristics of practice following existence (*yu* 有), as the same as the mundane world, in comparison to here and now, since they are already far distant, are said

441 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.287c8–14.

442 Meritorious functioning (*kongyong*, Ch. *gongyong* 功用) refers to the functioning of body (*sin*, Ch. *shen* 身), speech (*ku*, Ch. *kou* 口), and mind (*ŭi*, Ch. *yi* 意). With respect to the first to seventh stages, although bodhisattvas realize true thusness, because they must amass the merit of the aids to penetration (*kahaeng*, Ch. *jiaxing* 加行), this is called the stage of meritorious functioning (*kongyong chi*, Ch. *gongyong di* 功用地).

443 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a23–24.

> to be able to transcend the mundane world. Third, if one sees the fourth, fifth, and sixth stages, habitually practicing the character of the Way to enlightenment (*top'um* 道品) and clearly examining the characteristics of conditioned arising to the same as the level of the supramundane world of the two vehicles, now because this transcends that it is said to be able to transcend the Way to enlightenment of the supramundane world of the two vehicles; hence, it is called the far-reaching stage.[444]

> 七善修無相行, 功用究竟, 能過世間二乘出世間故, 名遠行地. 藏師云, "此亦有二義. 一此位之中, 善修行離有相離無相行, 故云善修無相行. 此釋行字也. 二功用究竟等釋遠也. 於中有三義. 一有功用行位[445]至窮盡, 最為後邊, 故云究竟. 二望前三地, 隨有之行相同世間, 今此望彼, 已為懸遠, 云能過世間也. 三望四五六地, 修習道品, 諦觀緣起相, 同二乘出世間位, 今此過彼故, 云能過二乘出世間道, 故名遠行地."

Eighth, because reward-bearing practices (*pohaeng* 報行) have fully ripened and there are no differences, it is called the immovable stage.[446] Master Fazang says:

> There are also two meanings here. First, because reward-bearing practices have fully ripened, it is not that which moves by means of meritorious functioning; as a result of cultivation arising, it is termed the achievement of reward-bearing practices. Here, because they are not laborious, are entrusted according to their movement, and accomplish all superior practices, it is called fully ripened. The following scriptural passage explains the name: "The stage that does not have meritorious functioning well arouses previous guidance" and so forth.[447] The characteristics of

---

[444] *Huayan tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.287c14–23.

[445] Correcting *haeng* 行 to *haengwi* 行位 following the *Tanxuan ji*.

[446] *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a26.

[447] *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 10, T 1522.26.184c15–16.

non-existence are not that which moves by means of characteristics. With respect to the lack of differences, because the characteristics of non-existence always are observed face-to-face, they are not that which moves by means of defilements. The following scriptural passage explains that name: "It is because the additional stage does not move by other means."[448]

八報行純熟無間故, 云不動地. 藏師云, "此亦二義. 一報行純熟故, 不為功用所動, 以由修起名為報行成就. 在此無功任運成諸勝行, 故云純熟. 下經釋名中, '無功用地善起先導[449]等也.' 無相者, 不為相所動也. 無間者, 以無相觀常現前故, 不為煩惱所動也. 下經釋名 '加地[450]不他動故.'"

Ninth, because one preaches the dharma by means of the power of non-hindrance (*muaeryŏk* 無礙力), accomplishing practices that benefit others, it is called the stage of wholesome wisdom.[451] Master Fazang says: "There are also two meanings here. First, by means of obtaining the forty unhindered eloquences,[452] it is called the power of non-hindrance. This explains 'wisdom'

448 *Huayan tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.287c23–288a1.

449 Reading *to* 道 as *to* 導 following the *Tanxuan ji.*

450 With repect to additional stage (*kaji,* Ch. *jiadi* 加地), although P'yowŏn's original text and the *Tanxuan ji* call it a stage of additional practices (*kahaeng chi,* Ch. *jiaxingdi* 加行地), here I follow the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra.* Cf. *Huayan tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.287c287c29–288a1, and *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 10, T 1522.26.184c15–16.

451 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a26–27.

452 P'yowŏn's original text says forty unhindered eloquences (*sasip muae pyŏn,* Ch. *sishi wuai bian* 四十無礙辯), and the *Tanxuan ji,* which P'yowŏn is citing, also says forty unhindered eloquences. Although the *Shidi lun yishu* 十地論義疏 calls them the four unhindered powers of wisdom (*sa muae chiryŏk,* Ch. *si wuai zhili* 四無礙智力, see *Shidi lun yishu* 1, T 2799.85.767b6–7) and the *Kanding ji* calls them the four unhindered liberative wisdoms (*sa muae haeji,* Ch. *si wuai jiezhi* 四無礙解智; see *Xu huayan jing lüeshu kanding ji* 續華嚴經略疏刊定記, X 3. 665b11), Zhiyan, Fazang, Chengguan, and so forth all use the expression forty unhindered wisdoms (*sasip muae chi,* Ch. *sishi wuai zhi* 四十無礙智). In particular, in the *Kongmu zhang,* they are explained in a essay titled "The Forty Unhindered Eloquences" (*Sishi wuai bianzai zhang* 四十無礙辯才章). According to this essay, there

(*hye* 慧). Second, by skillfully[453] preaching and benefiting beings it is called preaching the dharma and accomplishing the benifiting of other beings and so forth. This explains 'wholesome' (*sŏn* 善). These meanings are just like what is differentiated in the following passage."[454]

九無礙力說法成就利他行故, 名善慧地. 藏師云, "此亦二義. 一得四十無礙辯, 名無礙力. 此釋慧. 二巧說益生, 名說法成利他等. 此釋善. 此義如下文辨."

Tenth, because one obtains the great dharma body[455] and is fully endowed

are forty unhindered eloquences. It says there are ten dharmas and to each of them there are four eloquences making forty (see *Huayan jing neizhangmen deng za kongmuzhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章 3, T 1870.45.575a26–28). The unhindered eloquences refer to the eloquence or powers of reasoning or skills that are not hindered by anything and are the original essence of wisdom. The eloquences typically are counted in lists of four, seven, eight, or nine. The most representive list of the four unhindered or unlimited bodhisattva powers or interpretation or reasoning are termed the four unhindered eloquences (*sa muae pyŏnji,* Ch. *sishi wuai bianzai* 四無礙辯才; also *sa muae pyŏn,* Ch. *si wuai bian* 四無礙辯; Skt. *pratisamvid*), the four unhindered wisdoms (*sa muae chi,* Ch. *si wuai zhi* 四無礙智), the four unhindered things (*sa muae,* Ch. *si wuai* 四無礙), and the four unhindered liberations (*sa muae hae, Ch. si wuai jie* 四無礙解). These comprise the bodhisattva's unlimited powers of interpretation or reasoning (*pŏp muae,* Ch. *fa wuai* 法無礙; Skt. *dharma-pratisamvid*), the bodhisattva's unlimited ability to convey meaning (*ŭi muae,* Ch. *yi wuai* 義無礙; Skt. *artha-pratisamvid*), the bodhisattva's unlimited ability to preach in any language, form, or expression (*sa muae,* Ch. *ci wuai* 辭無礙; Skt. *nirukti-pratisamvid*), and the bodhisattva's unlimited ability in eloquence or pleasure in speaking or argument (*aksŏl muae,* Ch. *leshuo wuai* 樂說無礙; Skt. *pratibhāna-pratisamvid*).

453 Reading *kong* 功 as *kyo* 巧 following the *Tanxuan ji.*

454 *Huayan tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.288a14.

455 The great dharma body (*taebŏpsin,* Ch. *dafashen* 大法身; Skt. *mahādharmakāya*) is what is acquired by bodhisattvas who attain the highest level of the ten stages of bodhisattva practice. The tenth stage, the cloud of the dharma, is the highest of the ten stages of the bodhisattva's path of practice; and because it is the stage of the ultimate end, if one continues to be a bodhisattva, it is said that one obtains the great dharma body and is fully endowed with the power of self-existence. Furthermore, when a bodhisattva receives the five rebirths by means of the bodhisattva's original power and the power of reason, it is said that in his last rebirth, he will receive the highest stage of bodhisattva practice, the tenth stage, obtain a great dharma body, realize enlightenment, be endowed with a myriad practices, and obtain complete and total enlightenment that is without superior.

with self-existence (*chajae* 自在), it is called the stage of the cloud of dharma.[456]

Master Fazang says:

> There are also two meanings here. First, since it is a body that is a container of the dharma it is called a dharma body. Nevertheless, because it universally circumscribes the dharma realm it is called "great" (*tae* 大) Since it is able to receive the preaching on the dharma of all the buddhas like the clouds and rain, it is said to be fully endowed with self-existence. Second, since it is a body that transcends the dharma it is called "dharma" (*pŏp* 法), and since it universally encompasses all things it is called "great" (*tae* 大). Because it is able to bring down the rain of the dharma and extinguish the dust [defilements] and produce wholesomeness, it is called self-existing. Below, in the part that explains the name, because it provides a fully detailed analysis, it is called the stage of the cloud of dharma.[457] <The meaning of the name is like this.>
>
> 十得大法身具足自在故, 名法雲地. 藏師云, "此亦二義. 一為法器之身, 名曰法身. 然能普周法界, 故名為大. 能受諸佛雲雨說法, 名具足自在. 二為出法之身, 名曰法, 普遍一切, 名之為大, 能降注法雨, 滅塵生善, 故云自在. 下釋名分中, 具廣分釋, 故云法雲地."<名義如是>

2. Revealing the Essential Point

Huiyuan says:

> The level of the ten stages does not possess a separate essence. If one takes up the practices (haeng 行); they will be completed. The opening and closing of practices that complete the level is undetermined.

456 *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) 1, T 1522.26.127a27–28.

457 Cf. *Huayan tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.288a5–10.

Or, in general, they are one. So-called bodhisattvas vow wholesome determination, and because these vows dominate their practice, I will discuss them in a general manner. They may be divided into two groups: the so-called two practices of realization (*chŭng* 證) and the doctrinal teachings (*kyo* 敎) of the bodhisattvas. They may be further subdivided into three. The three Ways to enlightenment of the characteristic of unity[458] are realization (*chŭng* 證), assistance (*cho* 助), and non-abiding (*pulchu* 不住). Furthermore, morality (*kye* 戒), meditation (*chŏng* 定), and wisdom (*hye* 慧) are also able to be divided into three. Or they may be separated into four: hearing (*mun* 聞), contemplating (*sa* 思), practicing (*su* 修), and realizing (*chŭng* 證). Or they may be explained as five: hearing (*mun* 聞), contemplating (*sa* 思), practicing (*su* 修), conscious knowledge of reward rebirths (*posaeng sikchi* 報生識知),[459] and the practice of realization (*chŭnghaeng* 證行). Furthermore, the five expedient means are also able to be divided into five: observation (*kwan* 觀), acquisition (*tŭk* 得), expansion and ascension (*chŭngsang* 增上), non-backsliding (*pult'oe* 不退), and complete accomplishment (*chinji* 盡至). They may be divided into six: the six kinds of determination (*yuk kyŏlchŏng* 六決定).[460] The six pāramitās

---

458 The characteristic of unity (*tongsang,* Ch. *tongxiang* 同相) is one of the six characteristics (*yuksang,* Ch. *liuxiang* 六相). All of the myriad things that manifest all manner of differences all work toward a common, unified goal, all collaborate with each other, and all accomplish attributes that are in harmony and unify with each other.

459 A reward rebirth (*posaeng,* Ch. *baosheng* 報生) does not refer to a fruition reward (*kwabo* 果報) obtained by means of maturation but rather to something that arises or is produced naturally. When bodhisattvas switch their bodies above the eighth stage, the dhyāna-trance (*sŏnjŏng* 禪定) they obtain at the same time as they are born is the samādhi of reward rebirth (*posaeng sammae,* Ch. *baosheng sanmei* 報生三昧). Because it is their original practice, they see all dharmas of their own accord according to the place where they were given birth as empty and because they do not wait to receive training they are called in this way. See *Dasheng yizhang* 20, T 1851.44.852a2–3.

460 The six kinds of determination (*yuk kyŏlchŏng,* Ch. *liu jueding* 六決定) may be defined variously. First, they are six kinds of meritorious virtue that a bodhisattva obtains from practicing the six perfections. Second, they are called the six kinds of wholesome determination (*yukchong sŏn kyŏlchŏng,* Ch. *liuzhong shan jueding* 六種善決定; Skt. *ṣaḍ-vidha-niyati-pāta*). These are six kinds of

also may be divided into six. Or they may also be described as eight <just as is explained in the *The Sūtra on the Liberation*[461] *of Continuation* (*Xiangxu jietuo jing* 相續解脫經)>. Or they may be described as ten <faith (*sin* 信) and so forth, the ten practices (*siphaeng* 十行) and the ten perfections (*sipto* 十度)>. Or they may be divided into the thirty-seven wings of enlightenment.[462] And again, they may be subdivided into all of the

---

wholesome determination that bodhisattvas above the first stage realize by means of holy wisdom: (1) the wholesome determination of observing characteristics (*kwansang sŏn kyŏlchŏng* 觀相善決定), which means that bodhisattvas determine to contemplate the principle of true thusness by means of correct wisdom and it becomes the same as phenomena that are without impurities of the one flavor; the wholesome determination of true reality (*chinsil sŏn kyŏlchŏng* 眞實善決定), which means that bodhisattvas determine to leave behind the error of falling into defilements by means of true wisdom, they realize principle, there is nothing empty; (3) the wholesome determination of superiority (*sŭng sŏn kyŏlchŏng* 勝善決定), which means that the practice of the bodhisattva is determined to be as large and broad as the dharma realm, it becomes basis of all the buddhas, and it is fully endowed with superior virtue; (4) the wholesome determination of causes (*in sŏn kyŏlchŏng* 因善決定), which means the causes of bodhisattva practice are determined as being fully capably of producing the saintly fruit (*sŏnggwa* 聖果) of Buddhahood; (5) the wholesome determination of greatness (*tae sŏn kyŏlchŏng* 大善決定), which means that the bodhisattva's practices that benefit others are determined to cover and protect the world system of all living beings and that they are without limits; (6) the wholesome determination to be neither timid nor weak (*pulgŏbyak sŏn kyŏlchŏng* 不怯弱善決定), which means that the fruition virtues realized by bodhisattvas are determined and enter the level of the wisdom of all the buddhas and that the bodhisattvas are fearless. See *Shidi jing lun* (*Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*), T 1522.26.126c19–127a6; and Zhiyan's *Huayan jing neizhang mendeng za kongmuzhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章 3, T 1870.45.561b13–c5. Third, they are (1) the certainty of wealth (*chaesŏng kyŏlchŏng* 財成決定), (2) the certainty of rebirth in honorable families (*saengsŭng kyŏlchŏng* 生勝決定), (3) the certainty of no backsliding to lower conditions (*pult'oe kyŏlchŏng* 不退決定), (4) the certainty of progress in practice (*susŭp kyŏlchŏng* 修習決定), (5) the certainty of unfailingly good karma (*chŏngŏp kyŏlchŏng* 定業決定), (6) the certainty of effortless abode in truth and wisdom (*mugongyong kyŏlchŏng* 無功用決定). See *Dasheng zhuangyan jing lun* 大乘莊嚴經論 12, T 1604.31.652b14–21; and *Quan fa putixin ji* 勸發菩提心集 3, T 1862.45.401a29. The second meaning is probably what is meant here since P'yowŏn gives precedence to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* in several places.

461 Reading *sŏl* 說 as *t'al* 脫 following the *Dasheng yizhang*.

462 The thirty-seven wings of enlightenment (*samsipch'il p'um*, Ch. *sanshiqi pin* 三十七品; Skt. *bodhi-pakṣa*) refer to cultivating several kinds of practices of the Way to enlightenment in order to go into the sphere of the ideal (*isanggyŏng* 理想境). These are the four applications of mindfulness (*sa yŏmch'ŏ*

84,000 liberating approaches to dharma.[463]

第二出體者. 遠公, "十地之位無有別體, 攬行以成. 成位位之行開合不定, 或總為一. 所謂菩薩願善決定, 以願行主, 故偏論之. 或分為二. 所謂菩薩證教二行. 或離為三. 同相三道, 一證, 二助, 三是不住. 又戒定慧亦得分三. 或別為四. 謂聞思修證. 或說為五. 謂聞思修報生識智[464]及與證行. 又五方便亦得分五, 謂觀得增上不退盡至. 或分為六. 謂六決定. 又六波羅蜜亦得分六. 或說為八.<如彼相續解脫經說> 或說為十.<信等十行, 又十度也> 或分為三十七品. 復得離為八萬四千諸度法門."

Master Fazang says:

There are ten approaches. <They are for the most part the same as Huiyuan's.>[465] They regard the samādhi of the light of the Mahāyāna as the [original] nature. Also, if one sees merely by means of realization,

---

四念處; Skt. *smṛti-upasthāna*), the four right efforts (*sa chŏng ch'ŏgŭn* 四正處勤; Skt. *saṃyak-prahāna*), the four bases of psychic power (*sa yŏŭijok* 四如意足; Skt. *ṛddhi-pāda*), the five dominants (*ogŭn* 五根; Skt. *indriya*), the five powers (*oryŏk* 五力; Skt. *bala*), the seven limbs of enlightenment (*ch'il kakchi* 七覺支; Skt. *bodhiyaṅga*), and the eight limbs of the Way to enlightenment (*p'al sŏngdo* 八聖道; Skt. *mārgāṅga*).

463 Cf. *Dasheng yizhang* 14, T 1851.44.750a26–b22. All the 84,000 liberating approaches to dharma (*p'alman sach'ŏn chedo pŏmmun* 八萬四千諸度法門) are also called the 84,000 approaches to dharma (*p'alman sach'ŏn pŏmmun* 八萬四千法門) and the 84,000 storehouses of dharma (*p'alman sach'ŏn pŏpchang* 八萬四千法藏) and so forth. This refers to all of the doctrinal teachings preached by the Buddha. Since living beings are afflicted with the ailments of the 84,000 defilements, the Buddha preached 84,000 approaches to dharma to cure each one of these ailments individually. According to Huiyuan, each of the Buddha's 350 meritorious virtues are fully endowed with the six pāramitās, and the four kinds of living beings (the covetous, adulterous, angry, and stupid) are converted by means of these and so they become 8,400 and since one transforms into ten, it becomes 84,000. See *Dasheng yizhang* 12, T 1851.44.706c15–26; and *Weimo yiji* 維摩義記 4, T 1776.38.504c2–16.

464 Correcting *posaeng wiji* 報生謂知 to *posaeng sikchi* 報生識知 following *Dasheng yizhang* 3, T 1851.44.514a6–7.

465 Except for the reference to the *Dasheng yizhang,* P'yowŏn is citing the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji.*

true thusness becomes [original] nature. <This is true thusness that transcends [rebirth and death].> Furthermore, if one sees merely that it can be realized, wisdom becomes the [original] nature <the separate level of the wisdom of the non-self of dharmas[466]>. Also, thusness and wisdom become [original] nature. Furthermore, the meritorious virtues of all conditioned and unconditioned things become [original] nature. <It is just like what is explained in the *Vijñapatimātratā-siddhi* (*Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論).> Furthermore, if one looks by means of causes and effects, it is like the ten characteristics (*sipsang* 十相) of the ocean. <The ten characteristics are compared to the earth, and the one ocean is compared to the Buddha.> Great emptiness (*taegong* 大空), moreover, to effects and the drawing[467] is compared to causes. <The remaining approaches are the same as Huiyuan's.>[468]

Master Lin says:

There are two meanings. The first is revealing the essence of essence, and the second is revealing the essence of practice. The essence of practice may be further subdivided into two: the first being the essence of thorough comprehension (*t'ongch'e* 通體) and the second being the essence of specialization (*pyŏlch'e* 別體). The essence of thorough comprehension refers to taking the three conditions and the wisdom conditioned on the three conditions as the essence of a stage (*chi* 地). That essence is neither single nor dual and it is also not non-dual. Relying on words being devoid of ten-ness is the essence of thorough comprehension, and while being

466 The non-self of dharmas (*pŏp mua*, Ch. *fa wuwo* 法無我) means that all things in existence exist according to causes and conditions and are not real in the sense of existing permanently. This is also called the emptiness of dharmas (*pŏpkong*, Ch. *fakong* 法空). Here it refers to the wisdom deriving from the realization of this truth.

467 Reading *chin* 盡 as *hwa* 畫 following the *Tanxuan ji*.

468 Cf. *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 9, T 1733.35.286b2–23.

devoid of ten-ness ten is its essence of specialization. This means that the wisdom realized in the first stage is not the wisdom realized in the second stage. Each and every stage has its own particular wisdom that is realized. The essence of practice refers to the two Ways to enlightenment (*to* 道) of realization (*chŭng* 證) and doctrinal teachings (*kyo* 敎). <And so on and so forth.>

藏師云, “十門.<與遠多同> 大乘光明三昧為性. 亦唯約所證真如為性.<出離真如> 又唯約能證之智為性.<法無我智分位> 亦如如及智為性. 又一切有為無為功德為性.<如成唯識論說> 又約因果, 如海十相.<十相喻地, 一海喻佛> 大空況果, 畵喻因分.”<餘門如遠公說> 懍云, “二義. 一出體體, 二出行體. 行體復二, 一是通體, 二是別體. 言通體者, 以三緣三緣緣智為地體. 其體非一非二, 亦非不二. 寄言無十為通體, 無十而十別體. 謂初地證智, 非二地證智. 地地各有證智. 言行體, 所謂證教二道.”<云云>

IV

SELECTIONS FROM THE COLLECTED WORKS OF STATE PRECEPTOR TAEGAK

Taegak kuksa munjip (sŏn)

大覺國師文集 (選)

義天

By Ŭich'ŏn

Introduction

The *Taegak kuksa munjip* 大覺國師文集 is a collection that brings together the writings of the early Koryŏ monk Ŭich'ŏn 義天 (1055–1101). Ŭich'ŏn was the fourth son of Koryŏ king Munjŏng 文宗 (r. 1046–1083); his mother was Queen Dowager Inye 仁睿 of the Inju Yi lineage 仁州李氏. When he was eleven *se*[1] he left the palace to become a monk under the guidance of the eminent monk Nanwŏn 爛圓 (999–1066), State Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk 景德國師; he studied at Yŏngt'ong Monastery 靈通寺; and in the tenth month of that year [1065] he received full ordination into the monastic precepts at the precepts platform at Puril Monastery 佛日寺. From here he turned his mind to doctrinal learning. Beginning with the scriptures and treatises of the

---

1 Following Chinese custom, until the modern period Koreans usually calculated and recorded a person's age according to their reckoning of *se* 歲 (Ch. *sui*) or "years." When an infant is born he is regarded as being one se because the time spent in the womb is counted as time alive. With the passing of the New Year, all individuals increase one *se*. For this reason, the difference between Korean se and the Western calculation of age is usually one and may be two years. For instance, a baby born at the end of the twelfth lunar month will be considered two se with the passing of the New Year, although in Western culture the infant is only a month or two old. Western age is usually approximated by substracting one se from the amount given in the text.

Hwaŏm tradition, he searched the sūtras of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna and also received a broad education in all the writings of Confucianism, Daoism, and all the philosophers of the hundred schools. After his vocation master[2] Nanwŏn entered quiescence (passed away) the following year, Ŭich'ŏn worked hard in his studies along with Nanwŏn's disciples. He received the titled position of Saṃgha Overseer Use (Use *sŭngt'ong* 祐世僧統) at thirteen se. From the time that he was twenty-three *se*, he began lecturing on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in forty rolls with Chengguan's 澄觀 (ca. 720/38–837/838) *Huayan shu* 華嚴疏 (Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*) in ten rolls. Inasmuch as he continued to lecture on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* for twenty years his intellectual interest was centered on Hwaŏm learning.

To increase the breadth of his learning and search for scriptures and treatises, Ŭich'ŏn was determined to search for the dharma in Song 宋 China (960–1279). However, his father, King Munjong, did not permit him to go because of the danger of crossing the sea and the delicate diplomatic situation with the Khitan Liao 遼 dynasty (907–1125). As soon as his eldest brother, King Sŏnjong 宣宗 (r. 1083–1094), ascended the throne succeeding his royal father, he again requested that he be granted permission to go to Song; but his request was denied yet again. When he was thirty-one *se* [1085], however, he carried out his plan of entering Song China accompanied by his disciple Sugae 壽介 (fl. 1083–1094) and others, ten people in all. Officials and the monks Nakchin 樂眞 (1045–1114), Hyesŏn 慧宣, and Torin 道隣 were sent to follow after him from Koryŏ. Upon entering Song, Ŭich'ŏn

2 A vocation master (*ŭnsa*, Ch. *enshi* 恩師), lit. "beneficient master" is a senior monk who serves as the formal sponsor of the postulant's (*haengja* 行者) candicacy for ordination. I have translated the term as "vocation master" because he functions similarly to the "vocation father" in Catholic monasticism. The term *ŭnsa* is not commonly found in Chinese materials; however, this master is the equivalent of the "ācārya for leaving the householder way of life" (*ch'ulga asari*, Ch. *chujia asheli* 出家阿闍梨), the first of the five types of teachers mentioned in the *Five-Part Vinaya*. In this text he is defined as "the master who administers the *śramaṇera* precepts and first ordains [the postulant]." See *Wufen lü* 五分律 (*Mahīśāsaka-vinaya*) 16, T 1421.22.113a10. See also, Robert E. Buswell, Jr., *The Zen Monastic Experience: Buddhist Practice in Contemporary Korea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 82.

was cordially received by Emperor Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1086–1100), he was introduced to Huayan monks such as Youcheng 有誠 (d.u.), and he polished his Buddhist learning. Ŭich'ŏn's activities in Song China are related to the political situation of the Song at the time, which saw the change from the New Law Party of Wang Anshi back to the Old Law Party of Sima Guang. After that he went to Hangzhou 杭州 and discussed the learning of all the doctrinal traditions beginning with Huayan with Jingyuan 淨源 (1011–1088). He went to Mt. Tiantai 天台山, offered worship at the funerary pagoda (*myot'ap* 廟塔) of Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗 (538–597), and pledged to transmit the doctrinal teachings of the Tiantai intellectual tradition in Koryŏ. When Ŭich'ŏn returned to Koryŏ the next year, he had spent fourteen months in Song and was acquainted with more than thirty monks of all doctrinal traditions. Aside from the Huayan monks Jingyuan and Youcheng, these included Xizhong 希仲, Shancong 善聰, Huiqing 慧清, Zhisheng 智生, Daoheng 道亨, Daolin 道璘, Jingyin 淨因, and Xijun 希俊 of the Huayan school; Zongjian 宗諫, Weiqin 惟勤, Yuanjing 元淨, and Kejiu 可久 of the Tiantai school; Yuanzhao 元照, Zeqi 擇其, and Chongyu 冲羽 of the Vinaya school; Zongben 宗本, Liaoyuan 了元, Huailian 懷璉, and Huiyuan 慧圓 of the Chan 禪 school; and Huilin 慧琳 and Shanyuan 善淵 of the Weishi 唯識 (Consciousness-only) school.[3] Furthermore, he was friends with the Indian monks Tianjixiang 天吉祥 and Shaode 紹德 and the Liao monks Yunxi 雲諝 and Xianyan 鮮演.

Because Ŭich'ŏn's mother's was troubled with anxiety for her son, King Sŏnjong requested that he return home from Song. Thereupon, Ŭich'ŏn returned to Koryŏ with more than three thousand rolls of essays and commentaries by East Asian exegetes. After this he collected Buddhist

[3] It has become common custom in Western scholarship to classify Buddhist monks as belonging strictly to a particular school (*chong*, Ch. *zong* 宗). This method of classification, however, is a heritage of the Japanese sectarian approach to the study of East Asian Buddhism. Although I often translate the logograph 宗 as "school," my preference is for the translation "tradition," because when the term *chong* 宗 is found in exegesis, it usually is best rendered as "core teaching," not "school" (*chongch'wi*, Ch. *zongqu* 宗趣; Skt. *siddhānta*).

writings from both Liao and Japan, and when he was thirty-six *se* [1090] he completed his *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗敎藏總錄 (New Catalog of the Teachings of All the Schools). This was the first attempted comprehensive catalog of essays and commentaries of the East Asian Buddhist tradition. The catalog systematized a vast canon of teachings reaching 1,070 titles in 4,740 rolls. The collected essays and commentaries were not used in the form they were received but rather, after being edited and corrected, they were published as a supplement to the Buddhist canon of sūtras at Hŭngwang Monastery 興王寺. The constitution of the catalog well displays Ŭich'ŏn's view of Buddhism, which was critical of the Sŏn school, by including the whole range of doctrinal learning with Hwaŏm and Tiantai writings placed first. Among these were included more than four hundred rolls of writings by Silla and Koryŏ monks and two hundred rolls of works by monks of the Khitan Liao dynasty. When he was forty *se* [1095], Ŭich'ŏn was reexamining all the doctrinal learning of such traditions as the Yusik 唯識 (Consciousness-only) school while living in retirement at Haein Monastery 海印寺. But as soon as his elder brother King Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1095–1105) assumed the throne, he returned to Hŭngwang Monastery by royal request. When he was forty-three *se* [1097], Kukch'ŏng Monastery 國淸寺 was completed and he became abbot. He inaugurated Koryŏ's Ch'ŏnt'ae school 天台宗 and entered quiescence at forty-seven *se*. He received the posthumous title State Preceptor Taegak (Great Enlightenment) 大覺國師, and steles lauding his memory were erected at Yŏngt'ong Monastery and Sŏnbong Monastery 僊鳳寺.

Ŭich'ŏn possessed an expansive understanding of the Buddhist teaching centered on Hwaŏm but covering all doctrinal learning. He said in his poetry that his lectures covered a broad gamut of more than three hundred rolls of material from such scriptures as the *Avataṃsaka, Nirvāṇa*, and *Lotus Sūtras.* He lectured on the monastic precepts (vinaya and śīla) and even had an interest in Consciousness-only literature. Since he was critical of Sŏn teachings, he recommended the study of scriptures such as the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* and the *Qixin lun* 起信論 (Awakening of Faith). Hwaŏm and Ch'ŏnt'ae materials were the core of his intellectual and doctrinal interests.

In particular, he had made Hwaŏm thought the principal axis of his study since the time he had left the palace to become a monk. The intellectual thought presented by Ŭich'ŏn was the approach of the "three visualizations and five teachings" (*samgwan ogyo* 三觀五教), which is constituted on the practical cultivation and the theoretical organization of Hwaŏm. The three visualizations refer to three kinds of meditative visualization methods[4] that are practiced in order to attest to the truth of the conditioned arising of the dharma realm: the visualization of true emptiness (*chin'gong kwan* 眞空觀), the visualization of the unimpededness between principle and phenomena (*isa muae kwan* 理事無碍觀), and the visualization of universal containment (*chup'yŏn hamyong kwan* 周遍含容觀). The five teachings refers to the Huayan theory on doctrinal classification formulated by Fazang 法藏 (643–712): Hīnayāna (*sosŭng* 小乘), the initial teaching of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng sigyo* 大乘始教), the final teaching of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng chonggyo* 大乘終教), the sudden teaching (*ton'gyo* 頓教), and the perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo* 圓教). Therefore, Ŭich'ŏn said that those who place meaning in learning deeply study the principles of the dharma by means of these three visualizations and five teachings and must have the sense of insight to enter the way to enlightenment. If one does not learn visualization and only learns the sūtras, although he will know causes and results, he will not comprehend the three kinds of visualization methods. If one does not learn the sūtras and only learns visualization, although he will comprehend visualization methods, he will not know causes and results. Because of this, Ŭich'ŏn emphasized that one cannot only learn visualization or the sūtras (See "Instruction to the New Disciple Ch'isu" [*Si sinch'amhakto Ch'isu* 示新參學徒緇秀]).

This kind of thought emphasizing the dual or concurrent cultivation of doctrine and visualization (*kyogwan kyŏmsu* 教觀兼修) is in line with the influence of the Huayan thinkers of the Song period, such as Jingyuan, with whom he was associated. This thought places the origin in the importance of the visualization practices of Chengguan, which they had inherited. In

4 What I have translated as "visualization" (*kwan*, Ch. *guan* 觀) is a form of meditative training. It was a common translation for the Indian meditative practice of vipaśyanā, or insight.

the extant writings of Ŭich'ŏn it is difficult to find a more systematized theory of doctrinal learning. Instead, the influence of Ŭich'ŏn's thought can be seen in the stress he placed on and promoted with the publication of the Buddhist canon of teachings. The organization of a canon containing all the commentarial works and research on the Buddhist scriptural canon in East Asia was a unique enterprise that was attempted solely by Ŭich'ŏn. In this work, Ŭich'ŏn made his goal to bring together all the doctrinal learning of the intellectual schools whose teachings were based on the scriptures. Ŭich'ŏn lectured directly on the scriptures of several intellectual lineages, not only Hwaŏm. He emphasized Buddhism on the basis of the scriptures, and we can say that he warned against Sŏn, which in his opinion ignored the scriptures and transcended logic. He attempted to establish the capacity of Buddhism on the basis of the scriptures. This shares something in common with Ŭich'ŏn's evaluation of Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686), whom he adored and revered highly as a "saintly master" (*sŏngsa* 聖師). Ŭich'ŏn's founding of the Ch'ŏnt'ae school and his attempt at reforming the Sŏn school share in this same intellectual background.

The founding of the Ch'ŏnt'ae school is indelibly linked to the political situation of the time. Previously, from before he went to Song China, he had the intention of founding the Ch'ŏnt'ae school, and he expressed these views to the Queen Dowager Inye and his older brother King Sukchong. Although construction work on its main complex of Kukch'ŏng Monastery began in 1089 (Sŏnjong 9), it was suspended after only five months when Queen Dowager Inye and Sŏnjong passed away in succession, Hŏnjong 獻宗 (r. 1094–1095) assumed the throne, and the Inju Yi lineage grasped the reins of political power. Since they thrust aside Ŭich'ŏn's resolutions, he retired to Haein Monastery. Since Sukchong removed the Inju Yi lineage from power when he ascended the throne, Ŭich'ŏn again returned to Hŭngwang Monastery, Kukch'ŏng Monastery was completed in 1097, and the Ch'ŏnt'ae school was founded. Through this he reformed the religious organizations centered on the Hwaŏm and Ch'ŏnt'ae schools and completed a system of four great religious organizations along with the Pŏpsang 法相宗 and Sŏn 禪宗 schools.

Ŭich'ŏn critically confronted the existing condition of Buddhism in the early Koryŏ period in which the natural distinctive features of the Sŏn and doctrinal schools were being lost. He emphasized universally the practicality of visualization practices and the study of doctrinal learning centered on the Hwaŏm and Ch'ŏnt'ae systems. On this kind of basis, he evaluated the universal meaning in relation to the scriptures and edited and published a comprehensive doctrinal canon of commentarial works and research on all the scriptures and left a conspicuous and striking mark in the history of Korean Buddhism. The doctrinal canon published by Ŭich'ŏn was transmitted to Japan, where it was put to great use. By means of the lively interchange between Koryŏ Korea and Song China as well as the Khitans and Japan through Buddhist canonical literature, there is significance to Ŭich'ŏn's activities in that he promoted international cultural interchange. The limitation of his actively not including the works of the Chan/Sŏn/Zen school is made up for in his campaign to found the Ch'ŏnt'ae school and reform the Sŏn school. The functioning of the religious organizations centered on the Hwaŏm and Ch'ŏnt'ae schools and Pŏpsang and Sŏn schools that started as a result of Ŭich'ŏn's activities was the appearance of the traditions that characterize the Buddhism of the early Koryŏ period.

Scholars think that the *Taegak kuksa munjip*, which collects Ŭich'ŏn's writings, is twenty rolls altogether.[5] A complete published edition has not been preserved. One portion remains of the woodblocks of the monastery

---

5 The text of the inscription of the stele at Yŏngt'ong Monastery (*Yŏngt'ongsa pimun* 靈通寺碑文) reports that Ŭich'ŏn's collected works were written in twenty rolls. However, the extant woodblock edition reports that the last roll was roll twenty-three and that there were twenty-three rolls in all. However, rolls twenty-one and twenty-two are completely missing, and the few fragments of roll twenty-three of the *Taegak kuksa munjip* corresponds to material found in *Taegak kuksa oejip*, roll four, pt. 3, "Letter to the Śramaṇa Xizhong of the Great Song empire, no. 5" (*Tae Song samun Hŭijung sŏ cheo* 大宋沙門希仲書 第五). The original *Collected Works* was probably published in twenty rolls. In the late Koryŏ period, when the *Collected Works* and the *Addendum* were published together, one part of the *Addendum* was probably attached to the end of the *Collected Works*, accounting for the edition in twenty-three rolls. Accordingly, there is a great possibility that the original *Collected Works* was in twenty rolls.

edition (*saganbon* 寺刊本), which was published at Haein Monastery, and what remains at present are 137 pages of material. Roll nineteen remains in full; rolls twenty-one and twenty-two are completely lost. The remaining rolls are all partially extant. This is what was described by Hyegwan 慧觀, the abbot of Pŏpsŏng Monastery 法性寺.[6]

Roll one includes prefaces (*sŏ* 序); rolls two and three are irregular metrical compositions (*sa* 辭); rolls five, six, seven, and eight are memorials (*p'yo* 表); rolls nine, ten, eleven, twelve, and thirteen are accounts (*chang* 狀); rolls fourteen and fifteen are explanatory orations (*somun* 疏文); roll sixteen is orations (*mun* 文); rolls seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, and twenty are lyric poems (*si* 詩). Because rolls twenty-one and twenty-two are completely lost their contents are unknown; and with respect to roll twenty-three, only the last four lines remain. However, these lines are in agreement with the contents of the "Letter to the Śramaṇa Xizhong of the Great Song empire, no. 5" (*Tae Song samun Hŭijung sŏ cheo* 大宋沙門希仲書 第五) found in roll four of the *Taegak kuksa oejip* 大覺國師外集 (Addendum to the Collected Works of State Preceptor Taegak).

The *Taegak kuksa oejip,* which is a collection of the letters written to State Preceptor Taegak, was, like the *Taegak kuksa munjip,* published at Haein Monastery.[7] This also does not remain in its entirety. All that remains is 101 pages in thirteen rolls. Rolls one through eight are records of the letters between the Song emperor and Ŭich'ŏn and the monks he associated with aside from eulogies (*chinch'an* 眞讚) written by Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1105–1122) himself; roll nine is records of events and affairs (*ki* 記); rolls ten and eleven are lyric poems; and rolls twelve and thirteen are the stele inscriptions at Yŏngt'ong Monastery and Sŏnbong Monastery respectively.

---

6 At the end of the entries found in *Taegak kuksa munjip* 8 (pt. 11), 12 (pt. 16), 16 (pt. 19) is recorded the phrase "Written by Hyegwan, minister and śramaṇa bestowed with purple robes, abbot of Pŏpsŏng Monastery" (Pŏpsŏngsa chuji saja samun sin Hyegwan sŏ 法性寺住持 賜紫沙門 臣 慧觀 書).

7 Just as in the *Taegak kuksa munjip*, the same record about Hyegwan appears in the *Taegak kuksa oejip* 4 (pt. 8), 9 (pt. 6).

For this book we have selected and translated the most important parts from among the whole twenty rolls of material from the prefaces in the first roll to the poems in the twentieth roll of the *Taegak kuksa munjip*. In particular, because we have for the most part chosen materials for inclusion that allow us to observe Ŭich'ŏn's activities in the Buddhist world of the Koryŏ period, as well as Ŭich'ŏn's Buddhist thought, his compilation of East Asian exegetical works, and related writings and many of his written responses to patronage by the royal family of Koryŏ have been excluded.

The primary text upon which this translation is based is found in the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛敎全書 (Complete Works of Korean Buddhism) 4:528a1–567a2. Although many logographs that are unidentified are marked with the symbol [ ], the edited and corrected edition published by Konkuk University Press introduces logographs that have been identified in the woodblock edition by the editors in the process of correcting the text. Also, in contrast to the original text of the woodblock edition we have corrected the logographs and have placed notes indicating these kinds of changes. We have also transcribed with notes the citation to the location of each individual composition culled from the original text in the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛敎全書 (Collected Works of Korean Buddhism).

Selected Bibliography

Chang Kyehwan 장계환. "Ŭich'ŏn ŭi Hwaŏm sasang" 義天의 華嚴思想 [Ŭich'ŏn's Hwaŏm thought]. *Pojo sasang* 普照思想 11 (1998): 9–38.

Chi Ch'anggyu 池昌圭. "Taegak kuksa Ŭich'ŏn ŭi Ch'ŏnt'ae sasang" 大覺國師義天의 天台思想 [The Ch'ŏnt'ae thought of State Preceptor Taegak Ŭich'ŏn]. *Ch'ŏnt'aehak yŏn'gu* 天台學硏究 4 (2003): 207–235.

Cho Myŏnggi 趙明基. *Koryŏ Taegak Kuksa wa Ch'ŏnt'ae sasang* 高麗大覺國師와 天台思想 [State Preceptor Taegak of Koryŏ and Ch'ŏnt'ae thought]. Seoul: Tongguk Munhwasa, 1964. Rpt. Seoul: Kyŏngsŏwŏn, 1982.

Ch'oe Yŏnsik 최연식. "Taegak kuksa pi ŭi kŏllip kwajŏng e taehan saeroun

koch'al" 大覺國師碑의 建立過程에 대한 새로운 고찰 [A new study of the process for erecting the Stele Commemorating State Preceptor Taegak]. *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 韓國史研究 83 (1993): 37–55.

Choi Byŏng-hŏn (Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn) 崔柄憲. "Daikaku kokushi Giten no Tendaishū sōritsu to Bukkyōkai no kaihen" 大覚国師 義天天台宗創立と仏教界の改編 [The founding of the Ch'ŏnt'ae school by State Preceptor Taegak Ŭich'ŏn and the reformation of the Buddhist world]. Trans. Hiraki Makoto 平木實. *Chōsen gakuhō* 朝鮮学報 118 (January 1986): 55–64.

———. "The Founding of the Ch'ŏnt'ae School and the Reformation of Buddhism in 12th Century Korea." In *Religions in Traditional Korea,* ed. Henrik H. Sørensen, 57–69. Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, University of Copenhagen, 1995.

———. "Taegak kuksa Ŭich'ŏn ŭi Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu: Kyunyŏ ŭi Hwaŏm sasang kwaŭi pigyo rŭl chungsim ŭro" 大覺國師 義天의 華嚴思想 研究: 均如의 華嚴思想과의 比較를 中心으로 [Research on the Hwaŏm thought of State Preceptor Taegak Ŭich'ŏn: Centered on a comparison with the Hwaŏm thought of Kyunyŏ]. *Han'guk sahak* 韓國史學 11 (1990): 135–164.

———. "Taegak kuksa Ŭich'ŏn ŭi Pulgyosajŏk wich'i" 大覺國師 義天의 佛教史的 位置 [The position of State Preceptor Taegak Ŭich'ŏn in Buddhist history]. *Ch'ŏnt'aehak yŏn'gu* 天台學研究 4 (2003): 155–178.

———. "Taegak kuksa Ŭich'ŏn ŭi to Song hwaltong kwa Koryo·Song ŭi Pulgyo kyoryu" 大覺國師 義天의 渡宋活動과 高麗·宋의 佛教交流 [State Preceptor Taegak Ŭich'ŏn's activites overseas in Song China and Buddhist interchange between Koryŏ and Song]. *Chindan hakpo* 震檀學報 71–72 (1991): 359–372.

———. "Taegaku kuksa Ŭich'ŏn ŭi Ch'ŏnt'aejong ch'angnip kwa Song ŭi Ch'ŏnt'aejong" 大覺國師 義天의 天台宗 創立과 宋의 天台宗 [The establishment of the Ch'ŏnt'ae school by State Preceptor Taegak Ŭich'ŏn and the Tiantai school of Song China]. *Inmun nonch'ong* 人文論叢 47 (2002): 29–57.

Kang Sŏkkŭm 姜錫瑾. "Taegak kuksa Ŭich'ŏn ŭi simunhak" 大覺國師 義天의

詩文學 [The poetry and prose of Ŭich'ŏn, State Preceptor Taegak]. *Kukche ŏnŏ munhak* 國際言語文學 16 (2007): 157–171.

Kim Doo Jin (Kim Tujin) 金杜珍. "Ŭich'ŏn ŭi Ch'ŏnt'aejong kwa Song·Koryŏ Pulgyogye waŭi kwan'gye" 義天의 天台宗과 宋·高麗 불교계와의 관계 [Ŭich'ŏn's Ch'ŏnt'ae school and the relationship between the Buddhist worlds of Song and Koryŏ]. *Inha sahak* 仁荷史學 10 (2003): 173–211.

Ōya Tokujō 大屋德城. *Kōrai zokuzō chōzō kō: narabi ni Giten no shisō oyobi hensan jigyō ni kansuru kenkyū* 高麗續藏雕造攷: 並に義天の思想及び編纂事業に關する研究 [A study of the making of the supplement to the Koryŏ canon: In addition, research on Ŭich'ŏn's thought and the work of editing]. Kyōto: Benridō, 1937.

Pak Yongjin 朴鎔辰. "Taegak kuksa Ŭich'ŏn yŏn'gu" 大覺國師 義天 硏究 [Research on Ŭich'ŏn, State Preceptor Taegak]. Ph.D. diss., Kungmin Taehakkyo (Kookmin University), 2004.

———. *Ŭich'ŏn: kŭ ŭi saengae wa sasang* 義天: 그의 생애와 사상 [Ŭich'ŏn: His life and thought]. Seoul: Hyean, 2011.

Park Sangguk 박상국. "Ŭich'ŏn ŭi kyojang: kyojang ch'ongnok ŭi p'yŏnch'an kwa kyojang kanhaeng e taehan chaegoch'al" 義天의 教藏: 教藏總錄의 編纂과 教藏刊行에 대한 再考察 [Ŭich'ŏn's doctrinal canon: A reconsideration of the compilation of the comprehensive catalog and publication of the doctrinal canon]. *Pojo sasang* 普照思想 11 (1998): 75–96.

Ŭich'ŏn 義天. *Taegak kuksa munjip* 大覺國師文集. Seoul: Kŏn'guk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu [Konkuk University Press], 1974.

———. *Kugyŏk Taegak Kuksa munjip* 國譯大覺國師文集. Trans. Sim Chaeyŏl 沈載烈. Kugyŏk ch'ongsŏ 國譯叢書, 89–1. Kyŏnggi-do Sŏngnam-si: Han'guk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn [Academy of Korean Studies], 1989.

Yi Man 李萬. "Taegak kuksa Ŭich'ŏn ŭi yusikkwan" 大覺國師 義天의 唯識觀 [State Preceptor Taegak Ŭich'ŏn's view of consciousness-only]. *Pulgyo hakkyo* 佛教學報 21 (1984): 175–188.

Yi Pyŏnghŭi 李炳熙. "Taegak kuksa Ŭich'ŏn ŭi sujŏn ron" 大覺國師 義天의 鑄錢論 [State Preceptor Taegak Ŭich'ŏn's treatise on casting coins]. *Ch'ŏnt'aehak yŏn'gu* 天台學硏究 4 (2003): 181–204.

Yi Yŏngja 李永子. "Ŭich'ŏn ŭi Ch'ŏnt'ae hoet'ong sasang" 義天의 天台會通思想 [Ŭich'ŏn's thought on Ch'ŏnt'ae-style thorough understanding]. *Pulgyo hakkyo* 佛教學報 15 (1978): 219–233.

———. "Ŭich'ŏn ŭi Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok ŭi tokchasŏng" 義天의 新編諸宗教藏總錄의 獨自性 [The originality of Ŭich'ŏn's new catalog of the teachings of all the schools]. *Pulgyo hakkyo* 佛教學報 19 (1982): 179–200.

1. Preface to the Newly Compiled *Literature of the Perfect Tradition*[8] (*Sinjip wŏnjong mullyu sŏ* 新集圓宗文類序)[9]

The teachings of the Great Hwaŏm tradition fully and magnificently manifest the subtle principle of the dharma realm of complete truth[10] in the sūtras. They clarify the origin of the mind of the Buddha Vairocana[11] and display

8 *Literature of the Perfect Tradition* (*Wŏnjong mullyu* 圓宗文類) is a book composed of selections and excerpts of the core teachings and intellectual and exegetical writings of the Huayan/Hwaŏm school or "perfect tradition." Although originally published in twenty-two rolls, only the contents of three rolls—rolls one, fourteen, and twenty-two—have been preserved. Roll one preserves several writings under the topic "revealing the essential point" (*palche* 發題), twenty-one sections (*p'yŏn* 篇) in all; roll fourteen records several writings under the topic "levels of practice" (*haengwi* 行位), twenty-one sections in all; and roll twenty-two records several writings classified as "eulogies and songs" (*ch'ansong* 贊頌), fifty sections in all. Many rare and important writings of the Hwaŏm tradition that would otherwise have been lost, such as Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's 崔致遠 (857–d. after 908) "Vow Text Composed for the Commemoration of the Death Anniversaries of the Hwaŏm Patriarchs of Korea" (*Haedong Hwaŏmch'o kisin wŏnmun* 海東華嚴初忌辰願文), are found in these few extant chapters.

9 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 1, HPC 4.528a8–23.

10 The dharma realm of complete truth (*ilchin pŏpkye*, Ch. *yizhen fajie* 一眞法界) is the one true and incomprehensible world system deriving from the universal dharma body of all the buddhas; it is neither produced nor destroyed, neither empty nor non-empty, transcends names and forms, possesses neither interior nor exterior. See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 3, T 1735.35.522c7.

11 Vairocana (here Pyŏnjo, Ch. Bianzhao 遍照) is the Buddha who preached the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. In the old translation, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls, Vairocana's name is transcribed as

the ocean of the practices of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Truly they are the great fundamental basis of the spirits of living beings and the outstanding story that jibes with the original nature. Since its light shines from the dragon palace[12] and the *esprit de corps* of the tradition travels to the ages of the semblance and final dharma,[13] saints and worthies have continually appeared,

---

Lushana-fo 盧舍那佛 (Kor. Nosana-pul); in the new translation, the eighty-roll edition, his name is transcribed as Piluzhena 毘盧遮那 (Kor. Pirojana). According to the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, Vairocana cultivated all the meritorious virtues for countless numbers of kalpas, and when he achieved complete enlightenment he resided in the Lotus Storehouse World System (*yŏnhwajang segye*, Ch. *lianhuazang shijie* 蓮華藏世界) emitting great glory and radiance universally in all the world systems of the ten directions. The pores of his skin emit the shadows of transformation bodies of all the buddhas, and he produces an endless ocean of scriptures.

12 The dragon palace (*yonggung*, Ch. *longgong* 龍宮) is the residence of the dragon king (*yongwang* 龍王) or dragon spirit (*yongsin* 龍神). Located on the floor of the great ocean, the dragon palace was built by means of the dragon king's divine power. It is the place where the rolls of sūtras that are protected by the dragon king are preserved when the Buddhadharma is concealed from the present generation. In particular, in the Hwaŏm tradition, after the Buddha passed into nirvāṇa, the saints (bodhisattvas) hid the Mahāyāna teaching so it would not appear when followers of the Hīnayāna contended against it. When the capacity of the followers of the Mahāyāna was such that they found it difficult to comprehend the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, it was preserved for six hundred years in the dragon palace of the dragon of the ocean (*haeryong* 海龍) and was not transmitted in the world until the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna (Yongsu, Ch. Longshu 龍樹, ca. 50–150 C.E.) entered the dragon palace, found the text and memorized it, and spread it widely throughout the world. See *Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記 1, T 2073.51.153b19–23.

13 The semblance and final dharma (*sanggye*, Ch, *xiangji* 像季) refer to the periodization developed to describe changes in the Buddhadharma in the periods of time after the quiescence of the Buddha. These periods were differentiated into a three-era scheme of the age of the true dharma (*chŏngbŏp sidae*, Ch. *zhengfa shidai* 正法時代; Skt. *saddharma*), the age of the semblance dharma (*sangbŏp*, Ch. *xiangfa* 像法), and the age of the final dharma (*malpŏp*, Ch. *mofa* 末法). The final dharma is also called the age of the decline of the dharma (*maltae* 末代, *malse* 末世). In this time the Buddhadharma declines. Although the teachings still remain, it is deprived of the practices that accompany the teachings and the realization of enlightenment (*chŭng* 證) that is associated with the fruits (*kwa* 果) acquired by means of the causes (*in* 因) of those practices. There are many theories associated with this threefold periodization. The most prevalent has been that the age of the true dharma lasted for the first five hundred years after Śākyamuni's parinirvāṇa, the period of the semblance dharma lasted for the next thousand years, and the age of the final dharma follows that for the next ten thousand years. See also Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991).

and their descriptive writings have been successively published.

Therefore, the Venerable Dushun,[14] patriarch of Mt. Zhongnan,[15] extolled [the Hwaŏm teaching], "O how great are the sūtras on the dharma realm.[16] If one is not a bodhisattva who has arrived at the tenth stage, how could

---

14 Dushun 杜順 (557–640) is the person venerated as the founding patriarch of the Huayan tradition in China. A native of Wannian 萬年 in Yongzhou 雍州 (the northern region of Lintong district 臨潼縣 in present-day Shaanxi Province 陝西省), his secular surname was Du 杜. He left home and became a monk at eighteen *sui*, and had the dharma name of Fashun 法順. He became a disciple of Sengjin 僧珍 (also called Daojin 道珍) of Yinsheng Monastery 因聖寺 and cultivated the skill of meditative trance (*chŏngŏp*, Ch. *dingye* 定業). After that he went to Qingzhou 慶州, where he encouraged people to hold *maigre* feast assemblies (*chaehoe*, Ch. *zhaihui* 齋會) and where it is said that a thousand people were satisfied with the food resources of five hundred people. Besides that, because many divine marvels are said to have attended Dushun, it is said that his natural disposition was sufficient and that he possessed the capacity to organize a religious fraternity. He was later said to have been a transformation body of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in the world, and he was also called the Reverend Dixin (Dixin zunzi 帝心尊子). His disciple Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668) was the systematizer of the doctrinal learning of the Huayan tradition. His *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門 [Approach to the Visualization of the Dharma Realm of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], in one roll, is generally seen as a true composition. There are many theories about his writings and the attribution of his being the first patriarch of the Huayan tradition.

15 Mt. Zhongnan 终南山 is about forty kilometers south of Xi'an 西安 (Chang'an 長安 during the Tang period) in China's Shanxi Province 陝西省. Rising to a height of 2,604 meters, the mountain is also called Nanshan 南山 (South Mountain). It lies in the midst of the Jinling mountain range to the southwest, and it includes Mt. Cuihua 翠華山, South Wutai 南五臺, Mt. Guifeng 圭峰山, and Lishan 驪山. The mountain served as an important center of Buddhist practice during the Tang period (618–907). It housed several important monasteries and was home to such intellectual luminaries as Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), Zhiyan, and Zongmi 宗密 (780–841). Although it was an important sacred space during the Sui (581–618) and Tang periods where the Vinaya, Huayan, Faxiang, Pure Land, and Chan traditions flourished, in the present only traces remain in many places of its former greatness.

16 Dharma realm (*pŏpkye*, Ch. *fajie* 法界; Skt. *dharma-dhātu*) is one of eighteen realms or world systems that comprise all things that are objects of consciousness. Because all dharmas, such as the eyes (*an* 眼) in the whole body, are fully endowed, it is said that each and every one is produced belonging to the same class. In the Hwaŏm tradition, the dharma realm has three meanings, which may be distinguished as follows: the source from which the hallowed dharma is produced, the true essence of all dharmas, and the classification of phenomena in which all dharmas are differentiated (*punje* 分齊) into each of their components. Although the dharma realm is differentiated in many ways, the whole is said, in the end, to be the consequence of the one true dharma realm (*ilchin pŏpkye*, Ch. *yizhen fajie* 一眞法界).

one be capable of spreading forth its writings and be able to see its dharma? I have established the approach to it in order to display it [universally]." Thereupon he wrote the *Approach to Visualization of the Dharma Realm*[17] and gave it to his eminent disciple the Venerable Zhiyan.[18] The Venerable Zhiyan received this teaching, further developed it, crafting the doctrine of the five teachings,[19] and elaborated on it, creating the doctrine of the ten

---

17 The *Approach to the Visualization of the Dharma Realm* (*Fajie guanmen* 法界觀門) is a book composed by Dushun, the patriarch of the Huayan tradition in China. The work is also called *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門 [Approach to the visualization of the dharma realm of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], in one roll. Although the book does not exist at present as an independent work, its title is reported and recorded in other works. For instance, it may be seen in such works as Fazang's *Fa puti xin zhang* 發菩提心章 [Composition on arousing the *bodhicitta*], Chengguan's *Fajie xuanjing* 法界玄鏡 [Mysterious mirror of the dharma realm], and Zongmi's *Zhu huayan fajie guanmen* 註華嚴法界觀門 [Annotation to the *Huayan fajie guanmen*]. The work is believed to describe (1) four approaches to the visualization of true emptiness (*zhenkong guan* 眞空觀), (2) ten approaches to the visualization of the unimpededness of principle and phenomena (*lishi wuai guan* 理事無礙觀), and (3) ten approaches to the visualization of universal containment (*zhoubian hanrong guan* 周遍含容觀).

18 Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668) is recognized as the second patriarch of the Huayan tradition in China. He is also known by the names Great Master Zhixiang 至相大師 and the Reverend Yunhua 雲華尊者. He was a disciple of the Huayan founding patriarch Dushun's 杜順 (557–640) disciple Dharma Master Da 達法師, and he was the master teacher of Ŭisang and Fazang 法藏 (Xianshou 賢首, 643–712). He also studied under the Sui and early Tang exegetes Fachang 法常 (567–645) and Zhizheng 智正. His extant works, including the *Souxuan ji* 搜玄記 [A commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls, T 1732, composed in 628], *Kongmu zhang* 孔目章 [Huayan miscellany, T 1870], and *Wushi yao wenta* 五十要問答 [Questions and answers regarding fifty-three specific doctrines, T 1869], established the foundation of Huayan thought in East Asia along with the works of Fazang. For the most comprehensive study of Zhiyan in a Western language see Robert M. Gimello, "Chih-yen (智儼, 602–668) and the Foundations of Hua-yen (華嚴) Buddhism" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1976).

19 The five teachings (*ogyo*, Ch. *wujiao* 五教) according to the Huayan tradition are (1) Hīnayāna (*sosŭng*, Ch. *xiaosheng* 小乘), (2) the initial teaching of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng sigyo*, Ch. *dasheng shijiao* 大乘始教), (3) the final teachings of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng chonggyo*, Ch. *dasheng zhongjiao* 大乘終教), (4) the sudden teaching (*ton'gyo*, Ch. *dunjiao* 頓教), and (5) the perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo*, Ch. *yuanjiao* 圓教). The initial teaching of the Mahāyāna refers to the doctrines of *śūnyatā* (emptiness), *prajñā* (wisdom), and *sandhīnirmocana* (freeing the underlying meaning) that all things in existence are produced by means of causal connections—in other words, the teachings and doctrinal positions of the sūtras and commentaries associated with the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra intellectual traditions. The final teachings of the Mahāyāna refer to the teachings of the conditioned arising of true thusness

mysteries.[20] The Great Master Xianshou[21] then came along and made futher

as described in the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* and the *Qixin lun* [Awakening of faith]. The sudden teaching refers to explications of truth being beyond words and the sudden attainment of enlightenment as described in such scriptures as the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* and so forth. The perfect teaching is the complete and perfect teaching of the one vehicle (*ilsŭng*, Ch. *yisheng* 一乘) as described in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and *Lotus Sūtra*.

20 The ten mysteries (*siphyŏn*, Ch. *shixuan* 十玄) refer to the approaches to the ten mysteries (*siphyŏn mun* 十玄門) and the conditioned arising of the ten mysteries (*siphyŏn yŏn'gi* 十玄緣起). The ten mysteries, along with the theory of the six characteristics (*yuksang sŏl* 六相說), comprise the fundamental doctrinal theories of the Hwaŏm tradition. All phenomenal existence, such as material objects, abstract or metaphysical concepts, and so forth, are perfect in and of themselves, they are free, and they are completely unimpeded by anything that exists or the whole world system. Although there are several theories on the composition of the ten, the most complete version of the ten approaches is that described in Fazang's *Tanxuan ji* 探玄記 [Record of exploring the mysteries of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]: (1) the approach in which all things are complete and mutually responsive at the same time; (2) the approach in which all things wide and narrow are self-existing and unimpeded, (3) the approach in which the one and the many are mutually contained but not the same; (4) the approach in which all segments of reality (dharmas) share mutual identity and are self-existing; (5) the approach in which the esoteric (hidden) and the exoteric (manifest) are complete; (6) the approach in which minutiae are mutually contained and peacefully installed; (7) the approach of the realm of Indra's net; (8) the approach in which dependent phenomena and manifest elements of reality (dharmas) give rise to understanding; (9) the approach in which the distant elements of reality in the ten realms are different and complete; and (10) the approach in which host and guest are perfectly bright and full of virtue. These ten approaches are several sections of the same conditioned arising, and each is said to be endowed with the ten meanings (*sibŭi*, Ch. *shiyi* 十義): (1) doctrinal teachings and meaning (*kyoŭi* 敎義), (2) principle and phenomena (*isa* 理事), (3) objects and knowledge (*kyŏngji* 境智), (4) practices and positions (*haengwi* 行位), (5) causes and results (*in'gwa* 因果), (6) dependent and primary (*ŭijŏng* 依正), (7) essence and function (*ch'eyong* 體用), (8) humans and dharmas (*inbŏp* 人法), (9) violation and obedience (*yŏksun* 逆順), and (10) resonance and response (*kamŭng* 感應).

21 Great Master Xianshou 賢首大師 refers to Fazang 法藏 (643–712), the third patriarch of the Huayan tradition and one of the most important promoters of Huayan doctrine and thought. His pen name (*hao*) was Dharma Master Guoyi 國一法師, or Great Master Xiangxiang 香象大師, as well as State Preceptor Kangzang 康藏國師. Because Fazang's ancestors hailed from Sogdiana, his surname was Kang 康氏. His grandfather immigrated to China and settled in Chang'an. When he was young he petitioned Zhiyan to be his teacher and studied Huayan. After Zhiyan's passing he left home and officially became a monk under Bochen 薄塵 when he was twenty-eight years old. Because he was skilled in several languages of Central Asia and Sanskrit, by imperial command he was part of the eminent monk Yijing's 義淨 (635–713) translation team, which executed the translations of

detailed elaborations following the example of his intellectual forebears. Since Great Master Qingliang[22] later made further clarifications following

more than ten sūtras including the eighty-roll edition of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (T 672). In the latter years of the reign of Empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–705), he achieved a grand synthesis of Huayan thought. To explain the origination of the ten mysteries (*shixuan yuanqi*, Kor. *siphyŏn yŏn'gi* 十玄緣起), the quintessence of the Huayan teaching, he composed the famous "Essay on the Golden Lion" (*Jinshizi zhang* 金獅子章), which compares the ultimate Huayan ideals to the golden lions of the palace. He wrote more than thirty treatises and commentaries on Huayan-related topics and other commentaries on sūtras as a result of his long career of lecturing. Many of his seminal works on Huayan remain. Beginning with the *Tanxuan ji* 探玄記 [Record of exploring the mysteries of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], the *Jiaofen ji* 教分記 [Record of doctrinal classification], *Qixin lun shu* 起信論疏 [Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*], *Wangjin huanyuan guan* 妄盡還源觀 [Observations on exhausting delusion and returning to the source], *Fanwang jing pusa jieben shu* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏 [Commentary on the bodhisattva precepts of the *Fanwang jing*], and the *Huayan jing chuanji* 華嚴經傳記 [Traditions of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*] established the doctrines and traditions of the Huayan tradition. Among his many disciples were the monks Hongguan 宏觀, Wenchao 文超, Zhiguang 智光, Zongyi 宗一, and Huiyuan 慧苑.

22 Great Master Qingliang 清凉大師 refers to Chengguan 澄觀 (ca. 720/38–837/8), the fourth patriarch of the Huayan tradition. Hailing from Shanyin 山陰 in Yuezhou 越州, his surname was Xiahou 夏侯, his pseudonym was Daxiu 大休, and his pen name was State Preceptor Qingliang 清凉國師. He left home to become a monk under Chan Master Pei 霈禪師 at Baolin Monastery 寶林寺 when he was eleven *sui*. Not only did he become thoroughly conversant in Vinaya, Madhyamaka (Three Treatises, Sanlun 三論), the Awakening of Faith, Nirvāṇa, Huayan, Tiantai 天台, and Chan materials, but he also became well versed in Confucianism. He was particularly devoted to the Huayan learning of Fazang. He went on a pilgrimage to Mt. Wutai 五台山 and Mt. Emei 峨眉山 in 776 and practiced the Vaipulya Repentance Ritual (*fangdeng chanfa* 方等讖法) at Huayan Monastery 華嚴寺 on Mt. Wutai. He disseminated the writings of the Huayan tradition and made a name for himself. In 796, he went to Chang'an at the request of Emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805) and worked on the translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in forty rolls with the Trepitaka of Kashmir (Prajñā). He wrote a commentary on this new translation at Caotang Monastery 草堂寺 on Mt. Zhongnan. He received the pen name State Preceptor Qingliang, an allusion to the abode of Mañjuśrī, viz. Mt. Wutai, in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, from Dezong, and his successor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–820) also installed him as a state preceptor. He was not a direct disciple of Fazang, but he inherited and further developed the intellectual ideas and thought of Fazang. He perfected the theory of the four kinds of dharma realms, he responded to the sudden rise of the Chan tradition, and he attained greatness for the development of Huayan thought. His writings include works in more than thirty classes, such as the *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏 [Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], in sixty rolls, *Suishu yanyi chao* 隨疏演義鈔, in ninety rolls, *Huayan jing gangyao* 華嚴經綱要 [Essentials of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], in three rolls,

the set pattern, I will say that from the first he did all things that he could do. Therefore, all those who expound upon the great scripture, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, take as their standard of measurement the commentaries of the three great masters Zhiyan, Fazang, and Qingliang, and they have assisted and been utilized by all the thinkers as a supplement to their works. It has been more than four hundred years since the Venerable Pusŏk,[23] from our country of Haedong 海東 [Korea] took the initiative among all the traditions to disseminate the teaching of the perfect and sudden doctrine[24] after having searched for the dharma in China.[25]

Wuyun guan 五蘊觀 [Observations on the five aggregates], *Sansheng yuanrong guanmen* 三聖圓融觀門 [Approach to observing the complete interfusion of the three saints], and so forth. He had more than one hundred disciples including Sengrui 僧叡, Fayin 法印, and Jiguang 寂光.

23 The Venerable Pusŏk 浮石 refers to Ŭisang 義湘 (625–702), the recognized patriarch of Silla's Hwaŏm tradition. After leaving home and becoming a monk at Hwangbok Monastery 皇福寺, he went to Tang China and studied Huayan thought under Zhiyan智儼 (602–668). He composed the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 一乘法界圖 [Seal-diagram symbolizing the dharma realm of the one vehicle], which establishes the origins of the dharma realm and the mutual identity of the one and the many. Upon returning from China he established several monasteries beginning with Pusŏk Monastery 浮石寺, studied and made seminal progress in Hwaŏm thought along with his many disciples, and spread the Hwaŏm tradition throughout Silla. The cults of Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha flourished in the religious brotherhood he founded. His disciples multiplied and founded ten great Hwaŏm monasteries in Silla. The Hwaŏm tradition was the most powerful and influential Buddhist tradition in Silla's Buddhist world, and it continued in this position long thereafter. Aside from the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* Ŭisang composed the *Amit'a-gyŏng ŭi ki* 阿彌陀經義記 [Record on the meaning of the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*] and the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun* 白花道場發願文 [Vow made at white flower enlightenment site]. Although Ŭisang composed few commentarial and literary works, those that exist are well known. Among his most famous disciples are Chit'ong 智通, Chinjŏng 眞定, Tosin 道身, and P'yohun 表訓. For more on Ŭisang see Richard D. McBride II, *Domesticating the Dharma: Buddhist Cults and the Hwaŏm Synthesis in Silla Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

24 The perfect and sudden doctrine (*wŏndon*, Ch. *yuandun* 圓頓) is a contraction of "complete and full, sudden and sufficient" (*wŏnman tunjok*, Ch. *yuanman donzu* 圓滿頓足) and refers to being endowed with all things perfectly without any deficiencies and to the attainment of enlightenment all at once. Each of the intellectual traditions describes its own teachings and practices as comprising the perfect and sudden doctrine.

25 From the time that Ŭisang returned from China and was active in Silla in the 670s until Ŭich'ŏn was active in Koryŏ in 1070s is four hundred years.

In the almost two hundred years since our country unified the Three Han,[26] it has glorified and popularized the Three Jewels, led and drawn in deluded living beings, and cordially provided the causal conditions of external protection for several generations. Since it accords with our present ruler and assists in the transformative teaching of restoration, continually being able to make requests truly resides in the brightness of the country. Every year in the spring and fall one hundred dharma masters are invited to the Hall of Assemblies and Celebrations[27] in the royal palace for the inauguration of enlightenment-site Buddhist festivities such as the Assembly for Observing the Buddhist Canon.[28] Furthermore, once every three years the Convocation for the Recitation of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra for Humane Kings* by One Hundred Eminent Monks[29] is convened, and there is a regular ceremony for

---

26 The "unification of the Three Han" (*il t'ong samhan* 一統三韓) may be used in two senses in Korean history. The first refers to the country of Silla's unification of Paekche and Koguryŏ by conquest between the years 660 and 668 ending in the Three Kingdoms (*samguk* 三國) period. The Three Han, in a sense, can be considered as forerunners to the Three Kingdoms, although the Three Han—Mahan, Chinhan, and Pyŏnhan—more accurately refer to the tribal peoples that developed into the states Paekche, Silla, and Kaya. With respect to the second, when the state of Silla declined at the end of the ninth century, the kingdoms of Later Paekche and Later Koguryŏ (Koryŏ) once again emerged so that scholars refer to this period as the Later Three Kingdoms period. As the Three Han conceptually stand in for the Three Kingdoms and represent the Korean people, Koryŏ's reunification of the Three Han and their accepting remnant peoples of Parhae may be emphasized as a true unification of the Korean people. Ŭich'ŏn uses the expression here in the second sense.

27 The Hall of Assemblies and Celebrations (Hoegyŏngjŏn 會慶殿) was one of the principal halls (*chŏngjŏn* 正殿) in the royal palace of the Koryŏ dynasty on Mt. Songak 松嶽山 in present-day Kaesŏng 開城, in Kyŏnggi Province 京畿道.

28 Assembly for Observing the Buddhist Canon (*kan taejanggyŏng hoe* 看大藏經會) refers to a dharma assembly in which sūtras in the Buddhist canon are read aloud and lectured upon.

29 Convocation for the Recitation of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra for Humane Kings* by One Hundred Eminent Monks (*paekkojwa taehoe* 百高座大會) is a ritual observance in which one hundred eminent monks are invited to lecture on the *Renwang huguo bore boluomiduo jing* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經 [Perfection of wisdom sūtra for humane kings to protect their states] and supplicate for great peace in the country and the peace and prosperity of the people. When states are in the grip of chaos and rebellion, or when they are invaded by marauders, or when there is disaster, this sūtra describes how kings are to decorate an enlightenment site (*toryang*, Ch. *daochang* 道場; Skt. *bodhimaṇḍa*): enshrine

dispensing offerings to thirty thousand, the ritual for providing a vegetarian feast to the saṃgha.[30] Therefore, those learning the meaning of all the schools have not yet begun to not regard discussion and debate as permissive. Only the profundities and subtleties of the extreme principle, because the throng of claims are dizzying when asking questions and giving answers and even guiding and citing, are not a little difficult. Moreover, arriving in recent times, the fellows who like the strange things of our tradition have eschewed the fundamentals and seek after nonessential tenets; speculation is rampant, and eventually that which stifled and were incomprehensible to the mysterious meaning of the patriarchs were seven or eight of ten. How can those who are thoroughly familiar with doctrinal learning and visualization techniques[31] not consider this to be big trouble? Knowing these facts, His Majesty

---

one hundred images of buddhas and bodhisattvas; invite one hundred dharma masters; make offerings of lamps and incense, robes and food, weaving threads, and so forth; and have this sūtra read aloud and lectured on every day. If the king of state, the great ministers, and the four great assemblies of the saṃgha (monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen) all chant the sūtra and observe the Buddha's teachings, calamities and all other evils facing the country will be averted. During the Koryŏ period, Buddhist rituals were for the most part held in the Hall of Assemblies and Celebrations and other royal halls. At times when the event was inaugurated, from ten thousand to thirty thousand monks were served food at a saṃgha feeding ritual (*pansŭng* 飯僧). Aside from the royal palace, during the Koryŏ period this ritual was also held a few times at Pŏbwang Monastery 法王寺 and Kaeguk Monastery 開國寺.

30 The ritual for providing a vegetarian feast to the saṃgha (*chaesŭng* 齋僧) is the same as the saṃgha feeding ritual (*pansŭng* 飯僧). This is the ritual observance, in which offerings are presented to the monks of the saṃgha and is the one that opens most Buddhist festivities. Whenever state-sponsored Buddhist rituals were held in the Koryŏ period, the saṃgha feeding ritual was held for as many as ten thousand, thirty thousand, or even fifty thousand monks.

31 Doctrinal learning and visualization techniques (*kyogwan* 教觀), an abbreviation of *kyohak* 教學 and *kwanbŏp* 觀法, are distinct features of Ŭich'ŏn's thought. In "Instruction to the New Disciple Ch'isu" (Si sinch'am hakto Ch'isu 示新參學徒緇秀), recorded in the roll ten of his *Collected Works*, Ŭich'ŏn stressed that his disciple must learn the three visualizations (*samgwan*) and five teachings (*ogyo*). The three visualizations refer to putting into practice the visualization techniques associated with the visualization of true emptiness, the visualization of the unimpededness of principle and phenomena, and the visualization of universal containment. The five teachings refer to the doctrinal learning of Hīnayāna, the initial teaching of the Mahāyāna, the final teaching of the Mahāyāna, the sudden teaching, and the perfect teaching.

gathered together those who have learned the meaning to discuss, edit, and summarize many writings, and they produced this survey. Accordingly, the writings have been collected in various categories and separated into twenty-two rolls. Because it will be given to new students it will be a work worthy of merit. Truly, as a consequence of its being a summary, one may become thoroughly conversant in these exegetical excerpts and attain knowledge of the meaning of the sūtras. As a consequence of the meaning of the sūtras, if they give evidence that they have awakened to the nature of the true principle, what is explained in detail and what is summarized only resides in my numinous awakening. Those who know the profundities of the Buddha by means of their penetrating discernment straightly thankfully consider the grace of thee, Our Majesty, and hold dear the virtue of the buddhas and the patriarchs. We have informed thee of this work Your Highness; in particular you have bestowed the name *Literature of the Perfect Tradition*; and accordingly you have commanded me, who possesses insignificant talent, to compose the preface. Although I, your servant, firmly declined, having not yet acquired the ultimate meaning [enlightenment], for the time being I will narrate the ends and bounds and I respectfully submit this as my preface.

新集圓宗文類序

大華嚴之爲教也, 一眞妙蘊, 滿藏雄詮, 窮遍照之心源, 罄普賢之行海, 誠生靈之大本, 稱性之極談者歟. 自景煥龍宮, 風行像季, 聖賢繼踵, 述作連鑣. 有終南祖師杜順尊者, 歎曰 "大哉, 法界之經也. 自非登地, 何能披其文, 見其法哉? 吾設其門以示之." 於是著法界觀門, 以授高弟智儼尊者. 儼師得之, 變之爲五教, 演之爲十玄. 及乎賢首祖述於前, 清凉憲章於後, 始可謂能事畢矣. 故講大經者, 咸以儼藏清凉三家義疏, 永爲標準, 而旁用諸家補焉. 自我海東浮石尊者求法之後, 圓頓之教, 主盟諸宗者, 四百餘年矣. 我國家一統三韓, 僅二百載, 光揚三寶, 誘[32]掖群迷, 累朝敦外護之緣, 當世恊中興之化, 緬承付囑, 寔在休明. 每年春秋, 於大內會慶殿, 請百法師, 開設看大藏經會等道場佛事. 又三年一度, 置仁王般若百座大會, 齋僧三萬人, 以爲恒式. 而諸宗義學, 未始不以論議爲先容也. 但以至理幽微, 群言汗漫, 問答之際, 援引頗難. 況近世吾宗好異之輩, 棄本逐

32 Reading *yu* 誘 for *pang* 謗.

末, 臆說紛然, 遂令祖師玄旨, 壅而難通者, 十七八焉. 精於敎觀者, 豈不爲之大息矣? □□□王上知其然, 乃集義學, 俾議纂修, 略彼廣文, 爲玆要覽. 以類鳩集, 離爲二十二卷, 施於新學, 可以者功. 苟或因要略, 以通疏鈔, 以得經旨, 因經旨以證理性, 則孰爲廣乎, 孰爲略乎, 在吾靈覺耳. 達識深於佛者, 方感吾君之恩, 而戴佛祖之德也. □□奏上, 特賜名曰圓宗文類, 仍命下才, 爲之序引. 臣牢讓未獲, 聊述端倪, 謹序.

2. Preface to a New Catalog of the Teachings of All the Schools[33] (*Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok sŏ* 新編諸宗教藏總錄序).[34]

Since the Yongping reign period [58–75 c.e.][35] of the Han dynasty, palm-leaf

---

33 The *New Catalog of the Teachings of All the Schools* (*Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄, T 2184) is the first catalog of essays and commentaries written specifically by East Asian Buddhist exegetes. It lists the commentaries and writings aside from the standard tripiṭaka (sūtras, vinaya, and abhidharma). Ŭich'ŏn collected the writings remaining in Koryŏ along with those of Song and Liao China, Japan, and so forth. In the preface, Ŭich'ŏn stresses that although the sūtras and Indian treatises may be found in the canon, without the East Asian essays and commentaries there would be no way to spread the Dharma widely throughout the world. He clearly describes how he collected and searched for the works contained in this "canon of the doctrinal teachings" (*kyojang* 教藏) for twenty years, made this catalog, and had the entire canon published. The catalog comprises three rolls. Roll one lists commentaries on sūtras (*kyŏngso* 經疏), 561 titles in 2,586 rolls; roll two lists commentaries on the vinaya (*yulso* 律疏), 142 titles in 467 rolls; and roll three lists commentaries on treatises (*nonso* 論疏), 307 titles in 1,687 rolls, for a total of 1,010 titles in 4,740 rolls. (Other readings of the catalog count 4,822 rolls.) Roll three also catalogs works such as the *Xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 續開元釋教錄 [Continuation of the catalog on Śākyamuni's teaching compiled during the Kaiyuan reign period], *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 [A grove of pearls in the garden of the dharma], *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 [Phonology and meaning of [the logographs of] all the sūtras], *Xu yiqiejing yinyi* 續一切經音義 [Continuation of the *Yiqiejing yinyi*], *Da Song gaoseng zhuan* 大宋高僧傳 [Lives of eminent monks compiled during the Great Song], *Senshi lüe* 僧史略 [Outline of monastic history], and other works that do not fit well under the other categories. Ŭich'ŏn published the works on which this catalog was based primarily at Hŭngwang Monastery 興王寺.

34 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 1, HPC 4.528c1–529a6.

35 With respect to the Yongping 永平 reign period, although there are many theories on when Buddhism was first transmitted to China, the most popular has always been the opinion that the transmission first took place in the tenth year of the Yongping reign period (67 c.e.) of Emperor Ming

documents[36] from India have continued to arrive in East Asia. With respect to the circulation of the translations of these writings, there has been no time when such activities have not taken place. In the Zhenguan reign period [627–649][37] of the Tang dynasty, great collections of the scriptures and treatises were prepared. From this time the teachings of the Western Saint[38] have flourished, and nothing can deter them.

明帝 of the Later Han dynasty 後漢 (25–220). Three years prior to this time (65), the emperor dreamt that he saw a lightly levitating golden personage that emitted light. When he asked his advisors what it meant, they replied that during the reign of King Zhao 昭王 (r. 1052–1002 B.C.E.) of the Zhou 周 dynasty, a sage had been born in the western regions. He then sent Cai Yin 蔡愔 and Qin Jing 秦景 to the western regions in search of the Way of Buddhism. In this year, 68 C.E., Cai Yin and his band met Kāśyapa-mātaṇga (Jiayemoteng 迦葉摩騰) and Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 in the country of the Great Yuezhi 大月氏 (Kuṣaṇa kingdom) and returned to Luoyang with Buddhist images and sūtras. The two men were housed in the Court for Dependencies (Honglusi 鴻臚寺) until the next year, when the White Horse Monastery (Baimasi 白馬寺) was built. The first monastery was given that name because, according to tradition, a white horse carried the sūtras and images back to Luoyang.

36 Palm-leaf documents (*yŏpsŏ*, Ch. *yeshu* 葉書) refer to the fact that in India, in the time before the introduction of paper, books including sutras were written on palm leaves (*p'aeyŏp* 貝葉; Skt. *pattra*). Dry leaves were cut so that they were two inches in width and from one foot to two feet in length. Writing was inscribed by means of an awl, and then ink was applied with a brush. After the texts were written, several pages would be bound together with string so that preservation would be more convenient. Traditions of Southern Buddhism (such as in Sri Lanka and Thailand) still use this technology.

37 The Zhengguan 貞觀 reign period of Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 627–649) corresponds to the forty-ninth year of the reign of Silla king Chinp'yŏng 眞平 and the third year of Queen Chindŏk 眞德.

38 The Western Saint (*sŏsŏng* 西聖) is a Chinese epithet for the Buddha Śākyamuni. Because the Chinese considered China to be the "Middle Kingdom" or the land in the center of the world and the Buddha was considered to come from the western regions, in China and in East Asian materials the Buddha is said to be the saint or the sage from the western regions. For a similar example of this type see *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記 54, T 2035.49.470a10–13.

From Nie Daozhen[39] and Daoan[40] to Mingquan[41] and the Vinaya Master

39 Nie Daozhen 聶道眞 (fl. 307–312) was a translator of Buddhist sūtras during the Western Jin period. He was the son of Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠. From an early age he studied following his father and became thoroughly conversant in both Chinese and non-Chinese literature, became proficient in Sanskrit, and composed writings. Some are of the opinion that he was better than his father. At first he participated in the translation center of Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (Dharmarakṣa) following his father, and then he was entrusted with the duties of translator scribe (*p'ilsu*, Ch. *bishou* 筆受). When Zhu Fahu took refuge in the western regions, Nie Daozhen followed him and when Zhu Fahu passed away he continued the work of translating sūtras. In particular, he is said to have translated twenty-four chapters or thirty-eight rolls of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* translated in sixty rolls. Aside from that he translated dozens of other sūtras. He was also the reputed compiler of one of the earliest catalogs of Buddhist sūtras, the *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 [Catalog of all the scriptures], which was completed between 307 and 312. Although this catalog is no longer extant, excerpts are included in the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀; see *Lidai sanbao ji* 6, T 2034.49.66a. See discussion in Hayashiya Tomojirō 林屋友次郎, *Kyōroku kenkyū* 經錄研究 [Research on catalogs of sūtras] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1941), 285–304. I would like to thank Robert Buswell for information relevant to this citation, see Peter H. Lee, ed. *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization, Volume I: From Early Times to the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 686 n. 77.

40 Daoan 道安 (312–385) was a monk of the Eastern Jin period (317–420) who was one of the great intellectual synthesizers of Chinese Buddhism during the early period. A young man of surpassing intelligence, he left home to become a monk at twelve sui and studied the sūtras and treatises, where he showed his real talents and abilities. He became a disciple of the Central Asian monk Fotudeng 佛圖澄 (d. 348) and continued his studies in Madhyamaka. When the whole of northern China descended into chaos, he devoted himself to lecturing for a period of fifteen years in Xiangyang 襄陽 in Hubei 湖北. After Xiangyang fell to Fu Jian 符堅 (r. 357–384) of the Former Qin 前秦 dynasty, he was invited to the capital, Chang'an, where he was active for some time. Daoan encouraged Fu Jian to invite the Central Asian exegete Kumārajīva (343–413), a most important achievement. Daoan pointed out many of the deficiencies in the early translations of Buddhist sūtras into Chinese and made corrections. He edited the *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理衆經目錄, completed in 374. The catalog is no longer extant, but it is mentioned throughout the *Chu sanzang jiji* (T 2153). The text is treated in Hayashiya, *Kyōroku kenkyū*, 333–451. (I would like to thank Robert Buswell for this citation; see Lee, *Sourcebook*, 686 n. 78.) The catalog was a comprehensive reorganization of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist sūtras and thus laid the foundation for the development of East Asian Buddhism. He was actively engaged in the work of translation and composed prefaces to at least twenty-two sūtras. He was a pioneer not only in the analysis of sūtra material but also in the development of the systems of monastic practice and devotional observances. Daoan was instrumental in instituting the practice of all monks adopting the surname Shi 釋 (a transliteration of Śākya). Although his own personal interests lay in research on the Perfection of Wisdom literature, he was thoroughly conversant in the Āgama and Abhidharma literature. Daoan played a major role in the development of many aspects of Chinese Buddhism.

41 Mingquan 明佺 (fl. 695) was a monk of the Tang dynasty. By imperial order, in 695, he compiled the *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定衆經目錄, in fifteen rolls at Foshouji Monastery 佛授

Daoxuan,[42] bibliographers have each compiled catalogs of the Buddhist canon, such as the so-called *Jin Dynasty Catalog*[43] and the *Wei Dynasty Catalog*,[44]

記寺. Seventy eminent monks participated in the project along with the famous translator-exegetes Bodhiruci (fl. 693–727) and Yijing 義淨 (635–713). This catalog recorded the titles of all sūtras translated form the Later Han period through the Zhou dynasty of Empress Wu (r. 690–705). It records the 3,616 titles in 8,641 rolls and divides and records them in a "catalog of authentic sūtras" (*zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄) and a "catalog of spurious sūtras" (*weijing mulu* 偽經目錄).

42 Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) was an important Buddhist historian and patriarch of the Nanshan Vinaya tradition 南山律宗. He made Vinaya Master Huiyun 慧頵 of Riyan Monastery 日嚴寺 his master at fifteen *sui* when he left home to become a monk, and when he was twenty *sui* he received full ordination in the monastic precepts from Zhishou 智首 of Dachanding Monastery 大禪定寺. He was deeply involved in research on the Vinaya at Riyan Monastery and Chongyi Monastery 崇義寺, and then he went into retirement in Fangzhang Gorge 倣掌谷 on Mt. Zhongnan. He became a recognized expert of the Vinaya through his composition of the *Sifenlü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔, *Sifenlü jiemo* 四分律羯摩, and so forth. In 645 he participated in the Xuanzang's 玄奘 (ca. 602–664) translation project as a translator scribe (*bishou* 筆受) and textual embellisher (*runmen* 潤文), and also in this year he compiled a draft of his *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 [Further Lives of Eminent Monks]. He also wrote such works as *Sifenlü biqiuni chao* 四分律比丘尼鈔, *Jieben* 戒本, and *Shijia fangzhi* 釋迦方志. In 658, with the founding of Ximing Monastery 西明寺, he led the monastic fraternity there as dean (*shangzuo* 上座). In 664 he entered Jingye Monastery on Mt. Zhongnan and focused on the writing of his *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄, *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄, *Ji gujin fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡, *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集, and so forth. He established a precepts platform (*jietan* 戒壇) in 667 and composed the *Jiedan tujing* 戒壇圖經, which served as an example for the construction of precepts platforms in the later times.

43 The *Jin lu* 晉錄 [Jin dynasty catalog], also known as the *Jinshi lu* 晉世錄, *Jin zalu* 晉雜錄, or *Jinshi zalu* 晉世雜錄, is extant only in citations; see for example, *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄, T 2149.55.235b, 248c, 254c, 255a, 336c. It was compiled by Shi Daoliu 釋道流 and completed by his disciple Zhu Daozu 竺道祖 (346–419); see *Zhenyuan xinding Shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 18, T 2157.55.897b12. I would like to thank Robert Buswell for this information, see Lee, *Sourcebook*, 686 n. 81. An alternate theory suggests that it refers to the *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理衆經目錄 compiled by Daoan of the Eastern Jin.

44 The *Wei lu* 魏錄 [Wei dynasty catalog], also called the *Weishi jing mulu* 魏世經目錄, *Weishi mulu* 魏世目錄, or *Weishi lu* 魏世錄, is extant only in citations; see, for example, *Da Tang neidian lu* 2, T 2157.55.248c, roll 10, 336c. Like the *Jin lu*, it was compiled by Shih Daoliu and completed by Zhu Daozu. I would like to thank Robert Buswell for this information; see Lee, *Sourcebook*, 686 n. 82. An alternate theory suggests that the *Wei Dynasty Catalog* is the *Weishi zhongjing mulu* 魏世衆經目錄 that was compiled by Li Kuo 李廓 of the Northern Wei dynasty. After Daoan's catalog, there are such catalogs as the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 of Sengyou 僧祐 of the Southern Qi, the *Liangshi zhongjing mulu* 梁世衆經目錄 compiled by Baochang 寶唱 of the Liang dynasty, et al., and the *Qishi zhongjing mulu* 齊世衆經目錄 compiled by Fashang 法上 of the Qi dynasty.

and so forth.[45] Nevertheless, the same text might appear differently in these different catalogs and an older entry might have a new title. There is much confusion about the text of a given scripture, and issues of authenticity, whether it is authentic or spurious, are mutually chaotic. A certain scripture might appear in two recensions, or a section or chapter might be recorded in the catalogs as an "alternate translation" (*pyŏlbon* 別本). Hence, the forty or so specialists have argued for a long time.

During the Kaiyuan reign period [713–741][46] of the Tang dynasty, a great dharma master, whose cognomen was Zhisheng,[47] first corrected the mistakes and errors of previous catalogers, abridged the repetition, and compiled all of his completed material in one book entitled *Catalog of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled during the Kaiyuan Reign Period*,[48] comprising twenty rolls. It is

---

45 This passage is reminiscent of *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 5, T 2061.50.733c28–734a1.

46 The Kaiyuan reign 開元 period (713–741) of Tang emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756).

47 Zhisheng 智昇 (669–740) was a monk of the Tang dynasty. When he left home to become a monk he familiarized himself with both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna. He possessed superior knowledge of the Vinaya and was thoroughly conversant in the Chinese classics and histories of the past and present. He exerted great effort in preserving and correcting and editing the catalogs of sūtras that had been passed down generation to generation since the time of Daoan. He compiled the seminal *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, in twenty rolls, in the eighteenth year of the Kaiyuan reign period (730) in the East Pagoda Cloister (Dongtayuan 東塔院) of Chongfu Monastery 崇福寺 in the Tang capital Chang'an. Aside from this he also compiled and edited the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu lüechu* 開元釋教錄略出, in four rolls; the *Xu da tang neidian lu* 續大唐內典錄, in one roll; the *Xu gujin yijing tuji* 續古今譯經圖紀, in one roll; the *Xu ji gujin fodao lunheng* 續集古今佛道論衡, in one roll; and the *Ji zhejing lichan yi* 集諸經禮懺儀, in two rolls.

48 The *Catalog of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled during the Kaiyuan Reign Period* (*Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄) was compiled by Zhisheng in 730. It is also called the *Kaiyuan lu* 開元錄 [Kaiyuan catalog] and *Zhisheng lu* 智昇錄 [Zhisheng's catalog]. The first ten rolls of the work, "Catalog of All the Sūtras in Terms of a General Summary" (*Zonggua qunjing lu* 總括群經錄), which covers 664 years of translation work from 67 to 730 C.E. and the work of 176 translators of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sūtras, vinaya, and treatises, 2,278 titles in 7,046 rolls, catalogs the translations of the sūtras by time period and translator. The later ten rolls of the work, "Catalog of the Canon in Terms of Differentiation and Classification by Vehicle" (*Biefen shengzang lu* 別分乘藏錄) classify the sūtras into seven categories in the first part; in other words, it describes the standards for entry into the canon. The final two rolls are composed of a catalog totaling 1,076 titles in 5,048 rolls that lists the

the most seminally important catalog of the Buddhist canon. Advocates say that no one has surpassed Zhisheng with respect to his preservation of the genealogy of the bequeathed teachings of the Buddha. Although the *Kaiyuan catalog* includes scriptures and treatises translated from Indian languages, it omits some of the essays and commentaries[49] of East Asian exegetes; thus, I was concerned that these East Asian materials might have no cause to be circulated. Therefore, while imitating the determination of the Venerable Zhisheng to protect the Dharma, I have made it my own duty to search out the traces/vestiges of the teachings. For almost twenty years now I have been assiduous and never abandoned it.

Presently, I have ordered and arranged these old and new compositions, these exegetical essays of all the schools, that I have obtained. Being loath to keep them private, today I publish them. If there are other texts that might be recovered subsequently, I also want to continue to catalog them here. In the future these compiled listings, as well as the cases and covers of the works included, along with the actual text of the complete Tripiṭaka itself, will be handed down without interruption. Then my vow will be fulfilled. Preface written by the śramaṇa[50] Ŭich'ŏn, transmitter of the great teaching

titles of the sūtras that have "entered into the canon" (*ruzang mulu* 入藏目錄). Based on the standards described by Zhisheng, the "complete canon in 5,000 rolls" (*ilch'egyŏng*, Ch. *yiqiejing* 一切經) came into being. Most Buddhist canons published subsequently follow the order and general principles outlined in this catalog. To avoid confusion with respect to his catalog of the Buddhist canon, Zhisheng ordered the sūtras according to the sequence found in the *Tianzi wen* 千字文 [Thousand-character classic]. See *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T 2154.55.477a–723a.

49 With respect to essays and commentaries (*changso*, Ch. *zhangshu* 章疏), essays are works that discuss the doctrinal meaning in a general sense and also include "sections" (*p'yŏn*, Ch. *pian* 編); commentaries are works that analyze sūtras and commentaries verse by verse or according to their specific contents. Also, further annotation to a commentary is called a "subcommentary" or "extract" (*ch'o*, Ch. *chao* 鈔). Accordingly, the expression "essays and commentaries" refers to all annotated writings on sūtras and treatises.

50 In Indian literature, śramaṇa (*samun*, Ch. *shamen* 沙門), or "striver" ("one who strives") was described originally in contradistinction to a brāhmaṇa, the high-caste Vedic priest in ancient India. In the Buddha's time there were primarily two classes of religious practitioners: brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas. The term "brāhmaṇa" is found in the Upaniṣads, an ancient Indian religious commentarial

of Hwaŏm in Haedong, on the eighth day of the eighth month of the eighth year, *kyŏngo* [4 September 1090], since the thirteenth-generation ruler of Later Koryŏ[51] [Sŏnjong, r. 1083–1094] ascended the throne.

新編諸宗教藏總錄序

昔永平之後, 葉書繼至, 翻譯流通者, 無代無之. 爰及貞觀, 經論大備, 繇是西聖之教, 霈然莫禦也. 自聶道眞道安, 至于明佺宣律師, 各著目錄, 謂之晋錄魏錄等. 然於同本異出, 舊目新名, 多惑其文, 眞僞相亂. 或一經爲兩本, 或支品爲別翻, 四十餘家, 紛然久矣. 開元中, 始有大法師, 厥號智昇, 刊落訛謬, 刪簡重複, 總成一書, 曰開元釋教錄. 凡二十卷, 最爲精要. 議者以爲經法之譜, 無出昇之右矣, 住持遺教, 功莫大焉. 予甞竊謂經論雖備, 而章疏或廢, 則流衍無由矣. 輙效昇公護法之志, 搜訪教迹, 以爲己任, 孜孜不捨, 僅二十載于玆矣. 今以所得新舊製撰諸宗義章, 不敢私秘, 叙而出之, 後有所獲, 亦欲隨而錄之, 脫或將來. 編次函帙, 與三藏正文, 垂之無窮, 則吾願畢矣. 時後高麗十三葉 在宥之八年, 歲次庚午八月初八日, 海東傳華嚴大教沙門某叙.

3. Preface to the Corrected Edition of the *Simple Course on the* Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra (*Kanjŏng Sŏng yusik ron tan'gwa sŏ* 刊定成唯識論單科序)

collection, which describes the traditional path of a religious practitioner in the priestly caste. Ideally, a brāhmaṇa's life was divided into four stages: student, householder, forest dweller, and wanderer. The śramaṇa also abandoned the householder life to become a wandering mendicant but did so against the prevailing social order, often because he did not belong to the priestly caste. Many śramaṇas left their families while they were young, and there was no requirement that they pass through the other stages mentioned for the brahmaṇa. The śramaṇa was celibate and usually concerned with purity, devoted himself to controlling and limiting his desires and passions, practiced meditation, and often endured severe austerities in order to obtain liberation from the cycle of rebirth and death. In East Asia, the term "śramaṇa" may be a title of respect, but the problem is that although all fully ordained monks are technically śramaṇa, the term "śramaṇa" more correctly refers to a broad range of Buddhist renunciants that includes all strata of ordained and un-ordained monks and mendicants.

51 Later Koryŏ (Hu Koryŏ 後高麗) refers to the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392). Ŭich'ŏn refers to it as "Later Koryŏ" because the royal family conceived of the dynasty as a restoration and continuation of the earlier kingdom of Koguryŏ (37 B.C.E.–668 C.E.).

The regular exhortations of the Thearch of Enlightenment[52] gradually flowed to the East long ago. Its origin was in the Zhou period,[53] it was disseminated in the Han period,[54] it was greatly imported in the Wei-Jin period,[55]

52 Thearch of Enlightenment (*kakhwang*, Ch. *juehuang* 覺皇) is Sinitic-style epithet of the Buddha. The title "Buddha" refers to his fully awakening to the true original nature (*ponsŏng*, Ch. *benxing* 本性) of all dharmas; the concept of awakening may also be translated as "great enlightenment" (*taegak*, Ch. *dajue* 大覺), "king of enlightenment" (*kagwang*, Ch. *juewang* 覺王), and "thearch of enlightenment" (*kakhwang*, Ch. *juehuang* 覺皇).

53 The Zhou 周 period (ca. 1045–256 B.C.E.), which followed the Shang 商 (or Yin 殷) period, is the classical age of early China. The Zhou first made their capital in Haojing 鎬京 (present-day Xi'an 西安 in Shanxi Province 陝西省); but in 771 the Quanrong 犬戎 (early Tibetans?) attacked, sacked the capital, and murdered King Yu 幽王. King Ping 平王 moved the capital eastward to Luoyi 洛邑 (present-day Luoyang 洛陽 in Henan Province), where the capital stayed until the Zhou were destroyed by the Qin 秦 in 256 B.C.E. From the founding of the dynasty until 771 is called the Western Zhou 西周, and from 771 to 256 B.C.E. is called the Eastern Zhou 東周. The Spring and Autumn annals period (Chunqiu shidai 春秋時代, 722–481 B.C.E.) and the Warring States period (Zhanguo shidai 戰國時代, 403–221 B.C.E.) fall under the Eastern Zhou period.

54 The Han 漢 period (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) refers to the Chinese dynasty that restored order and reunified China after the fall of the Qin dynasty. It continued for about four hundred years after its founding by Liu Bang 劉邦 (Han Gaozu 漢高祖, r. 206–195 B.C.E.) and was one of greatest periods of Chinese military might and cultural influence. Ever since this time when speaking of Chinese people or Chinese culture, Chinese people themselves use the expression "Han." There was a short interregnum from 8–23 C.E. when Wang Mang 王莽 (45 B.C.E.–23 C.E.) founded the short-lived Xin 新 dynasty.

55 The Wei-Jin 魏晉 period (ca. 220–420 C.E.) refers to the short-lived Wei dynasty (220–265), which came on the scene during the Three Kingdoms period after the fall of the Later Han dynasty in 220, and its successor state, the Jin dynasty (265–420). Cao Cao 曹操 (154–220) laid the foundations of the Wei state, the most powerful of the Three Kingdoms, but his descendants were pushed aside and replaced by Sima Yan 司馬炎 (r. 265–290), who founded the Jin dynasty in 265. The Jin dynasty is divided into the Western Jin 西晉 (265–317), and the Eastern Jin 東晉 (317–420) periods. The Western Jin was defeated by the Former Zhao 前趙 (303–330) in 317, and Sima Rui 司馬睿 (r. 317–323) fled south of the Yangzi River to the Jiangnan region and established a new capital at Jianye 建業 (Jiankang 建康). The Eastern Jin eventually fell to the Song 宋 (Liu-Song 劉宋, 420–479). However, the expression "Wei-Jin period" is also often used to refer to the Wei-Jin Northern and Southern dynasties period. This period, also called the "period of disunion" (ca. 221–589), covers Chinese history from the fall of the Han through the Sui reunification of China in the late sixth century. Successor states to the Eastern Jin, the Song, Qi 齊 (479–502), Liang 梁 (502–557), and Chen 陳 (557–589) states, all used Jiankang as their capital, and as a group are called the Southern

and it became vast and overflowing in the Sui-Tang period.[56] Since it is dissimilar with respect to its take on morality, meditation, and wisdom, in the end there are differences in its sūtras, vinaya, and treatises. Long ago, during the Yao-Qin period,[57] Kumārajīva[58] entered the Guanzhong region[59] and first began translating the treatises and intellectual learning of the Mahāyāna in the world. These are the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*,[60] the *Śata-*

dynasties (Nanchao 南朝). These states, along with Wu 吳 of the Three Kingdoms period, as a group are called the "Six Dynasties" (*yukcho*, Ch. *liuchao* 六朝). The history of the north is divided into five dynasties and fifteen states, the most important being the Northern Wei 北魏 dynasty (386–534) that unified northern China. The Northern Wei fractured into the Eastern Wei 東魏 (534–550) and Western Wei 西魏 (535–556) states, which ultimately gave way to the Northern Qi 北齊 (550–577) and the Northern Zhou 北周 (557–581) states. The powerful Northern Zhou state gave rise to the Sui 隋 dynasty that reunified China in 589.

56 The Sui-Tang 隋唐 period (581–907) is a combination of the powerful but short-lived Sui 隋 dynasty (581–618), which reunited northern and southern China, but was destroyed after two decades, and the mighty Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907), which again reunited China after internal rebellions destroyed the Sui state. Both dynasties placed their primary capital at Chang'an 長安, near present-day Xi'an in Shanxi Province. During the age of the Sui and Tang dynasties, Chinese culture spread widely throughout East and Southeast Asia.

57 The Yao-Qin 姚秦 period (384–417) refers to the Later Qin 後秦 dynasty founded by the military men of the Yao 姚 family. The Later Qin was one of the fifteen short-lived states in northern China.

58 Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 343–413, variant 409), the famous Central Asian translator and explicator of Buddhism to the Chinese and patriarch of Madhyamaka philosophy in China, is arguably the most important translator of Buddhist texts prior to the Tang dynasty. In the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* he is credited with translating seventy-four titles in 384 rolls. For the biography of Kumārajīva see *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 2, T 2059.50.330a–333a; see also Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 81–83.

59 Guanzhong region 關中 ("[land] within the passes") refers to Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces in northern China.

60 The *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* [Stanzas on the Middle Way, *Zhonglun* 中論, T 1564] was composed by Nāgārjuna and translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in four rolls. Also called the *Zhongguan lun* 中觀論 and *Zhengguan lun* 正觀論, it comprises of four 446 gāthās in twenty-seven chapters. Believed to be one of the earlier compositions by Nāgārjuna, the text deals with the doctrines of emptiness (*kong*, Ch. *kong* 空) and conditioned arising (*yŏn'gi*, Ch. *yuanqi* 緣起), worldly truth (*sesokche* 世俗諦) and ultimate truth (*sŭngŭije* 勝義諦). The "negation of negation" seems to characterize the Middle Way of this text. The Middle Way between emptiness (absolute truth) and

śāstra,[61] the *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra*,[62] and so forth. During the period of the Six Dynasties[63] south of the River,[64] all those who believed in Śākyamuni

---

provisional truth (*ka*, Ch. *jia* 假) is explained with the important passage "Nothing comes into being, nor does anything disappear. Nothing is eternal, nor has anything an end. Nothing is identical, or differentiated, nothing moves there, nor moves anything either." The middle way of the eight negations (*p'albul chungdo*, Ch. *babu zhongdao* 八不中道) is described with the seminal idea "Reality is not characterized by coming into being, passing away, termination, non-termination, unity, difference, movement into the future, or movement away from the past." These doctrinal teachings of the Indian Madhyamaka tradition became the basis of the Chinese Sanlun or "Three Treatises" school. The three treatises are *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, *Śata-śāstra*, and *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra*.

61 The *Śata-śāstra* [Treatise in one hundred verses, *Bailun* 百論, T 1569] was composed by Āryadeva (Tipo 提婆) in the middle of the third century and translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in two rolls in 404. Following in the tradition of the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, it refutes the intellectual positions of the Sāṃkhya sect (Ch. *shulun* 數論), Vaiśeṣika sect (Ch. *shenglun* 勝論), and so forth, by means of the theories of emptiness and no-self (*mua*, Ch. *wuwo* 無我; Skt. *anātman*). The text is arranged in ten chapters; each chapter contains five gāthās, and after each gāthā Āryadeva composes a short prose piece. It is a literary style followed in the annotated commentary composed by Vasubandhu. Although originally there were reportedly one hundred gāthās in twenty chapters, hence the title *Treatise in One Hundred Verses*, only fifty gāthās in ten chapters were translated. The *Śata-śāstra*, along with the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* and *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra* are known as the Three Treatises.

62 The *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra* [Treatise on the twelve approaches, *Shiermen lun* 十二門論, T 1568] was composed by Nāgārjuna and translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in one roll in 409. It is a text that claims that the Mahāyāna "visualization of emptiness" (*konggwan*, Ch. *kongguan* 空觀) extends over twelve approaches from the "approach of the visualizing conditioned arising" (*kwan inyŏn mun* 觀因緣門) to the "approach of visualizing production" (*kwan saeng mun* 觀生門). There are twenty-six gāthās and accompanying annotation; among these two are cited in Nāgārjuna's *Kong qishi lun* 空七十論, seventeen are cited in the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, and the rest are quite similar to others found in the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*. For this reason, some scholars are of the opinion that it was not composed by Nāgārjuna. This text, along with the *Śata-śāstra* and *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, completes the Three Treatises of the Sinitic Madhyamaka school.

63 The Six Dynasties (*yukcho*, Ch. *liuchao* 六朝) are the Wu 吳 (222–280), Eastern Jin 東晉 (265–420), Song 宋 (420–479), Qi 齊 (479–502), Liang 梁 (502–557), and Chen 陳 (557–589) dynasties. The term carries essentially the same meaning as Wei-Jin Nanbei chao (Wei-Jin and the Northern and Southern dynasties period, ca. 220–589). Most of these dynasties had their capital at present-day Nanjing 南京; their political and economic centers were centered on Yangzhou 揚州 on the lower reaches of the Yangzi River.

64 South of the River (Kangnam, Ch. Jiangnan 江南) refers to the region south of the Yangzi River

regarded the Three Treatises as not ... (pages 5 and 6 of roll 1 are missing).

As an authority who lectures on doctrinal learning and visualization techniques, I later heard lectures on the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*[65] by Great Master Usang of Hyŏnhwa Monastery[66] and also ventured into the

揚子江, traditionally more commonly known simply as the Jiang 江, or "Long Jiang" (Changjang, Ch. Changjiang 長江). It did not always refer to exactly the same region over time. Before the Han period, it referred to south of the Yangzi River in Hubei province 湖北省 and the whole region of Hunan Province 湖南省—meaning the region around Jiangxi Province 江西省. After the Han period, it was used to refer to the southern regions of present-day Jiangsu Province 江蘇省 and Anhui Province 安徽省 and the whole region of Jiangxi Province.

65 The *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* (*Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, T 1585), in ten rolls, is one of the most representative texts of the Chinese Yogācāra school (Faxiang 法相). It is a commentary on Vasubandhu's (Shiqin 世親) *Thirty Verses on Consciousness-only* (*Weishi sanshi song* 唯識三十頌), preserving the theories of the ten great theoreticians who were disciples of Vasubandhu in an orthodox interpretation and analysis by Dharmapāla (Hufa 護法). Combined with criticism of other opinions and views, it was translated into Chinese by Xuanzang in 659. It provides a detailed discussion of the eight consciousnesses (*p'alsik*, Ch. *bashi* 八識) and clearly describes the process of cognizance. It also describes five levels of practically applied cultivation. The treatise explains how to remove the two attachments to self and dharmas and to cut off the two obstacles of defilements (*pŏnnoe* 煩惱) and knowledge (*soji* 所知), and clearly argues that all dharmas are consciousness-only.

66 Hyŏnhwa Monastery 玄化寺 was a monastery that existed in present-day Wŏlgori, Changp'ung county, in Kaesŏng (previously Hyŏnhwari, Yŏngnammyŏn, Kaep'ung county, Kyŏnggi Province). King Hyŏnjong 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031) exhumed and moved the graves of his deceased father, King Anjong 安宗, and his mother, Queen Inhye 仁惠, and on behalf of his parents and his older sister Princess Sŏngmok 成穆, he founded this monastery over a four-year period beginning in 1017. Portraits of these members of the royal family were enshrined in the monastery. In the eighth month of 1020 the "Stele Commemorating the Founding of Hyŏnhwa Monastery" (Hwanhwasa pi 玄化寺碑) was completed. Hyŏnjong ordered that Ansŏ Province 安西道 give 1,240 plots (*kyŏl* 結) of patty land to the monastery to provide for its economic maintenance. In the ninth month of that year a bronze bell was cast for the monastery; and in the tenth month, the monk Pŏpkyŏng 法鏡 of that monastery was made royal preceptor (*wangsa* 王師). In 1021, Hyŏnjong made a royal visit to the monastery and wrote the calligraphy used for the title of the stele in seal script (*chŏnje* 篆題). Each year on the eighth day of the fourth month Hyŏnjong held an Assembly for the Bodhisattva Maitreya day and night for a period of four days for the prosperity of the state and the peace of the gods of soil and grain; and every year on the fifteenth day of the seventh month he held an Assembly for the Buddha Amitābha day and night for four days for the happiness of his parents in the netherworld. Ŭijong 毅宗 (r. 1146–1170) frequently made royal processions to this monastery and is

lecture hall of Master Jingyuan[67] of Huiyin Monastery[68] in Hangzhou and

known to have held such activities as *maigre* feasts, *pañcaparisad pañcavarsikāparisad* (*much'a taehoe* 無遮大會), arhat fasts (*nahan chae* 羅漢齋), and so forth. All that remained at the old monastery site were a seven-story stone pagoda, the stele (dated 1022), banner pillars, and so forth, which have now been moved to the Kaesŏng Museum.

67 Jingyuan 淨源 (1011–1088) was a Huayan monk of the Song dynasty. He was a native of Jinjiang 晉江, and his surname was Yang 楊. His pseudonym was Baichang 伯長, and his literary name was Qianshui 潛水. He learned Huayan from Wutai Shengqian 五臺承遷, and after studying with Henghai Mingtan 橫海明覃 he made Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 his teacher and learned the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*, the *Yuanjue jing* [Sūtra of perfect enlightenment], and the *Qixin lun* [Awakening of faith]. He promoted the core teachings of the Huayan tradition in several places beginning with Qingliang Monastery 清凉寺 in Quanzhou 泉州 and Xiangfu Monastery 祥符寺 in Hangzhou. Ŭich'ŏn studied with him when he lectured on the Huayan teachings at Huiyin Monastery during the reign of Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–1085). After Ŭich'ŏn returned home to Koryŏ, he sent three copies of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* written in gold on paper in 1087. A Huayan pavilion (Huayan'ge 華嚴閣) was built in which to enshrine them. In the third month of the following year (1088), the name of the monastery was changed to that of a doctrinal cloister by imperial order, and it became recognized as a hall of learning the Huayan teaching. Jingyuan passed away later that year. He was called a master lecturer who promoted the traditions of the Huayan school. Because he was a native of Jinjiang, he was posthumously called Dharma Master Jinshui 晉水法師. He composed such writings as *Huayan wangjin huanyuan guan shuchao bujie* 華嚴忘盡還源觀疏鈔補解 [Commentary selections and appended interpretations of observations on exhausting delusion and returning to the source of the Huayan tradition] and *Huayan yuanren lun fawei lu* 華嚴原人論發微錄 [Record of arousing the obscure in the treatise on the origin of humans of the Huayan tradition].

68 Huiyin Monastery 慧因寺 is in the vicinity of Mt. Chi 赤山, on the southwest shore of West Lake (Xihu 西湖), in Hangzhou 杭州 in Zhejiang Province 浙江省. It was founded by Qian Liu 錢鏐, king of Wu-Yue 吳越 state, in 927, during the Later Tang 後唐 dynasty, and called the Huiyin Chan Cloister 慧因禪院 During the Northern Song period, Ŭich'ŏn came to study Huayan Buddhism when Jinshui Jingyuan 晉水淨源 was in residence. During the reign of Song Shenzong (r. 1067–1085), the name of the monastery was changed to Huiyin Doctrinal Cloister 慧因教院. This was in accordance with Ŭich'ŏn's patronage of the monastery: he donated 7,500 plates (woodblock plates) of scriptures and commentaries (see "Hangju Hyeinwŏn Hyŏnsu kyojang ki" 杭州慧因院賢首教藏記). After Ŭich'ŏn returned to Koryŏ, since he presented Jingyuan with three editions of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* written in gold on paper 金書, 180 rolls in all, the monastery popularly became called Gaolisi 高麗寺 (Koryŏ monastery). Koryŏ's patronage of the monastery continued with a golden pagoda and other such gifts, which were sent by the Koryŏ royal family. In the last year of the Zhizheng reign period (1341–1367) of the Yuan dynasty, most of the buildings were consumed in a fire resulting from the warfare and rebellion that characterized the demise of the Mongol Yuan dynasty. The

learned the Great Sūtra, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, and as a disciple of Dharma Master Huilin[69] of Xiansheng Monastery[70] in the Eastern Capital, I consulted with him and he resolved my concerns regarding this treatise.After that, I made transmitting the lamp of the Buddhadharma my personal responsibility, and while residing at Hŭngwang Monastery[71] I lectured on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* ten times. Seeking seclusion at Haein Monastery[72] on Mt. Kaya, I fell in

---

monks scattered and the monastery fell into disuse. During the Zhengde region period (1506–1521) of the Ming dynasty, many of the buildings were rebuilt and Huayan lectures once again were held at the monastery, but at the end of the Qing dynasty the monastery once again fell into decline. In the present day, a small-scale version of Huiyin Cloister has been rebuilt with Korean donations a little way from the original site of the monastery.

69 Huilin 慧琳 was a lecturer on Yogācāra teachings (Consciousness-only) who taught Ŭich'ŏn.

70 Xiansheng Monastery 顯聖寺 is usually thought to be Xiansheng Monastery on Mt. Yunmen 雲門山, on the southern side of Mt. Yunmen, in Shaoxing county 紹興縣, Zhejiang Province. This monastery became famous during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) as a monastery associated with the Caodong 曹洞 Chan tradition. However, the Xiansheng Monastery mentioned here is the Xiansheng Monastery in Luoyang, which seems to have been set up by the monastic overseer Youjie 右街. See *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 19, T 2036.49.683b20–21.

71 Hŭngwang Monastery 興王寺 was on Mt. Tŏkchŏk 德積山, in Kaep'ung county, in Kyŏnggi Province. It was founded as a votive temple for Koryŏ king Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083). It was extravagant and stately, and although his ministers' opposition to it was great, at the end of the twelve years of its construction a completion ceremony was held in the first month of 1067. It was a large monastery, 2,800 pillar spaces (*kan*) in total size, and 1,000 monks were chosen to reside therein. In 1078, a golden pagoda made from 144 *kŭn* (catties) of gold was produced and enshrined therein. After the passing of Munjong, ancestor commemoration rituals for him were held in this monastery. It was the headquarters for Ŭich'ŏn's project to publish a canon of the doctrinal teachings, and Ŭich'ŏn was named the first abbot of the monastery. The Taejangjŏn 大藏殿 (Hall of the Buddhist Canon), which was erected in 1087, was built for the publication of the canon of doctrinal teachings. It was completely burned down during the Mongol invasions of Korea in the 1230s. Several attempts were made to rebuild it thereafter, and it was not until 1330 that it was rebuilt to its previous form after nine years of construction. It fell into disrepair again, and now only its foundations remain.

72 Haein Monastery 海印寺 is on Mt. Kaya 伽倻山, in Ch'iin village, Kaya township, Hapch'ŏn county, South Kyŏngsang Province. It is the twelfth main temple of the Chogye Order of Korean Buddhism, and as one of the main centers of the Chogye Order, it is the monastery representing the jewel of the Dharma because the 80,000 woodblocks of the *Korean Buddhist Canon* [*Tripiṭaka Koreana*] are enshrined therein. The monastery was rebuilt in 802 and expanded to its large size

love with the pleasures of the forests and fountains and began to develop the idea for this composition. I surveyed all the writings of the hundred philosophers and with respect to taking advantage of those of worthy capacity in the future, the two treatises on the *Awakening of Faith*[73] and the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*, I thought were things that students should exhaust their minds in studying because they describe the pivotal essentials of the two traditions of the Nature school[74] and the Characteristics school.[75]

---

by the monks Sunŭng 順應 and Ijŏng 利貞. It was one of the ten major Hwaŏm monasteries in Korea. The monk Hŭirang 希朗, who was made a field of merit by Koryŏ T'aejo (r. 918–943), spread Hwaŏm thought from this place. During the later Koryŏ period, the *Korean Buddhist Canon*, which had been recarved between 1236 and 1251, was moved from Sŏnwŏn shrine 禪源社 on Kanghwa Island to Haein Monastery in 1398; and it has remained there to this day. The Changgyŏnggak 藏經閣 (Canon of Sūtra Pavilion) was rebuilt during the reign of King Sejo (r. 1455–1468), and several reconstructions have taken place at the monastery. Haein Monastery has seventy-five branch temples and fourteen subordinate hermitages and is one of the major monasteries in the Korean Buddhist tradition.

73 The *Awakening of Faith* (*Qixin lun* 起信論) is a Mahāyāna treatise attributed to Aśvaghoṣa (Maming 馬鳴, ca. 100–160 C.E.) that was translated into Chinese by Paramārtha (Zhenti 眞諦, 499–569). For the most part, scholars suggest that the treatise was actually written in China for a Chinese audience when Paramārtha was active during the Liang dynasty. This seminal treatise describes core teachings and approaches of Mahayan thought from both sides, theory and practice, of the meaning of the conditioned arising of the Tathāgatagarbha and the practices for arousing the mind for both bodhisattvas and ordinary people. It is an important work that brings to conclusion many seminal approaches to Buddhist thought. It describes the dharma approaches of the one mind (*ilsim*, Ch. *yixin* 一心), the two approaches (*imun*, Ch. *ermen* 二門), the three greatnesses (*samdae,* Ch. *sanda* 三大), the four faiths (*sasin*, Ch. *sixin* 四信), and the five practices (*ohaeng*, Ch. *wuxing* 五行). The concept of the one mind is described as being the mind of living beings by means of the absolute one mind as well as the mind of true thusness (*chinyŏsim* 眞如心) of the Tathāgatagarbha; all things in the world manifest the dharma approach of true thusness. The treatise says that all living beings constantly reside in original nirvāṇa.

74 The Nature school (Sŏngjong, Ch. Xingzong 性宗) refers to the intellectual tradition that holds to the core teaching that makes a thorough study of the nature of dharmas (*pŏpsŏng* 法性) that have arisen from the dharma nature of true thusness (*chinyŏ pŏpsŏng* 眞如法性). It is also called the Dharma Nature tradition (Pŏpsŏngjong, Ch. Faxingzong 法性宗). The Huayan tradition (Hwaŏmjong 華嚴宗) and Tiantai tradition (Ch'ont'aejong 天台宗) and so forth correspond to this general heading.

75 The Characteristics School (Sangjong, Ch. Xiangzong 相宗) refers to the intellectual tradition

Nevertheless, although I was already familiar with the *Awakening of Faith* to a certain extent, I had not yet exhaustively studied the merits of the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra, and I was afraid that I might drown in its vexsome verbiage and become deluded with respect to its essential meaning. Thereupon, I searched out and studied this basic commentary that takes into consideration past lessons, trims it down, and arranges it into a three-roll composition. As a matter of course, those who observe these lessons and relish their study of the treatise with the same determination and afterwards study these commentarial extracts will probably be able to more easily see the profound meaning of Consciousness-only.

Some say, "In Great Master Xianshou's five teachings, he classifies Consciousness-only and Yogācāra[76] as in the initial teachings of the Mahāyāna."[77] They also say, "This is certainly not the mysterious and sublime theory of the ultimate. Although the dharma master was able to

---

that observes and minutely classifies all dharmas that appear in reality as deriving from consciousness (*sik* 識) and regards the differentiation of the characteristics of truth as important. It is also called the Dharma Characteristics tradition (Pŏpsangjong, Ch. Faxiangzong 法相宗). The name is a response to the Nature school.

76 Yogācāra (*yuga*, Ch. *yuga* 瑜伽; Skt. yoga) was translated as "response to characteristics" (*sangŭng*, Ch. *xiangying* 相應) in Chinese and refers to the actual practice and training that leads to awakening and enlightenment and is analyzed as the unification of mental energies. In Indian Buddhist Yogācāra, practices of yoga were systematized in accordance with Consciousness-only thought. The doctrines of mainstream Indian Yogācāra and Consciousness-only were transmitted to China through the new translations of scriptures and treatises introduced to China as a result of Xuanzang's pilgrimage to India, and the Faxiang school 法相宗 (Dharma Characteristics) was founded by Xuanzang's disciple Guiji 窺基 (632–682).

77 The initial teaching of the Mahāyāna teaching (*sigyo*, Ch. *shijiao* 始教) is one of the five teachings (*ogyo*, Ch. *wujiao* 五教) according to the Huayan tradition: (1) Hīnayāna (*sosŭng*, Ch. *xiaosheng* 小乘), (2) initial Mahāyāna teachings (*taesŭng sigyo*, Ch. *dasheng shijiao* 大乘始教), (3) final Mahāyāna teachings (*taesŭng chonggyo*, Ch. *dasheng zhongjiao* 大乘終教), (4) sudden teaching (*ton'gyo*, Ch. *dunjiao* 頓教), and (5) perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo*, Ch. *yuanjiao* 圓教). The initial teachings of the Mahāyāna refers to the doctrines of *śūnyatā* (emptiness), *prajñā* (wisdom), and *sandhīnirmocana* (freeing the underlying meaning) that all things in existence are produced by means of causal connections—in other words, the teachings and doctrinal positions of the sūtras and commentaries associated with the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra intellectual traditions.

receive the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, why did he need to traverse the merits [and study Consciousness-only?" I would respond, "The Buddhadharma] should handle the extremities of the five teachings; hence, they should be learned concurrently. Now, Hwaŏm [is the most supreme approach to Dharma]; this is because the tips of the branches of one generation emerged following this. Therefore, although Great Master Cien[78] cited the six sūtras[79] as examples in his commentaries, he regarded the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* as the foremost." Furthermore, I say that since the sūtras are the basis, following the characteristics of dharmas (*pŏpsang* 法相), one should enhance [their understanding] and should make the treatises as the final core teaching, receive the words of the Buddha, and complete the principle."[80] Great Master Sŏmyŏng[81] analyzed the expression "full and partial" (*manbun*, Ch.

---

78 Great Master Cien 慈恩大師 is another name for Kuiji 窺基 (632–682), who was one of the primary disciples of Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664) and a patriarch of the Sinitic Yogācāra tradition (Pŏpsang, Ch. Faxiang 法相), which is also called the Cien school (Chaŭnzong 慈恩宗). Kuiji was a native of Chang'an, and his surname was Weiji 尉遲. He left home and become a monk at the age of seventeen *sui*, participated in translation projects from the age of 25, and championed the doctrinal positions held by Xuanzang after he passed away. In 659, at the age of twenty-five *sui*, he participated in the execution of the translation of the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhiśāstra*, T 1585) as a member of Xuanzang's team. Because he spent many years residing in Cien Monastery 慈恩寺 in the Tang capital, the Sinitic Yogācāra tradition is often referred to as the Cien tradition. For the biography of Kuiji see *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 4, T 2061.50.725b–726c; see also Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, 320–321.

79 The six sūtras (*yukkyŏng*, Ch. *liujing* 六經) refer to six important Buddhist scriptures that function as the doctrinal foundation of the Dharma Characteristics school along with eleven treatises, such as the *Yogācāra-bhūmi* (*Yuga shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論). The six sūtras are (1) *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, (2) *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*, (3) *Rulai chuxian gongde zhangyan jing* 如來出現功德莊嚴經, (4) *Dasheng apidamo jing* 大乘阿毘達磨經, (5) *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, and (6) Houyan jing 厚嚴經.

80 Cf. *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章 2, T 1861.45.292a8–9.

81 Great Master Sŏmyŏng 西明大師 refers to Wŏnch'ŭk 圓測 (613–696). Wŏnch'ŭk is thought to have been a scion of the Silla royal family who left home to become a monk at a young age. He went to Tang China in 627 and learned the treatises on Consciousness Only from Fachang 法常 and Sengbian 僧辨. After that he became intimately familiar with the various doctrinal teachings of such works as the *Abhidharma-śāstra*, *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*, and *Abhidharmakośabhāsya*. Furthermore, he was fluent in Chinese and Sanskrit and participated in Xuanzang's large project of translating scriptures.

manfen 満分) in the "Gāthā on Taking Refuge for One's Life" (*Guiming jie* 歸命偈) in his commentary, saying "full" means Tathāgata and "partial" refers to Adamantine Storehouse and Liberation Moon,[82] so we can say that he profoundly saw the roots and branches of the scriptures and treatises. Also, Great Master Qingliang is known to have said, "Nature and characteristics are like the sun and moon in the heavens and are like the trigrams representing heaven and earth in the *Book of Changes*;[83] only if you learn both

Although he possessed a deep understanding and appreciation for the Old Consciousness-only teachings in the lineage of Paramārtha, which laid the foundation for his doctrinal understanding, as soon as the New Consciousness-only teachings of the lineage of Dharmapāla were introduced by Xuanzang, he accepted them and promoted them widely. Different from the Dharma Characteristics School version of Consciousness Only thought promoted in the Tang by Xuanzang and continuing through Kuiji, Wŏnch'ŭk promoted a comprehensive and inclusive viewpoint with respect to the confrontation between Madhyamaka (Chunggwan, Ch. Zhongguan 中觀) and Consciousness-only. The tradition following Wŏnch'ŭk's is called the Ximing doctrinal faction (Sŏmyŏng hakp'a 西明學派). Although the Silla state requested that Wŏnch'ŭk return to his home country several times, he was so valuable that the Tang state did not allow him to return. Ultimately he passed away in China, never returning to Silla. He authored such works as the *Haesimmil-gyŏng so* 解深密經疏 [Commentary on the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*], *Inwang-gyŏng so* 仁王經疏 [Commentary on the *Sūtra for Humane Kings*], *Sŏng yusik ron so* 成唯識論疏 [Commentary on the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*], and *Yusik isimnon so* 唯識二十論疏 [Commentary on the *Viṃśatikāvṛtti*].

82 Adamantine Storehouse (*kŭmgang chang* 金剛藏) and Liberation Moon (*haet'al wŏl* 解脫月) refer to the master preacher (*sŏlchu*, Ch. *xuezhu* 說主) and listener, both of which are bodhisattvas. The Bodhisattva Adamantine Storehouse preached on the ten stages to the Bodhisattva Liberation Moon, which comprises the "Ten Stages" chapter (*Shidi pin* 十地品) of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

83 *The Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經) also called the *Classic of Changes* or *Changes of Zhou* (*Zhouyi* 周易), is one of the oldest of the Chinese classic texts. The book contains a divination system comparable to Western geomancy or the West African Ifá system. In Western cultures and modern East Asia, it is still widely used for this purpose. The standard text originated from the ancient text (*guwen jing* 古文經) transmitted by Fei Zhi (費直, ca. 50 B.C.E.–10 C.E.) of the Han dynasty. During the Han dynasty this version competed with the bowdlerized new text (*jinwen jing* 今文經) version transmitted by Tian He at the beginning of the Western Han. However, by the time of the Tang dynasty the ancient text version, which had survived Qin's book burning by being preserved amongst the peasantry, became the accepted norm among Chinese scholars. The earliest extant version of the text, written on bamboo slips, although incomplete, is the *Chujian Zhouyi*, and dates to the first half of the Warring States period (mid fourth to early third century B.C.E.), and certainly cannot be later than

of them concurrently will you straightly become a thoroughly competent individual."[84]

You should know this. If you do not learn the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*[85] you will not know the intellectual theories of the Hīnayāna. If you do not learn the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*, how will you be able to see the core teachings of the initial teaching [of the Mahāyāna]? If you do not learn the *Awakening of Faith,* how will you be able to clearly understand the profound meaning of the final teaching[86] and the sudden

---

223 B.C.E., when Chu was conquered by Qin. It is essentially the same as the standard text, except for a few significant variora. During the Warring States period, the text was re-interpreted as a system of cosmology and philosophy that subsequently became intrinsic to Chinese culture. It centered on the ideas of the dynamic balance of opposites, the evolution of events as a process, and acceptance of the inevitability of change. Traditionally it was believed that the principles of the *Yijing* originated with the mythical Fu Xi 伏羲, the founding ancestor of the Chinese people. In this respect he is seen as an early culture hero, one of the earliest legendary rulers of China (traditional dates 2800–2737 B.C.E.), reputed to have had the eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦) revealed to him supernaturally. By the time of the legendary Yu 禹 (traditional dates 2194–2149 B.C.E.), the trigrams had supposedly been developed into sixty-four hexagrams (*liushisi gua* 六十四卦), which were recorded in the scripture *Lian shan* 連山 (also called *Lian shan yi* 連山易). *Lian shan*, meaning "continuous mountains" in Chinese, begins with the hexagram "bound" (*gen* 艮), which depicts a *mountain* (☶) mounting on another and is believed to be the origin of the scripture's name.

84 Cf. *Dafangguang fohuayan jing sui shu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 3, T 1736.36.17c5–7.

85 The *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (*Jushe lun* 俱舍論, T 1558) was composed by the Indian monk Vasubandhu (Shiqin 世親) and in 651 was translated into Chinese in thirty rolls by the Tang monk Xuanzang. Based on intellectual opinions held by the Sarvāstivādin tradition, it critiques the positions held by the Sautrāntika and Mahāsaṃgika traditions. It also organizes the doctrinal teachings of the Sarvāstivādin tradition. It preserves theories widely accepted among scholar-monks of both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna approaches to Buddhism. It employed many doctrines of the *Mahāvibhāsya* (*Da biposha lun* 大毘婆娑論).

86 The final teachings of the Mahāyāna (*chonggyo*, Ch. *zhonggyo* 終教), the third of the five teachings according to the Huayan tradition, refers to the doctrines of the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, *Śrīmālādevi-sūtra*, and the *Dasheng qixin lun* [Awakening of faith in the Mahāyāna]. These teachings refer primarily to Dharma Nature teaching sand somewhat to Dharma Characteristics teachings; Dharma Characteristics teachings all lead toward the Dharma Nature teachings. The eight types of consciousness are completely understood in the Tathāgatagarbha. They are established according to conditions and are completely endowed with the two meanings of life and death and immortality.

teaching?[87] If you do not study the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, it will be difficult for you to enter the approach of perfect interfusion. Truly, although you cannot enter into the profound by means of the shallow, the profound necessarily ought to include the shallow. These principles are a matter of course. Hence, a gāthā of the sūtra says, "If you do not have the strength to drink from either a pond or a river, how will you be able to swallow the great ocean? If you do not study the dharmas of the two vehicles,[88] how will you be able to learn the Mahāyāna?"[89] These words are worthy of your confidence. If you should esteem and learn the two vehicles, how much more so will you the Mahāyāna? Nowadays, students of the Buddhadharma themselves say that they have achieved sudden enlightenment,[90] and they view disparagingly the teachings

---

These kind of ultimate teachings are called the final teachings of the Mahāyāna.

87 The sudden teaching (*ton'gyo*, Ch. *dunjiao* 頓教) is the fourth of the five teachings according to the Huayan tradition. Discarding the use of words and language to describe the path of practice and the nature of Buddhadhood, the sudden teaching follows the doctrines and teachings of such scriptures as the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* that emphasize the priority of practice, do not recognize hindrances and obstructions to practice, and describe the enlightenment will be attained suddenly. In the Tiantai tradition, sudden teaching is one of four teachings explained by Tiantai Zhiyi. It was a way of classifying the teachings of Buddha not following the order of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Instead it refers to the teachings of the one vehicle of the Mahāyāna. According to Mahāyāna Buddhists, after the Buddha attained enlightenment he first taught the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. The teachings found in this sūtra fall under the heading of sudden teaching.

88 The two vehicles (*isŭng*, Ch. *ersheng* 二乘) are (1) the Śrāvakayāna (*sŏngmunsŭng*, Ch. *shengwensheng* 聲聞乘), the vehicle of the disciples, and (2) the Pratyekabuddhayāna (*pyŏkchibulsŭng*, Ch. *bizhifosheng* 辟支佛乘, and *yŏn'gaksŭng*, Ch. *yuanjuesheng* 緣覺乘), the vehicle of the solitary buddha. A third vehicle, the Bodhisattvayāna (*pusasheng* 菩薩乘), is the vehicle of the bodhisattvas. The first two vehicles were conceptualized as inferior; hence, they were labeled with the pejorative title Hīnayāna, the lesser vehicle (*xiaosheng* 小乘). The vehicle of the bodhisattvas was conceived of as superior; hence it enjoyed the designation Mahāyāna, the Greater Vehicle (*dasheng* 大乘). See, for instance, *Miaofa lianhua jing* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*) 妙法蓮華經 1, T 262.9.8a, roll 2, T 262, 9.18b; cf. Hurvitz, *Scripture on the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 34, 95.

89 Cf. *Dasheng daji Dizang shilun jing* 大乘大集地藏十輪經 6, T 411.13.753a26–27.

90 Sudden enlightenment (*tono*, Ch. *dunwu* 頓悟) is the attainment of complete and total enlightenment quickly and is used in comparison to an opposing concept called gradual enlightenment (*chŏmo*, Ch. *jianwu* 漸悟),which suggests that enlightenment is obtained after a long

of expediency[91] and the Hīnayāna and conversation about nature and characteristics. Frequently those who are engaged in such learning have become a laughingstock to some people. All these things are excesses caused by not concurrently learning [the various teachings]. Those who would respond affirmatively with "Here, here," now and later, please be engaged in this work.

The Transmitter of the Great Teaching of Hwaŏm in the state of Koryŏ, Broad Wisdom, Patriarch of the Tradition, Saṃgha Overseer Hong [jin Use] ...[92] (the rest of the preface is missing).

刊定成唯識論單科序

皇覺彝訓, 東漸久矣. 源乎周, 派乎漢, 汪洋于魏晋, 瀚漫于隋唐. 以其戒[93]定慧之不同, 遂致經律論之有異也. 在昔姚秦羅什入關, 大乘論學, 始翻于世, 則中百門等是也. 江左六朝, 宗釋氏者, 皆以三論, 爲不□之[卷一第五-六張缺落] 觀講主, 後聽唯識論於玄化寺祐翔大師, 又就餘杭慧因寺源公講下, 禀受大經, 東京

and gradual process extending over many lifetimes. In the first half of the fifth centry, there was a heated debate among Buddhist scholars centered on the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*. Some held the opinion that Buddhahood might be obtained suddenly (*tono sŏngbul* 頓悟成佛); others held the position of gradual enlightenment. Daosheng 道生 (d. 434) confirmed the position of the attainment of Buddhahood by means of sudden enlightenment by consulting a new Chinese translation of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* in forty rolls. In the Zen tradition (S'ŏn, Ch. Chan 禪) as well the famous story of the debate between Huineng 慧能 of the Southern school and Shenxiu 神秀 of the Northern school centers on the differences between sudden enlightenment and gradual enlightenment.

91 Teachings of expediency (*kwŏn'gyo*, Ch. *quanjiao* 權敎) refers to teachings that are provisionally explained by means of temporary expedient means. These are to be compared to the teachings of reality (*silgyo*, Ch. *shijiao* 實敎), which exhibit or portray the real truth as it is. True doctrinal teachings that accord with the will of the Tathāgata are teachings of reality, and the doctrinal theories of expedient means that accord with the will of others are teachings of expediency. In particular, in the Tiantai school, the *Lotus Sūtra* is said to be the teaching of reality, and the remaining Mahāyāna sūtras are said to be teachings of expediency. It is also said the Buddhadharma is opened up with teaching of expediency, which are expedient means, and are manifest with the teachings of reality, the truth.

92 Because Ŭich'ŏn is given the title Broad Wisdom, Patriarch of the Tradition, Saṃgha Overseer Hongjin Use (Kwangji kaejong Hongjin Use sŭngt'ong 廣智開宗弘眞祐世僧統) in the "Taegak hwasang myoji myŏng" 大覺和尙墓誌銘 [Funerary stele inscription of the *Upādhyāya* Taegak (Great Enlightenment)], these missing characters can be supplied here.

93 Reading *kye* 戒 for *hok* 或.

顯聖寺琳法師門, 諮決斯論. 厥後以傳燈爲己任, 因住興王寺, 講演雜華, 周於十編. 而退隱于伽耶山海印寺, 愛林泉之樂, 萌著述之心. 泛覽百家, 將利其器, 以謂起信唯識二論, 是性相兩宗之樞要, 學人之所宜盡心者矣. 然起信論, 亦甞粗習, 但於唯識, 未盡其功, 而恐溺彼繁辭, 迷其要義. 於是尋研本記, 斟酌舊科, 刊而定之, 勒爲三卷. 儻同志者, 持科玩論, 先熟正文, 後冶疏鈔, 則唯識之旨, 庶幾乎易見矣. 或曰"賢首五教中, 判唯識瑜伽 爲大乘始教," 而云"固非究竟玄妙之說, 法師克荷於華嚴, 何必橫功□□?" "□□□□窮五教, 故兼學也, 盖華□□□□□□□ 一代枝末, 從此而出故也. 故慈恩疏, 引例六經, 而以華嚴, 冠之最初." 又云"經爲根本, 隨法相以宣揚, 論是末宗, 禀佛言而成理." 西明疏中, 釋歸命偈, 滿分之言曰, "滿則如來, 分是金剛藏 解脫月" 者, 可謂深見經論之本末也. 況清凉有言, "性之與相, 若天之日月, 易之乾坤, 學兼兩轍, 方曰通人." 是知不學倶舍, 不知小乘之說, 不學唯識, 甯見始教之宗? 不學起信, 豈明終頓之旨? 不學花嚴, 難入圓融之門. 良以淺不至深, 深必該淺, 理數之然也. 故經偈云, "無力飮池河, 詎能呑大海? 不習二乘法, 何能學大乘?" 斯言可信也. 二乘尙習, 況大乘乎? 近世學佛者, 自謂頓悟, 蔑視權小, 及談性相, 往往取笑於人者, 皆由不能兼學之過也. 或曰唯唯, 而今而後, 請從事於斯矣.

高麗國 傳華嚴大教 廣智開宗 弘 ...

4. Composition Prepared for a Lecture Given at the Opening of the Newly Constructed Kukch'ŏng Monastery[94] (*Sinch'ang Kukch'ŏngsa kyegang sa* 新創國淸寺啓講辭)[95]

94 Kukch'ŏng Monastery was in Yŏrŭng village, in Chungsŏ township, in Kaep'ung. It is named after the famous Guoqing Monastery 國淸寺 constructed for Tiantai Zhiyi (538–597) during the Sui period. Queen Inye 仁睿 founded the monastery in accordance with Ŭich'ŏn's desires. Work began in 1089 and was completed in 1095. It began as a votive temple for Queen Inye and was the main monastery of the Ch'ŏnt'ae school 天台宗 of Koryŏ. There was a Hall of Truth in which was enshrined a portrait of the queen. Kings Sukchong (r. 1095–1105), Ŭijong (r. 1146–1170), Kojong (r. 1213–1259), and Ch'ungsuk (r. 1313–1330) visited the monastery frequently. A golden thirteen-story stone pagoda was built according to the vows of Queen Inye and installed in 1104. However, it was burned down in the Mongol invasions of the 1230s. After King Ch'ungsŏn (r. 1308–1313) ascended the throne, he rebuilt the monastery.

95 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 3, HPC 4.530b4–c8.

The ocean treasury in the Dragon Palace flows extremely smoothly;
The full approach to all the teachings of the buddhas is already full to capacity.
The Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna[96] numbered the cases of sūtras.
Even counting for three months you would be unable to know more than a small portion.
The wisdom of all the buddhas
is very profound and measureless.
His approach to wisdom
is difficult to decipher and difficult to enter.[97]
Although the ocean is taken as ink and dotted with dust
No one is able to describe it all [and so forth].

When I have taught that the Buddhadharma came to Haedong (Korea)

---

96 Nāgārjuna (Longshu 龍樹, ca. 150–200) is traditionally considered to be the patriarch of the Madhyamaka school of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. He is traditionally believed to have been from a Brahmin family from southern India and to have left home to become a monk after having awakened to the truth that desires and pleasure are the basis of all suffering. He reportedly studied all the learning of the Hīnayāna tradition and found that it was insufficient. He went to the Himalayas and read the sūtras of the Mahāyāna tradition and systematized the Mahāyāna teachings. As he travelled around he sought after lost Mahāyāna sūtras. There is a great debate among modern scholars as to whether Nāgārjuna actually existed or whether he is a literary creation concocted by Mahāyāna writers. This modern scholarly debate is unimportant because he existed to the Indians and Chinese. Nāgārjuna is reputed to be the author of several seminal treatises associated with Mahāyāna Buddhism and also to have recovered several important sūtras from the lair of the dragon king, who had protected them for several hundred years. These texts include some of the Perfection of Wisdom sūtras. His writings include the *Mūla-madhyamaka-śāstra* (*Zhong lun* 中論, T 1564), *Vigrahavyāvartanī* (*Huizheng lun* 廻諍論, T 1631), and the *Bhavasaṅkranti-śāstra* (*Dasheng poyu lun* 大乘波有論, T 1574). Although works such as the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (T 1509) and *Dvādaśanikāya-śāstra* (*Shiermen lun* 十二門論, T 1568) are attributed to him, these texts show evidence of interpolations of later persons. For the problem of Nāgārjuna's existence and dating in Indian literature see Joseph Walser, "Nāgārjuna and the *Ratnāvalī*: New Ways to Date an Old Philosopher," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25, nos. 1–2 (2002): 209–262.

97 Cf. *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*) 1, T 262.9.5b4–5.

more than seven hundred years ago,[98] although all the schools compete to deliver orations and several doctrinal teachings are arrayed alternatively, this one branch of the Ch'ŏnt'ae [school][99] has not been encountered in this generation.[100] In antiquity, the Bodhisattva Wŏnhyo[101] praised the beauties

98 If one adopts to the traditional position that Buddhism entered Korea "officially" and received recognition by the Korean state of Koguryŏ in 372, during the reign of King Sosurim, Ŭich'ŏn's time (1055–1101) is roughly seven hundred years later.

99 The Ch'ŏnt'ae school (Ch. Tiantaizong 天台宗) is organized on the thought established by Great Master Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗 (538–597), who lived on Mt. Tiantai 天台山. It is one of the schools of Chinese Buddhism that best manifests the particular characteristics of the Chinese approach to Buddhism. It discerns between all the teachings taught by the Buddha according to the *Lotus Sūtra* and considers this sūtra to be the most important sūtra taught by the Buddha. Zhiyi received the three kinds of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* (*sanzhong zhiguan* 三種止觀) and the Lotus samādhi (*fahua sanmei* 法華三昧) from Nanyue Huisi 南嶽慧思. Zhiyi entered Mt. Tiantai in 575 and lived there for ten years and wrote the three great works of the Tiantai school. Zhiyi established a doctrinal classification scheme consisting of five time periods and eight teachings (*wushi bajiao* 五時八敎) based on the doctrines of the *Lotus Sūtra*. He advocated the principle of the "perfect interfusion of three truths" (*santi yuanrong* 三諦圓融) and emphasized the actual practice of visualization techniques. Guanding 灌頂 was a student of Zhiyi for twenty years and continued his teachings.

100 Not been encountered (*myŏngi*, Ch. *mingyi* 明夷) is one of the sixty-four hexagrams, the hexagram *lixia* 離下 *kunshang* 坤上. It is the image of a worthy person (*hyŏnin*, Ch. *xianren* 賢人) who encounters a bad ruler and suffers his wrath.

101 Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686) was an eminent monk of Silla. His surname was Sŏl 薛. He was born in Kyŏngsan 慶山 and he studied under many masters. Although he intended to go to China to learn the new Buddhism brought back by Xuanzang, he gave up on route. He studied most of the Buddhist scriptures and treatises that had been introduced to Silla in his time and expounded several expository writings in a thematic-essentials (*chongyo* 宗要) genre that described their general meaning and significance. He wrote several other detailed commentaries on scriptures and treatises in which he had greater interest. He wrote the *Simmun hwajaeng non* 十門和諍論 [Treatise on the harmonization of disputes in ten approaches], demonstrating his mastery of the general viewpoints of these scriptures, and espoused a new view of Buddhism that sought to harmonize the contradictory information found in many sūtras. His most seminally important writings are the *Kisillon so* 起信論疏 [Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*] and the *Kŭmgang sammae-gyŏng non* 金剛三昧經論 [Treatise on the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*], which systemize the teachings on the one mind, which are recognized as some of the most distinguished accomplishments of Silla Buddhism. He married the Princess of Praisine Palace and had a son named Sŏl Ch'ong 薛聰 (ca. 660–730). Later he taught the people directly to recognize the name of the Buddha Amitābha, immersing himself in the conversion

[of the *Lotus Sūtra*] from previous times. The Dharma Master Chegwan[102] transmitted and acclaimed what came afterwards. Because [spiritual] capacities and [causal] connections have not yet matured, how could they manifest glories have been elucidated without cause? The circulation of the Buddhadharma, it seemed, would have to wait for the future. At that time, my deceased mother, the Mother of State Inye,[103] received the Dharma over several lifetimes and cultivated causal [practices] over an accumulation of kalpas. It came to pass that she inaugurated refined monastic complexes and imitated the grand regulations of Guoqing Monastery, disseminated the sublime dharma and

---

and edification of the people. In the early ninth century the "Sŏdang hwasang pi" 誓幢和尙碑 [Stele on the *Upādhyāya* Sŏdang] was erected to remember him. During the reign of Koryŏ King Sukchong (r. 1095–1105) he was posthumously given the title State Preceptor Hwajŏng 和靜國師. Other important writings include his *Hwaŏm-gyŏng so* 華嚴經疏 [Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], *Amit'a-gyŏng so* 阿彌陀經疏 [Commentary on the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*], *Pŏphwa chongyo* 法華宗要 [Thematic Essentials of the *Lotus Sūtra*], *Ijang ŭi* 二障義 [Meaning of the two hindrances], *P'anbiryang non* 判比量論 [Treatise on the criticism of inference], and so forth.

102 Chegwan 諦觀 (d. 970) was a monk active during the reign of Koryŏ king Kwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975). In 960, Qian Hongchu 錢弘俶, king of the Wu-Yue state in southern China, sent an emissary to Koryŏ requesting scriptures that had been lost in China. In 961 Kwangjong sent Chegwan along with the requested scriptures. Chegwan went in search of Yiji 義寂 (919–987) of Luoqi Monsatery 螺溪寺 and requested that he teach him. He studied the doctrinal learning of Tiantai for about ten years, passing away in 970. After his death, it was found that he had written the *Ch'ŏnt'ae sagyo ŭi* 天台四敎儀 [Significance of the four teachings of Tiantai]. Later this text was recognized as one of the most important expositions of the doctrinal learning of the Tiantai tradition and was studied not only in Korea, but also in China and Japan.

103 Queen Dowager Inye (Inye t'aehu 仁睿太后) was the queen of Koryŏ king Munjong (r. 1046–1083). She belonged to the Inju Yi 仁州李氏 family and was the first daughter of Yi Chayŏn 李子淵, the most powerful literati family in Koryŏ. She was the older sister of the Worthy Consorts In'gyŏng 仁敬賢妃 and Injŏl 仁節賢妃. Because there was a policy for the royal family to marry the women of distinguished families, she took her place as Munjong's queen. She was a devout believer in Buddhism and patronized the building of Kukch'ŏng Monastery and vowed to commission a copy of the *Yuga xianyang lun* written on paper in silver ink. It was completed during the reign of her son Sukchong (r. 1095–1105). She became queen in 1052 and was installed as queen dowager in 1086. She gave birth to Sunjong, Sŏnjong, Sukchong, Ŭich'ŏn, Duke Sangan 常安公 (Su 琇), the Saṃgha Overseer Tosaeng 導生, Dean Ch'onghye 聰慧 (Kyŏng 璟), and several other princes and princesses.

transferred the lofty customs of Mt. Folong.[104] Although her great vow had not yet been completed, she suddenly departed from the Eastern land to roam with the gods. I humbly consider that our Lord Majesty[105] inherited the royal line and appeared in Cīnasthāna,[106] protected the Way to enlightenment and dwelled in his revered station, concentrated on his concerns and longings for sanctity and wholesomeness, received the requests of Śākyamuni, continued to fulfill the aspirations of his deceased mother, and truly was earnest in filial considerations. Sure enough, it is seen that the extreme sincerity and sea of oaths and vows of the Cultured Mother[107] are the very source in ancient days:

---

104 Mt. Folong 佛隴山 is the mountain on which the main monastery of the Chinese Tiantai tradition, Guoqing Monaster 國清寺, is located. Previously it had been the place where the divine monk Dingguang 定光 had practiced. See *Guoqing bailu xu* 國清百錄序, T 1934.46.793a6–7. Zhiyi also practiced there and sometimes Folong appears as a nickname for him. See *Tiantai Zhizhe dashi zhaiji lichen wen* 天台智者大師齋忌禮讚, T 1948.46.966a22. With respect to the name of the moutain, the foundation stones on the south side of Xiuchan Monastery 修禪寺 are even and level, because the Buddha visited this place; hence the appearance of the name Folong (Buddha's Hill). See *Niepan xuanyi fayuan jiyao* 涅槃玄義發源機要 4, T 1766.38.38a15–17. Other traditions, such as the *Guoqing bailu* mentioned above, report that the mountain was given its name because many images of the Buddha can be seen on the mountain.

105 Lord Majesty (*chusang* 主上) refers to Koryŏ king Sŏnjong 宣宗 (r. 1084–1094). He was the second son of the eleventh Koryŏ king Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083), the younger brother of Sunjong 順宗 (r. 1083) and the elder brother of Sukchong 肅宗 (r.1095–1105). He was very active in promoting Buddhism by doing such things as establishing the monastic examinations (*sŭngkwa* 僧科), placing the director in chief of the doctrinal canon (*kyojang togam* 敎藏都監) at Pŏphŭng Monastery 法興寺, and publishing books.

106 Cīnasthāna (Majin, Ch. Mochen摩震) from "appeared in Cīnasthāna" (*ch'ul Chin* 出震) here seems to stand for the Korean state of Koryŏ 高麗. Kungye弓裔 (d. 918), rebel and founder of what scholars for convenience's sake call Later Koguryŏ 後高句麗 (901–18), apparently originally named his kingdom Majin 摩震 in 904. Majin is an abbreviated form of Mahācīnasthāna (Mahajindan, Ch. Mohezhendan 摩訶震旦), the Indian name for China, the great country in the eastern region. Koreans of Koryŏ period appear to have used Cīnasthāna to refer to their country as well.

107 Cultured Mother (*munmo* 文母) originally referred to Taishi 太史, the consort of King Wen 文王 of the Zhou dynasty. Since Taishi was gentle and kindhearted and was possessing of the virtue of one who practices the Way, it is an expression that displays intimate affection and high respect.

one person's wholesomely continuing the mountain of meritorious virtues[108] reaching a height of seventy-two feet[109] by dawn today. With respect to this, spring returns to the garden of enlightenment and an assembly opens in the royal family. Heavenly dragons listening quietly are overjoyed, and the monastic and laypeople,[110] inclining their minds, lift up their voices in praise. Although I may have the eloquence of the lion's roar and the brush of Mt. Sumeru, it is very difficult to fully describe the superior achievements of our king. Because of what fortune in a past lifetime does a humble follower of the Buddhist Way[111] [such as my self] encounter this age of brilliance, rely on and search after the approach of emptiness [the Mahāyāna], quietly concentrate my mind on [the teachings of the Buddha], forget my body and inquire after the Way to enlightenment, risk my life search of a master, pass over the boundless expanse of waves, and become involved with the spiritual mentors[112]

108 This expression is used referring to the Sŏnjong's following the will of Queen Dowager Inye and completing Kukch'ŏng Monastery.

109 With respect to the expression "seventy-two feet" (*kuin* 九仞), when one piles up a mountain reaching the height of seventy-two feet, because the last basket for carrying dirt completes the mountain, it refers to completion or realization of meritorious virtue piled up over a long time.

110 Monastic and laypeople, literally "black and white" (*ch'iso* 緇素), were distinguished in medieval Korea by the type of clothing they wore. Monks wore monastic clothing black in color, in contrast, laypeople wore white clothing.

111 "Humble followers of the Buddhist Way" (*pindo*, Ch. *pindao* 貧道) is a term applied by monks to themselves. During the period of disunion in medieval China (ca. 317–589), monks themselves requested that the government call them by this term. After the Tang period (618–907), they were also called "humble monks" (*pinsŭng*, Ch. *pinseng* 貧僧).

112 Spiritual mentors (*sŏn chisik*, Ch. *shan zhishi* 善知識; Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*), also called "good friends" or "spiritual benefactors" (*sŏnu*, Ch. *shanyou* 善友; or *sŭngu*, Ch. *shengyou* 勝友), refer to those who introduce and teache the Dharma in honesty, perform virtuous actions, and lead people on the right path. In the *Sūtra on the Perfection of Wisdom* (*Bore jing* 般若經), a spiritual mentor refers to someone who teaches the doctrines of emptiness and impermanence and so forth, thereby bringing joy to people and causing them to produce the aspiration to enlightenment. In the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra,* Sudhana meets with fifty-three different spiritual mentors including buddhas, bodhisattvas, gods, and even human beings. In the fully developed sense of the concept, a spiritual mentor refers to someone in any form who leads living beings to forsake evil and to perform wholesome practices on the path to Buddhahood.

of the hundred cities?[113] Inheriting and receiving the doctrinal learning and visualization techniques in Guoqing Monastery and Tianzhu Monastery, worshipping the pagodas and ancestral temples of Mt. Folong and Mt. Gu,[114] with a sincere mind I made an oath to spend my life transmitting the lamp [of the Buddhadharma]. Now, that which I have stored up for my whole life up to the present [has been realized]. In the words of ancient people: "If we think earnestly, there is somewhere to return; if we forget our bodies, we obtain [something for them]; the day of death is rather the age of life." Long ago I heard those words and now I see their [actuality, arriving at ... [two logographs missing] O to what extent we should wave our arms and stomp our feet! Because they are moved by and celebrate it, [may] only the saints and the worthies [watch over it].

新創國清寺啓講辭

龍宮海藏極滔滔, 一佛教門已充滿.

龍樹菩薩數經函, 三月不能知小分.

諸佛智慧, 甚深無量, 其智慧門, 難解難入, 海墨點塵, 莫能記述.<云云>

緬惟海東佛法七百餘載, 雖諸宗競演, 衆教互陳, 而天台一枝, 明夷于代. 昔者元曉菩薩, 稱美於前, 諦觀法師, 傳揚於後. 爭奈機緣未熟, 光闡無由? 教法流通, 似將有待. 伏遇我先妣仁睿國母, 累生奉法, 積劫修因. 經始精藍, 取國清之宏制, 發揚妙法, 移佛隴之高風, 大願未終, 神遊俄逝. 伏惟我主上, 承祧出震, 守道居尊, 遵聖善之顧懷, 受能仁之付囑, 繼成先志, 寔切孝思. 果見文母極誠誓願海, 濫觴於昔日, 一人善繼功德山, 爲仞于今朝. 玆者覺苑春廻, 皇家會啓,

113 "Hundred cities" (*paeksŏng* 百城) is Ŭich'ŏn's way of speaking of the great cities of China.

114 Mt. Gu (Gu shan 孤山) is an island on the northwestern edge of West Lake (Xihu 西湖) in Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province. During the Tang period Gushan Monastery 孤山寺 was established in this place; in the early Song period its name was changed to Guanghua Monastery 廣化寺. In 1016, Meditation Master Gushan Zhiyuan 孤山智圓 of the Shanwai sect 山外派 of the Tiantai school dwelt in retirement in Manao Cloister 瑪瑙院 on the island, socialized with the retired scholar Lin Hejing 林和靖 and others, and spent his time enjoying poetry and prose. In 1065 Manao Cloister became Baosheng Cloister 寶勝院 and again changed into a Daoist lodge with the name of Yansheng Lodge 延勝觀. During the Southern Song period, it once again became Manao Cloister. During the Yuan dynasty the Fanghe Pavilion 放鶴亭 was built, and it became a place of scenic beauty.

天龍寂聽而歡喜, 緇素傾心而讚揚. 雖師子之吼, 須彌之筆, 固難盡述吾君之勝事. 貧道宿生何幸, 遭遇明時, 托迹空門, 潛心□□, 亡軀問道, 委命求師, 涉萬頃之洪波, 參百城[115]之善友. 國清天竺, 承禀教觀, 佛隴孤山, □□塔廟, 誠心所誓, 盡命傳燈, 今則平生素蘊□□□. 古人有言, 竭思有其所歸, 亡軀得其□□, □死之日, 猶生之年. 昔聞其語, 今見其□, □□之至, 手舞何階! 感之慶之, 唯聖賢□□.

5. Beginning a Lecture on the *Ullambana-sūtra*[116] (*Kang Ranbun kyŏng pal sa* 講蘭盆經發辭)[117]

Great mercy is without exception love, great filial piety is without exception affection. Loving what I love and not loving that which is loved by others is not great mercy. Having affection for that which love now and not having affection for that which I had affection for in the past is not great filial piety.

115 Although the expression "hundred cities" (*paeksŏng* 百城) is not found in the blank space in the *textus receptus*, it may be deduced from the context.

116 The *Ullambana-sūtra* (*Yulanpen jing* 盂蘭盆經) was translated into Chinese by Zhu Fahu 竺法護 during the Western Jin dynasty and belongs to the Vaipulya grouping of Mahāyāna sūtras. The story of the sūtra regards the Venerable Maudgalyāyana (Ch. Mulian 目連), one of the ten great disciples of the Buddha. Maudgalyāyana's mother fell into the unwholesome destinies and was reborn as a hungry ghost. Unable to bear seeing his mother in pain from being hung upside down, he asked the Buddha if there were any methods or procedures to help her. The Buddha explained that if one prepared offerings of all manner of tastes and flavors and made offerings of fruits to the monks of the ten directions at the end of the summer retreat (*zizi* 自恣), the full-moon day of the seventh lunar month, one who had been reborn as a hungry ghost could be freed from suffering. The Ullambana assembly (Uranbunhoe 盂蘭盆會) was performed according to the teachings of this sūtra and became one of the most widely welcome events in East Asian countries. The sūtra has meaning in Chinese Buddhism because it presents an ethical or moral response to the problem of unfilial behavior when one leaves home to become a monk. Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) composed a commentary on this sūtra (*Yulanpen jing shu*盂蘭盆經疏) and emphasized the doctrine of repaying the favor or grace of one parents (*poŭn*, Ch. *baoen* 報恩) found in this sūtra. See Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

117 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 3, HPC 4.530c9–531a16.

Nevertheless, three thousand offenses fall under the five punishments,[118] and yet there is no sin greater than unfilial behavior. Eighty thousand observances are for taking refuge in the six perfections,[119] and yet there is no merit greater than practicing filial piety. For this reason, you acquire the approaches to Buddhism universally in the five time periods,[120] and the Confucian canon is thoroughly comprehended in six books.[121] These contain everything great and small and regulate and penetrate the exalted and abased. Although there are differences in establishing the doctrinal teachings, there are no discrepancies in esteeming filial piety. For this reason, our original master, the World Honored One of Great Enlightenment first attained complete enlightenment, and then for the throngs of great bodhisattvas, whose wholesome roots had matured in past lives, on the second weekday [after his enlightenment] he turned the fundamental wheel

118 The five punishments (*ohyŏng*, Ch. *wuxing* 五刑) means the five kinds of major and minor punishments but is in fact a term referring to a summarization of all punishments. Prior to the Qin period, the five punishments were to tattoo the face (*muk*, Ch. *mo* 墨), to cut off the nose (*ŭi*, Ch. *yi* 劓), to cut off the feet (*wŏl*, Ch. *yue* 刖), to castrate (*kung*, Ch. *gong* 宮), and to put to death (*sal*, Ch. *sha* 殺). In the *Zhou li* 周禮 [Rites of Zhou] it is said that for every five punishments there are five hundred punishments. After the Tang period, the five punishments were more generally listed as to flog with a bamboo (*t'ae*, Ch. *tai* 笞), to cane or beat with a stick (*chang*, Ch. *zhang* 杖), to perform labor (*to*, Ch. *tu* 徒), to exile or banish (*yu*, Ch. *liu* 流), and to be condemned to death (*sa*, Ch. *si* 死).

119 The six perfections (*yuk paramil*, Ch. *liu boluomi* 六波羅蜜; Skt. *ṣaṭ-pāramitā*) are the wholesome qualities or characteristics of advanced bodhisattvas: giving (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*, forbearance, acquiescence), effort (*virya*), meditative absorption (*dhyāna*), and wisdom (*prajñā*). See *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 5, T 262.9.44c; cf. Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 249.

120 The five time periods (*osi*, Ch. *wushi* 五時) are a concept developed by Chinese Buddhist intellectuals to classify and differentiate the Buddhist teachings. Although there are many ways this term has been used, the most apropos is the theory of Tiantai Zhiyi, who describes the five time periods as follows: (1) the period of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, (2) the period of the *Āgamas*, (3) the period of the Vaipulya sūtras, (4) the period of the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, and (5) the period of the *Nirvāṇa* and *Lotus Sūtras*.

121 The six books (*yukchŏk*, Ch. *liuji* 六籍) refer to the six classics (*yukkyŏng*, Ch. *liujing* 六經): *Shi jing* [Classic of poetry, Book of poetry], *Yi jing* [Book of changes, Classic of changes], *Shu jing* [Classic of history, Book of documents], *Li ji* [Book of rites, Record of rites], *Chunqiu* [Spring and autumn annals], and *Yue jing* [Classic of music] (now lost). The six classics are a cornerstone of Chinese culture.

of the dharma of the great teaching of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and then preached the great bodhisattva precepts[122] of the *Book on Brahmā's Net*[123] saying: "Be filial and obedient to your parents, mentor monks, and the Three Jewels. Filial behavior and obedience are the dharma of the ultimate Way to enlightenment. The name for filial behavior is the precepts."[124] And then he explained in great detail the ten major precepts[125] and forty-eight minor

---

122 The great bodhisattva precepts (*posal tagye*, Ch. *pusa dajie* 菩薩大戒) are the precepts observed by bodhisattvas in the Mahāyāna tradition. The basis for these is the "Storehouse of Precepts" chapter (Jiezang pin 戒藏品) of the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 [Book on Brahmā's net], which describes ten major and forty-eight minor precepts. These are new Mahāyāna-style precepts encompassing monastics and householders that differ from the eight prohibitions (*p'algwan kye*, Ch. *baguan jie* 八關戒) for laypeople and the original bhikṣu precepts for renunciant monks.

123 The *Book on Brahmā's Net* or *Brahmajāla sūtra* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經, T 1484), is originally titled *Fanwang jing lusheno foshuo pusa xindi jie pin dishi* 梵網經盧舍那佛說菩薩心地戒品第十. Although according to tradition the translation of this text is attributed to Kumārajīva in 406, it is probably an apocryphal scripture composed in medieval China. This work in two rolls should be distinguished from the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* found in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*Fanwang liushier jian jing* 梵網六十二見經). It is allegedly a translation of the tenth chapter of a much larger Sanskrit text (120 rolls) called the *Bodhisattvaśīla-sūtra* (*Pusa jie jing* 菩薩戒經). It is also known by the titles *Fanwang jing pusa xindi pin* 梵網經菩薩心地品 and *Fanwang jie pin* 梵網戒品. The book consists of two rolls: the first deals with topics such as the stages of the bodhisattva path; the second lists the ten major precepts and forty-eight minor precepts. With respect to the significance of the *Fanwang jing* among apocryphal texts that deal with Buddhist precepts, those texts compiled shortly after the *Fanwang jing*, because the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 (T 1485) included a better organized and more comprehensive discussions of this topic, the first roll of the *Fanwang jing* has not played a major role in subsequent Buddhist history and was often omitted in commentaries on the text. By the end of the fifth century, the second roll of the *Fanwang jing* circulated in China as an independent text on the precepts. See Paul Groner, "The *Fan-wang ching* and Monastic Discipline in Japanese Tendai: A Study of Annen's *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku*," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 251–290, esp. 253. This second roll, which standing alone has been called the "Chapter" or "The Book of the Bodhisattva Precepts" has been highly regarded in the East Asian Buddhist tradition as laying a foundation for the so-called Mahāyāna precepts tradition and has become a basic canonical work for defining the vinaya in Mahāyāna.

124 *Fanwang jing* 2, T 1484.24.1004a24–25.

125 The ten major precepts (*sip chunggye*, Ch. *shi zhongjie* 十重戒) are (1) do not kill, (2) do not steal what is not given, (3) do not act licentiously, (4) do not lie, (5) do not drink intoxicants, (6) do not

precepts.[126] These are designated as the great precepts corresponding to original nature, the most extreme being filial piety. If one in a winding manner obeys what is appropriate for his capacity and circulates light in the final age [of the Buddhadharma] to such a person, now this *Ullambana-sūtra* will truly be essential. It is because of Maudgalyāyana[127] that [this sūtra] came into being. For this reason the Great Enlightened One made this thing famous. He requested that monks who have completed the summer retreat[128] repay the virtue of their difficulties and labors and make offerings of vessels of food to deal with the bodhisattvas of the ten stages, so that their virtue might become vast as the ocean, that meditative wisdom might be practiced

---

speak of others' transgressions, (7) do not praise yourself and criticize others, (8) do not act miserly, (9) do not lose your temper, (10) do not slander the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha).

126 The forty-eight minor precepts (*sasipp'al kyŏnggye*, Ch. *sishiba jingjie* 四十八輕戒) refer to the precepts that should be observed equally by all seven assemblies of monastics and laypeople. These precepts are called minor precepts, literally "light precepts," because they are minor infractions that should be nipped in the bud. There are forty-eight such precepts according to the *Fanwang jing*, but there are forty-two in the *Pusajie ben* 菩薩戒本 and *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (*Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經), forty-four in the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (*Yuga shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論), fifty in the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (*Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經), and twenty-five in the *Upāsakaśīla-sūtra* (*Yuposai jie jing* 優婆塞戒經). Among these the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, *Yogācārabhūmi*, and *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (*Pusa shanjie jing*) are the most similar to each other.

127 Maudgalyāyana (Mongnyŏn, Ch. Mulian 目連; also Mohemujianlian 摩訶目犍連 and Damujianlian 大目犍連; Pali Moggallāna) was one of the ten great disciples of the Buddha and was particularly known for his advanced spiritual or psychic powers. He is also known as Kolita (Julütuo 拘律陀). According to tradition he was from a Brahmin family of Kolita village on the outskirts of Rājagṛha. He was a man of moral character, and in his youth he became a disciple of the ascetic Sañjaya along with Śāriputra. Maudgalyāyana himself trained with 250 of his own disciples. Eventually, he, Śāriputra, and all of his disciples took refuge in the Buddha, and within a month Maudgalyāyana attained the fruit of arhatship. He entered nirvāṇa before the Buddha.

128 What I have translated as "completed the summer retreat," literally refers to the end of restraint following the period of retreat (*chaja*, Ch. *zizi* 自恣; Skt. *pravāraṇā*). There is a ceremony at the end of the rainy season (in India) or the summer retreat (elsewhere) in which the monks confessed their mistakes and transgressions of three kinds—things they had seen, heard, or doubted—in front of the great congregtation on the last day of retreat. This day is also called "the day on which monks throw off self-restraint" (*sŭngjaja il*, Ch. *sengzizi ri* 僧自恣日).

and the two hindrances removed, and that their benefits might be vivacious and extensive. One may well say that it is the vanguard for destroying delusion and an important approach for entering the Way to enlightenment. With respect to the title, *Foshuo yulanpen jing* 佛說盂蘭盆經, the perfect fullness of three kinds of enlightenment is designated by *Fo* (Buddha), and expansive preaching of a single sound is designated by *shuo* (preached). Yulan is in the language of the Western regions; [in Sino-Korean] this means "hanging upside down" (*tohyŏn* 倒懸). *Pen* (bowl) is a Chinese word that refers to a vessel of salvation. *Jing* (sūtra) is precisely something constant that becomes a principle; it is penetrating and all-inclusive. Constancy is precisely precepts for the hundred kings and principle is a pattern of virtue for the thousand leaves. To be penetrating is precisely the gathering together of these sublime principles, and all-inclusive means to present [the sūtra] to the masses of living beings. For this reason it is called the *Foshuo yulanpen jing*. Because the meaning of the other remaining concepts will be elucidated following the text, you should know what comes next.

講蘭盆經發辭

大慈無不愛, 大孝無不親. 愛我之愛, 不愛彼之所愛, 非大慈也, 親今之親, 不親昔之所親, 非大孝也. 然以五刑之屬三千, 而罪莫大於不孝, 六度之歸八萬, 而福莫大於行孝. 故得釋門遍於五時, 儒典通乎六藉, 包羅大小, 統貫尊卑. 雖設教有殊, 而崇孝無別. 故我本師大覺世尊, 初成正覺, 爲宿世根熟大菩薩衆, 於第二七日, 轉花嚴大教根法輪, 便說梵網菩薩大戒, 云"孝順父母, 師僧三寶. 孝順至道之法, 孝名爲戒." 乃至廣說十重四十八輕者, 此是稱性大戒, 孝之極也. 若乃曲順機宜, 流光末葉者, 今此蘭盆, 實爲其要. 因目連而起發, 故大覺以宣揚. 請自恣僧, 報劬勞德, 供饌具而十地應, 其德汪洋, 定慧修而二障除, 其利浩博. 可謂破迷前陣, 入道要門. 所言佛說盂蘭盆經者, 三覺圓滿, 稱之爲佛, 一音演暢, 名之爲說. 盂蘭是西域之語, 此云倒懸. 盆乃東夏之音, 仍爲救器. 經則爲常爲法, 是貫是攝. 常則道軌百王, 法乃德模千葉. 貫則集斯妙理, 攝又御彼庸生. 故言佛說盂蘭盆經也. 其他隨文發義, 次下當知.

6. Beginning a Lecture on the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*[129] (*Kang Wŏn'gak kyŏng palsa* 講圓覺經發辭)[130]

Now, the dharma is devoid of words and images, but it does not forsake words and images. If you forsake words and images you will fall into delusion. If you grasp at words and images you will become deluded to the truth. Provided that since there are few complete geniuses in the world, it is difficult for a person to be endowed with beauty. Therefore, with respect to those who study doctrinal learning, if many abandon the internal and seek after the external, the people who study Sŏn (*dhyāna*) will be fond of forgetting causal connections and illuminating the interior. In addition, if one too strongly inclined toward one or the other, both of the two frontiers will be blocked. It is like contending over whether a rabbit's horn is long or short,[131] or fighting over whether flowers in the sky are dark or light colored. If you with a just mind, with respect to this and that, pace alone through

---

129 The *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經, T 842), in one roll, the full title of which is *Dafangguang yuanjue xiuduluo liaoyi jing* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經, is a Chinese sūtra that was probably written in the early eighth century C.E. Divided into twelve chapters, it is a series of discussions on meditation practice. The text deals with issues such as the meaning and origin of ignorance, sudden and gradual enlightenment, original Buddhahood, and so forth. All of these themes were previously taken up in the *Qixin lun* 起信論 [Awakening of faith]. It appears to have been intended to resolve questions regarding doctrine and meditation for the earliest practitioners of the Chan school.

130 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 3, HPC 4.531b21–532a14.

131 The "rabbit's horn" (*t'ogak*, Ch. *tujue* 兎角), like "turtle's hair" (*kwimo*, Ch. *guimao* 龜毛), refers to the idea of contending over something that is completely wrong in the first place—e.g., turtles with hair or rabbits with horns. When turtles swim in the water, water plants sometimes stick to their bodies. Seeing this, people mistook the water plants to be hair. Likewise, people's seeing a rabit with his ears pricked straight up mistook them for horns. For this reason, in sūtras and classics, turtle's hair and rabbit's horns (*kwimo t'ogak* 龜毛兎角) refer to something that has a name but does not exist in reality (*yumyŏng musil* 有名無實). For the case of Buddhism, this is compared to the mistaken belief or conceptualization of the reality of the self (*a* 我) or dharmas (*pŏp* 法). Aside from the foregoing, other comparisons are found in traditional literature, such as "snake's feet" (*sajok*, Ch. *shezu* 蛇足), the "fragrance of salt" (*kohyang*, Ch. *guxiang* 鹽香), and the "color of wind" (*p'ungsaek*, Ch. *fengse* 風色).

the past and present, meditation and wisdom are both complete, and you will concurrently benefit yourself and others. If you visualize non-being [emptiness], a myriad of practices will rise to a boil. If you wade through being [existence], one Way becomes clear and transparent. Whether you speak or are silent you will not lose the mysterious and subtle. Whether you are active or quiescent, of those who did not depart from the dharma realm, our Founding Patriarch Guifeng[132] is the only one.

Anciently, Confucius[133] said, "My aspirations lie in the *Spring and Autumn*

---

132 Founding Patriarch Guifeng (Kor. Kyubong chosa 圭峰祖師) refers to Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), the fifth patriarch of the Huayan school in China. He was a native of Guazhou 果州 in Sichuan Province 四川省, and his surname was He 何. He is also called Chan Master Guifeng or Dharma Master Guishan 圭山. He passed the civil service examination in 807, but then upon hearing the preaching of Chan Master Suizhou Daoyuan 遂州道圓, he left the householder life and became a monk. He studied under Jingzhong Shenhui's 淨衆神會 disciple Lizhou Nanyin 益州南印 and Shenzhao 神照 of Baoguo Monastery, and in 810 he became a disciple of Chengguan and learned Huayan. In 816 he entered Zhiju Monastery 智拘寺 on Mt. Zhongnan and vowed not leave the monastery; he studied the Buddhist canon there for three years and composed the *Yuanjue jing kewen* 圓覺經科文. Later, he entered Caotang Monastery 草堂寺 to study and transferred to the Guifeng Āraṇya 圭峰蘭若 (Hermitage), where he immersed himself in chanting sūtras and practicing meditation. In 828, he lectured on the sūtras in the palace and again returned to the mountain monastery. He composed the *Chanyuan zhuquan ji* 禪源諸詮集, in a hundred rolls, collected the Chan discourse records of all the Chan traditions, advocated harmony between the doctrinal and Chan approaches to Buddhism, and paved the way for the Buddhism of the late Tang and Song periods. He composed *Yuanren lun* 原人論 [Treatise on the origin of humans] and clarified the Buddhist view of Confucianism and Daoism. He authored more than thirty books and commentaries such as *Yulanpen jing shu* 盂蘭盆經疏, *Huayan jing lunguan* 華嚴經綸貫, *Yuanjue jing dashu* 圓覺經大疏 and *Shiyi chao* 釋義鈔, and *Zhu huayan fajie guanmen* 注華嚴法界觀門.

133 Confucius (551–479 B.C.E.) is referred to here by his courtesy name (*zi*) Zhongni 仲尼 (Kor. Chungni). His surname was Kong 孔 and his given name was Qiu 丘. He was born in the Zouyi 鄒邑 in Changping district 昌平鄉, in the state of Lu 魯 during China's Spring and Autumn period, present-day Zouxian 鄒縣 in Qufu county 曲阜縣 in Shandong Province 山東省. He was born during the decline of the Zhou feudal era and the confusion wrought by the changing times. He immersed himself in studies and sought to bring order to the confusion, chaos, and social disorder by returning to what he essentially conceptualized as the proper morality of the golden age of the Yao, Shun, and the patriarchs of the Zhou dynasty. He championed a return to traditional morals such as humaneness (*ren* 仁), ritual propriety (*li* 禮), and the observance of the rites and rituals of the past. He also promoted

Annals.[134] Our patriarch said, "My mind believes in the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*."[135] With respect to the topknot jewel[136] of the Wheel-turning

the rectification of names (*ming* 名) in society and the distinction of roles (*fen* 分). He promoted the idea that people could perfect themselves through learning and education and that a true "lordling" or gentleman (*junzi* 君子) could inspire people to follow him on the right path of morality (*daode* 道德). Although Confucius was unsuccessful in persuading the king of Lu, or the rulers of any of the other Chinese states that he visited, to follow his approach to correcting society and government, he did attract many followers. Confucius is believed to have edited the six classics to create a curriculum for his students to follow. Confucianism (*yugyo*, Ch. *rujiao* 儒教) was one of many intellectual schools in the Warring States period. It was not adopted as the "state teaching" (*kukkyo*, Ch. *guojiao* 國教) until the Han period during the reign of Emperer Wu 漢武帝 (r. 141–87 B.C.E.), when the first imperial academy was established using Confucian curriculum in 124 B.C.E. The influence of Confucius and his teachings on Chinese culture and East Asian culture has been immense.

134 The *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋) is the earliest extant example of a historical work in the annals style. It is the court chronicle of the state of Lu. Although it is a mere 17,000 logographs in length, it covers 242 years (722–481 B.C.E.), which works out to about 70 logographs per year. Events are tersely recorded. The longest entry is 47 logographs and the shortest is 10. Editorship was traditionally and implausibly attributed to Confucius. The *Chunqiu*'s title was later used to name the period 770–476 B.C.E. The longest of the three commentaries on the *Chunqiu* to have survived, the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 [Zuo's tradition, also *Zuoshi zhuan* 左氏傳] of Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, is much fuller and more lively than the *Chunqiu* itself. It also contains a far richer text than the other two commentaries on the *Chunqiu*, the *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 of Gongyang Gao 公羊高and the *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 of Guliang Shu 穀梁俶 (also called Guliang Chi 穀梁赤). For this reason, the *Zuozhuan* is the prime source on the years it covers (805–453 B.C.E.).

135 Cf. Zongmi, "Yuanjue jing dashu shiyichao xu" 圓覺經大疏釋義鈔序, X 9.459b20–21.

136 The topknot jewel (*kyeju*, Ch. *jizhu* 髻珠) refers to a bejeweled decoration worn on the top of the head. The "Comfortable Conduct" chapter (Anlexing pin 安樂行品) of the *Lotus Sūtra* describes seven parables, of which this is one. The topknot jewel refers to the jewel inside the topknot of a wheel-turning sage king (cakravartin). Here, the wheel-turning sage king is compared to the Tathāgata, the topknot is compared to the provisional teachings of the one vehicle, and the jewel is compared to the true principle of the one vehicle. That the jewel is inside the topknot portrays the idea that the true principle is hidden inside the provisional teachings. This may be compared to the view that when the Tathāgata explains the provisional teachings, the truth is made manifest; when he gives prophesies of the future Buddhahood of adherents to the two vehicles (śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas), their already having escaped from the cycle of rebirth and death (saṃsāra) and their becoming buddhas is like the jewel within the topknot of the wheel-turning sage king's being freed and given to his meritorious subjects. See Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 218–219.

King, Meditation Master Dayun[137] transmitted by means of the mind, and the family possessions of the Wealthy Elder[138] were given into the hand of Master Qingliang.[139] He silently succeeded to one seal and was concerned with being awakened to a mass of sūtras.[140] As a result of this, he reformed the regulations of the old customs, completed new doctrinal edification, broke the teachings of expediency and suppressed the Hīnayāna,[141] established the sudden teaching and extended the perfect teaching, wrote a commentary in three rolls, and laid out its meaning in ten approaches. If you teach the arousal of causes and conditions, it manifests the reasons for this sūtra; with respect to the division into and inclusion of the Buddhist canon and three vehicles, those who are thoroughly competent have taken refuge in the teachings.[142] With respect to the depth and profundity of divisions and limits, those who assess arrive at the dharma of the one mind. That which takes upon itself the sense organs thoroughly grasps the capacities of the five categories.[143] If you comprehend the core teaching you forget to assess; and if you cultivate your mind you are compatible with attesting to

---

137 Meditation Master Dayun 大雲禪師 is another name for the Chan Master Daoyuan 道圓.

138 The possessions of the "Wealthy Elder" (*changja*, Ch. *changzhe* 長者) refer to the Parable of the Poor Son (*kungja yu* 窮子喻) in the "Parables" chapter (Piyu pin 譬喻品) of the *Lotus Sūtra*. This is the story of a young man who lost his father in his youth, is found again by his weathy father, and is prepared to receive the great weath and possessions of the father. See Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 85–90. Here Ŭich'ŏn uses this expression to compare the transmission of the Dharma of the Huayan school from State Preceptor Qingliang (Chengguan) to the Patriarch Guifeng. This passage is found in *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 圓覺經大疏釋義鈔 1, X 9.459c1–2.

139 Here Ŭich'ŏn uses this expression to compare the transmission of the Dharma of the Huayan school from State Preceptor Qingliang (Chengguan) to the Patriarch Guifeng. This passage is found in *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 1, X 9.459c1–2.

140 Cf. *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 1, X 9.459b8.

141 Cf. *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 1, X 9.459b22–23.

142 Cf. *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 1, X 9.459c6–7.

143 Cf. *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 1, X 9.459c8–9.

the fruit of enlightenment.[144] The body of the Buddha is precisely the non-separation of dharma and reward bodies, and the Pure Land is precisely the non-differentiation of self and others. When you preach, the mind and world systems are both exhausted. When you hear the mass [of teachings] the host and guest (*chuban* 主伴) are mutually interfused.

In response to the original arising of causes, I have given explanations three times. In advocating study of the fruit of the ultimate, the perfect elucidation of the one principle truly is the crux of this sūtra. Thereafter, the two kinds of emptiness (self and dharmas), the eight kinds of consciousness, severing delusion and production according to conditions, the four kinds of knowledge, and bodhi and the six pāramitās are all the mainstream particulars of the Dharma Characteristics school. The meaning of the land of calm illumination[145] and the essay on the Tathāgatagarbha exhaust the roots of igornance; examining the basis of passion and desire, the attainment of Buddhahood in six approaches, and attesting to thusness by means of the five teachings pervade the beginning and end of the Dharma Characteristics school. When one deciphers the end of the "Chapter on Mañjuśrī,"[146] the mind and world systems are both forgotten. When one analyzes the visualization of true emptiness, the objects of the sense organs [or the sense organs and their objects] are universally purified; when one avails oneself of a cleansing of the spirit, characteristics disappear, for the cause of searching and watching I become empty: these are concurrently the mysterious principles of the Prajñā school. If [one's mind] analyzes the four

144 Cf. *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 1, X 9.459c9–10.

145 The land of calm illumination (*chŏkkwangt'o*, Ch. *jiguang tu* 寂光土) is one of the four types of lands and is short for "land of constant calm illumination" (*sang chŏkkwangt'o*, Ch. *chang jiguang tu* 常寂光土). It is the world system or realm where enlightened beings dwell in unity with the truth and wisdom. In other words, it is precisely the world system or realm of the Dharmakāya Buddha (*pŏpsin pul*, Ch. *fashen fo* 法身佛).

146 "Chapter on Mañjuśrī" (*Wenshu zhang* 文殊章) refers to the "Chapter on the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī" (*Wenshushili pusa zhang* 文殊師利菩薩章) in the *Yuanjue jing*. The "Essay on Mañjuśrī" is attested in two places—*Hongzhi chanshi guanglu* 宏智禪師廣錄 8, T 2001.48.84a20–24; and *Yuanjue jing xinjing* 圓覺經心鏡 1, X 10.378b8.

greatnesses[147] and prevents the six sense organs, is fed up with the eight kinds of meditation, receives the submission of and serving the four fruits [stages of sanctity], the five heavy precepts and ten wholesome actions, and the large and small peaceful dwellings, [this] is explained as the scale and scope of the basket of movement and submission.[148] If you divide the threefold the dharma realm, the core teaching of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is manifest in it; if you open the two approaches to the one mind, the meaning of the *Awakening of Faith* is made known. If you concurrently attend to the two teachings (Confucianism and Daoism), [your mind] pervades the mysterious points of Confucius and Laozi. If you gather together the two schools of Chan (the Northern and Southern schools), [your mind] elucidates the secret meaning of Shenxiu and Huineng.[149] Consequently, those who are caused to dwell in characteristics fuse with characteristics, and those who grasp at letters depart from letters.[150] By means of great compassion he did not weary from meandering, he picked, collected, and furthermore corrected his *Excerpts of the Analytical Meaning* (*Yichao* 義鈔), thirteen rolls in all.[151] Furthermore, he composed an *Abbreviated Commentary* (*Lüeshu* 略疏) in four rolls, a small excerpts in six rolls, and *Rituals for Cultivating Evidence of*

---

147 "The four greatnesses" (*sadae*, Ch. *sida* 四大; Skt. *catvāri mahā-bhūtāni*) is short for the "four great seeds" (*sadae chong*, Ch. *sida zhong* 四大種), which are also said to be the four realms (*sagye*, Ch. *sijie* 四界). The four greatnesses are connected to the Buddhist theory of the four elements—earth, water, fire, and wind. The greatness of earth (*chidae*, Ch. *dida* 地大) is characterized by the essence of strength and the function of maintaining and preserving. The greatness of water (*sudae*, Ch. *shuida* 水大) is characterized by the essence of absorbing and the function of collecting and pooling. The greatness of fire (*hwadae*, Ch. *huoda* 火大) is characterized by the essence of heat and the function of maturing and consuming. The greatness of wind (*p'ungdae*, Ch. *fengda* 風大) is characterized by the essence of moving and the function of bring and growing.

148 The basket of movement and submission (*chobok chang*, Ch. *tiaofu zang* 調伏藏) refers to the vinaya-piṭaka (*yulchang*, Ch. *lüzang* 律藏), the collection of the monastic precepts, in the Tripiṭaka or Buddhist canon.

149 Cf. *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 1, X 9.459c11–24.

150 Cf. *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 1, X 9.460a1.

151 Cf. *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 1, X 9.460a5.

Enlightenment in the Enlightenment Site (*Daochang xiuzheng yi*)[152] in eighteen rolls, and so forth, all of which are currently available in the world. That from which I am lecturing now is precisely the annotation of the sūtra in the *Abbreviated Commentary*.[153]

講圓覺經發辭

夫法無言像, 非離言像. 離言像則倒惑, 執言像則迷眞. 但以世寡全才, 人難具美. 故使學敎之者, 多棄內而外求, 習禪之人, 好忘緣而內炤. 並爲偏執, 俱滯二邊, 其猶爭兎角之短長, 鬪空花之濃淡. 若乃公心彼此, 獨步古今, 定慧兩全, 自他兼利. 觀空而萬行騰沸, 涉有而一道湛然. 語默不失玄微, 動靜不離法界者, 唯我圭峯祖師一人而已. 昔者仲尼云, "吾志在春秋," 吾祖云, "予心宗圓覺." 洎乎輪王髻寶, 大雲心傳, 長者家財, 清凉手授, 默承一印, 懸悟衆經. 由是革舊風規, 成新敎化, 挫權抑小, 立頓張圓, 疏成三卷, 義列十門. 若乃敎起因緣, 現當經之由致, 藏乘分攝, 通諸敎之所歸. 分齊幽深, 詮至一心之法, 所被根器, 通收五類之機. 會旨忘詮, 修心契證, 佛身則法報不分, 淨土則自他無別, 說時則心境雙泯, 聽衆則主伴互融. 答本起因, 三重展轉, 提究竟果, 一理圓明者, 實爲此經之宗骨也. 若乃二空八識, 斷惑緣生, 四智菩提, 六波羅密, 罄法相宗之源流也. 寂光土義, 如來藏章, 盡無明根, 究貪愛本, 六門成佛, 五敎證如, 暢法性宗之本末也. 解文殊章末, 心境雙亡, 釋眞空觀初, 根塵普淨, 藉澄神而相泯, 因尋伺而我空, 兼般若宗之玄致也. 分折四大, 防禁六根, 八定厭炘, 四果伏斷, 五重十善, 大小安居, 說調伏藏之規模也. 分三重於法界, 花嚴之旨現焉, 開二門於一心, 起信之義著

152 The *Yuanjue jing daochang xiuzheng yi* 圓覺經道場修證儀 [Rituals for cultivating realization in the enlightenment site according to the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*], in eighteen rolls, was composed by Zongmi in the Tang period. Its contents describe the rituals and regulations for practicing ritualized penance (*yech'am*, Ch. *lichan* 禮懺) and meditative visualizations (*sŏn'gwan*, Ch. *changuan* 禪觀). It also clarifies visualization procedures of seated meditation and the procedures for penance and the eradication of sins that were practiced in religious services and by practitioners based on the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*. In addition, it gives the stipulations for the chanting and recitation of sūtras and the procedures for worship. In particular, one of its distinctive characteristics is its combination of Huayan and Chan practices. Ŭich'ŏn's Chinese master Jingyuan simplified the text and created the *Yuanjue jing daochang lüeben xiuzheng yi* 圓覺經道場略本修證儀 [Abbreviated and basic rituals for cultivating realization in the enlightenment site according to the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*].

153 The *Abbreviated Commentary* (*Lüeshu* 略疏) probably refers to Jingyuan's *Yuanjue jing daochang lüeben xiuzheng yi* 圓覺經道場略本修證儀.

矣. 事兼二教, 暢孔李之玄樞, 禪會兩宗, 明秀能之秘旨, 遂使住相者融相, 執文者離文. 大悲不倦於曲成, 採集又修於義鈔, 凡一十三卷. 又著略疏四卷, 小鈔六卷, 道場修證儀一十八卷等, 並行於世. 今所講者, 則是略疏注經也.

7. Beginning a Lecture on the *Sūtra of Bequeathed Teachings* (*Kang Yugyo kyŏng palsa* 講遺教經發辭)[154]

Huaisu[155] of the Tang dynasty and Zhiyuan[156] of the Song dynasty both

---

154 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 3, HPC 4.532a15–22.

155 Huaisu 懷素 (634–707) was a monk who clarified the monastic rules and precepts during the Tang period. When he was twelve *sui*, he left home to become a monk under the famous pilgrim Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664) and became familiar with the sūtras and treatises. After he received the full monastic precepts he followed Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) and learned the *Sifenlü xingfa chao* 四分律行事鈔. After that he became a disciple of Daocheng 道成 and a disciple of Fali 法礪 and learned the *Sifenlü shu* 四分律疏. He lamented that these two texts were unfinished and composed his own *Sifenlü kaizong ji* 四分律開宗記 in twenty rolls. Because he pointed out sixteen mistakes in the older commentaries in this commentary, people call it the *New Commentary* (*Xinshu* 新疏). From this, Huaisu's new interpretations that were different from Fali's were termed the East Pagoda Vinaya school (Dongta lüzong 東塔律宗). His school, along with Fali's Xiangbuzong 相部宗 and Daoxuan's Nanshanzong 南山宗, were called the three great vinaya traditions (*samdae chong*, Ch. *sanda zong* 三大宗). He first remained at Hongji Monastery 弘濟寺 in Chang'an and by imperial order became head of Xitaiyuan Monastery 西太原寺. He spread the customs of his school, and many students gathered as his followers. He also composed such works as a *Jushe lun shu* 俱舍論疏, *Yijiao jing shu* 遺教經疏, and *Sifen biqiu jieben shu* 四分比丘戒本疏.

156 Zhiyuan 智圓 (976–1022) was a monk of the Shanwai sect 山外派 of the Tiantai school 天台宗 during the Song period. His courtesy name (*zi*) was Wuwai 無外, and his pen name (*hao*) was Qianfu 潛夫. When he was eight *sui* he left home to become a monk at Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 in Qiantang (Hangzhou). Although he had first studied Confucianism and was skilled in poetry and prose composition, he became familiar with the doctrinal and visualization practices of the Tiantai school from Yuanqing 源清 of Fengxian Monastery. After Yuanqing passed away, he promoted the theories of the Shanwai sect along with his fellow disciples Qingzhao 慶昭, Wuen 晤恩, and so forth and stirred the flames of dispute with Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960–1028), the representative of the Shanjia sect 山家派. Later, he attracted many students when he went to rest at the Manao Slope 瑪瑙坡 on Gushan 孤山 in West Lake (in Hangzhou). From this time forward he was engrossed in writing. He composed the *Xianju pian* 閑居編, in sixty rolls, and the *Jinguangming jing xuanyi*

wrote essays that promulgate these teachings. Only I have been informed that Great Dharma Master Jinshui[157] lamented for a long time that this writing had not yet been prepared for circulation. Thereupon, he translated the maxims and admonitions of the scriptures and treatises and collected the profound words of all the philosophers, compiled it under one title, and distributed it to the four quarters of the world. I consider the Dharma to be weighty and belittle my body, and I have searched for mentors and asked them regarding the Way to enlightenment. Fortunately I was in attendance at a lecture [of Dharma Master Jinshui] and was able to hear his perfect voice. That which I am now lecturing is precisely the newly compiled essentials of our Master Jinshui. For meaning and examples other than those please wait until we enter into the text.

講遺教經發辭

李唐懷素, 大宋智圓, 並有章句, 發揚斯教. 唯我所禀, 晋水大法師, 久慨斯文, 流芳未備, 於是翻經論之格訓, 集諸家之奧辭, 撰成一部, 流布四方. 某重法輕身, 求師問道, 幸於講下, 獲聽圓音, 今所講者, 則我晋水新集節要是也. 其他義例, 請俟入文.

8. Memorial Requesting to Enter the Great Song Empire to Search for the Dharma (*Ch'ŏng ip Tae Song kubŏp p'yo* 請入大宋求法表)[158]

biaozheng ji 金光明經玄義表徵記, in one roll. Because he was thoroughly conversant in Confucianism and the writings of the early Chinese philosophers of the hundred schools, it is said that he contrived to harmonize the three teachings of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. He earned the epithet Master of Ten Commentaries (Shiben shuzhu 十本疏主) from his followers for composing ten kinds of commentaries, such as the *Wenshu bore jing shu* 文殊般若經疏, *Yijiao jing shu* 遺教經疏, and *Shoulengyan jing shu* 首楞嚴經疏. Aside from these he wrote several other commentaries totaling more than 170 rolls in all.

157 Great Dharma Master Jinshui 晉水大法師 is the Huayan master Jingyuan (1011–1088).

158 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 5, HPC 4.533c20–534b13.

As I, thy servant, hast heard, that as the Buddha Śākyamuni[159] didst sacrifice his body for half a gāthā,[160] he circulated his fragrant fame with respect to the treasured dharma. The youth Sudhana, who didst question the spiritual mentors of the hundred cities, didst set an example with respect to striving after a master. Let alone right during the deterioration of the semblance dharma, although one dost receive an invitation from a man of philosophy, if one dost not have the aspiration with respect to looking for the Way to enlightenment, then one is certainly possessing of idleness with respect to searching for the truth. Following what I darest hope to obtain, I desire humaneness; in that case [thou wilt] guide me to the sincerity that comes from the bottom of one's heart. Because I dost carry around the transgression of presumptuousness, I wilt willingly wait for my punishment.

I humbly think that I, thy servant, possess knowledge that is hollow and feeble. Fortunately I have a binding causal connection with China, and although I have incurred the favor of the ranks of the black-robed monks for

---

159 Śākyamuni (Nŭngjŏk, Ch. Nengji 能寂), which is an abbreviation of Nŭngin chŏkmuk 能仁寂默, is a Chinese translation of the meaning of Śākyamuni (sage of the Śākya clan). The Chinese translation of "Śākya" is *nŭngin* (capable humaneness) and the Chinese translation of "muni" is *chŏkmuk* (quiescent silence).

160 Sacrificing his body for half a gāthā (*pan'ge yŏn'gu*, Ch. *banjie juanqu* 半偈捐軀) refers to a legend about the practice of Kumāra of Hemavata (Xueshan tongzi 雪山童子). In one of the previous lives of the Buddha Śākyamuni, he was born a Brahmin and entered into the pure mountains of Hemavata in the northern region of India to cultivate the practices of a bodhisattva. One day Śakra, Lord of the Gods (Indra), transformed himself into the fearsome visage of a *rākṣasa* (demon) with the express purpose of testing the strength of his practice. The god recited for the bodhisattva half of a gāthā (verse) that had been spoken by the past buddha. The Brahmin rejoiced upon hearing this gāthā and requested to hear the rest of it. When the *rākṣasa* said that as payment he would like to eat the blood and flesh of the Brahmin, because the Brahmin's desire to search for the Dharma was earnest and sincere, he sacrificed his body according to his promise to hear the rest of the gāthā. At that moment, the *rākṣasa* transformed back into Lord Śakra and was peacefully received back in heaven. Because of the causal connection associated with this act of devotion, it is said that twelve kalpas (eons) later Śākyamuni was able to attain Buddhahood before Maitreya. The treasured gāthā is as follows: "All practices are impermanent; this is the dharma (law) of production and destruction; since production and destruction are both destroyed, quiescence is bliss." See *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 14, T 374. 12.450a12–451b1.

a long time, I despise hearing reports of merits and benefits and only store up the simplicities of fear and shame. I humbly consider that thy Lordly Highness dost stand having inherited the throne and that thou hast come for the sake of the world. [Your Majesty] hast been generous with the causes of bodhisattvahood in previous lives, and in the present life thou hast been moved to obtain the position of August Ruler. Modeling the right edification of the Buddha residing in this world, thou dost clarify the bequeathed customs of the Buddha after his passing. By means of thy brilliant intelligence and thoughts expressed in writing thou dost give light to the whole realm, and by means of thy mercy, compassion, joy, and relinquishment[161] thou dost benefit all the black-haired people, and the Buddha triad relies [on thee] in order to remain dwelling and the people dost enjoy the blessings of felicity and bliss. Not only hast thou cultivated a civilized regime and suppressed savage behavior, but thou hast ably proclaimed the majesty of a lord of men, and thou hast also transmitted the teachings and benefited living beings, and in the end thou hast disseminated the commands of the Dharma King. Only those circulating the Way to enlightenment are quiet, and the marketplace stalls are desolate. Eventually, [Buddhists' failure to propagate the Dharma] will cause the destiny of the truth to bend to heresy and the mysterious words [of Buddhism] to be concealed by unfounded lies. Taking pleasure in literature and sampling meanings, I have vainly longed for the worthies of old. Although I carry my book chest with rolls of sūtras, I rarely encounter a good mentor. If I do not ask for guidance in my endeavors when I go to China, it will certainly be difficult to grab anyone's attention[162] in the Eastern Region.

161 Mercy, compassion, joy, and relinquishment (*chabi hŭisa*, Ch. *cibei xishe* 慈悲喜捨) refer to four characteristics of mind and spirit that must be developed in buddhas and bodhisattvas so that they might save living beings, rid them of their suffering, and help them to obtain happiness. By means of mercy, they give living beings joy; by means of compassion, they are able to rid living beings of their fears; by means of joy, they are able to replace fear with delight; and by means of relinquishment, the relinquishment of prejudice and wrong views, they are able to view all living beings equally, and they did not distinguish between beings who are close and friendly, bitter and full of anger, happy and joyful, or fearful.

162 What I have translated as "grab anyone's attention," literally means "peel the membrane" (*kyŏlmak*,

I have secretly pondered when Wŏn'gwang[163] himself returned [to his homeland] shaking his metal staff, when Ŭisang[164] crossed over on a floating wine cup:[165] the cool breeze ceased afterwards and no one pursued their

---

Ch. *juemo* 抉膜).

163 Wŏn'gwang 圓光 (532–630, or 554–637, or d. 640) was an eminent monk from Silla who studied Buddhism in China from 589 to 600. According to his biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, he passed away in 630 at ninety-nine *sui*; but Korean historical sources suggest that he was active until at least 637. For this reason, in the *Samguk yusa*, Iryŏn suggests that perhaps Wŏn'gwang actually passed away in 640. According to a miracle tale preserved in the *Samguk yusa*, he left home to become a monk, practiced by himself on Mt. Samgi 三岐山, and went to China in 589 to study the Dharma. He studied the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*, *Nirvāṇa*, and *Prajñā-pāramitā* sūtras. He returned to Silla in 600 and lectured on the sūtras and treatises. He composed many documents associated with diplomatic relations, such as the Silla king Chinp'yŏng's requesting assistance from the Sui Chinese military in their wars with Koguryŏ and Paekche. While residing at Kasŏ Monastery 嘉西寺 in Ch'ŏngdo, he was approached by two young men named Kwisan and Ch'uhang, who desired to learn things that would help them be respected in society. He taught them the five secular precepts (*sesok ogye* 世俗五戒), and he also managed the installation of a divination treasure (*chŏmch'al po* 占察寶) in order to enlighten ordinary people. Wŏn'gwang left behind great traces in the development of Silla Buddhism by means of his development of Buddhist thought, his popularizing divination practices, and his preaching Buddhism in provincial society.

164 Ŭisang 義湘 (625–702) was a Silla monk who studied in China from 660 to 670.

165 Wŏn'gwang and Ŭisang had travelled to China previously to study Buddhism; thus, Ŭich'ŏn employs the metaphors "shake his staff" (*chinsŏk*, Ch. *zhenxi* 振錫) and "float on a wine cup" or "set his cup adrift" (*fubei* 浮杯). Zhenxi literally means "shake the staff to sound the metal rings" (*chinsŏk imyŏng*, Ch. *zhenxi erming* 振錫而鳴). Sinitic Buddhist sacred biographies or hagiographies frequently use the expression *zhenxi* to emphasize a monk's decision to set forth on an arduous journey or to indicate the monk's announcement of his presence. For instance, it was said that "in the Hongshi reign period of the illegitimate Qin, Puṇyatara shook his staff and entered the border pass (*zhenxi ruguan* 振錫入關). The Qin ruler Yao Xing 姚興 treated him as a guest of highest honor" (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 2, T 2059.50.333a16–18). *Zhenxi* is often rephrased as *zhangxi* 杖錫/仗錫. For example, it was said that after hearing Kumārajīva disseminate Buddhism in Chang'an, "Vimalākṣa (Beimoluocha 卑摩羅叉) shook his staff and set forth on a journey to the shifting sands [of the desert from Kashmir], risking his life to enter the East" (see *Gaoseng zhuan* 2, T 2059. 50.333b25–26). The biography of the early missionary Kang Senghui in the *Gaoseng zhuan* says, "[Senghui] carried his staff (*zhangxi* 杖錫) and journeyed to the East" (see *Gaoseng zhuan* 1, T 2059. 50.325b5–6), while Sengyou changed "carried" to "shook" (*zhenxi*) (see *Chusanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 13, T 2145.55.96b6–7). *Fubei* is also used in Buddhist literature to signify a daunting journey, typically by water. The locus classicus of

lofty traces. I, your servant, now dare to gaze upon the perilous land as a comfortable land, give rise to anger and forget food, empty my ambitions, and produce thoughts, and have drawn up my collar and waited for the time. In the eighth month of last year I received a letter from Dharma Master Jingyuan, *ācārya*[166] of the Huayan tradition in the Liangzhe

---

the expression probably has its origin in the legend of the Buddhist thaumaturge Beidu 杯度 of the Liu-Song dynasty (420–479), who was said to have tossed a wooden cup he carried into a river and miraculously floated over on it, in order to make his escape after stealing a Buddhist image from a layman. Thereafter, people used his name to indicate the journey by water. In a related story, a certain Zhu Lingqi 朱靈期 of Wu 吳 district was stranded by the wind when he returned from Korea. His ship drifted to an offshore land where he met a monk who served him and his crew extraordinary food and asked if Zhu knew Beidu. After hearing that Zhu knew him well, the monk showed him a staff and an alms bowl wrapped in a bag hanging on the wall, saying that they had been given to him by Beidu 杯度 and that he wanted Zhu's assistance in returning the alms bowl to Beidu. The monk then showed Zhu the way back to his ship and home. *Beidu* as well as its variants *dubei* 度杯, *chengbei* 乘杯, and *fubei* 浮杯 were often used in poetry as references to journeys by water. Because he was probably aware of the story and the use of the terms, Ŭich'ŏn aptly applied *fubei* to his poetic reference to Ŭisang's journey because of its connection with Korea. For the story see *Gaoseng zhuan* 10, T 2059.50.390c–392b; also *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林61, T 2122.53.746c28–748b1. Most of the information from this note was culled from Huang Chi-chiang, "Ŭich'ŏn's Pilgrimage and the Rising Prominence of the Korean Monastery in Hang-chou during the Sung and Yüan Periods," in *Currents and Countercurrents: Korean Influences on the East Asian Buddhist Traditions*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 242–276, esp. 265, n. 14.

166 *Ācārya* (*asari*, Ch. *asheli* 阿闍梨, *sari*, Ch. *sheli* 闍梨, for short) is translated into Chinese as "master of the standards" (*kwebŏmsa* 軌範師), "[model of] right practices" (*chŏnghaeng* 正行), "[leader of] the joyful assembly" (*yŏlchung* 悅衆), "instructor/professor" (*kyosu* 教授), and "transmitter" (*chŏnsu* 傳授). With the basic meaning of one who teaches students, because he is one whose actions and behavior are upright and appropriate and becomes a model for his students, *ācārya* is also translated as guru (*tosa* 導師). In Indian Brahmanical Hinduism, someone who teaches the standard practices of the Vedic rituals and other ritual ordinances is called an *ācārya*. The term appears to have been appropriated by Buddhists to means something of a ritual specialist. There are five kinds of *ācārya* in the mature Mahāyāna tradition in East Asia: (1) The mendicant *ācārya* or *ācārya* for leaving the householder way of life (*ch'ulga asari* 出家阿闍梨) was one's master when one received the ten precepts; he was also called an *ācārya* of the ten precepts (*sipkye asari* 十戒阿闍梨). (2) The full precepts *ācārya* (*sugye asari* 受戒阿闍梨) was one's master of karma when received the full precepts; he was also called a karma *ācārya* (*kalma asari* 羯磨阿闍梨). (3) The instructor *ācārya* (*kyosu asari* 教授阿闍梨) was one's master of solemnity when one received the full precepts; he was also called dignified *ācārya* (*wiŭi asari* 威

region.[167] In his letter he said, "Come riding the wind, and if I instruct you by my own mouth and transmit [the Buddhadharma] to you by means of my mind, then the needle and the mustard seed,[168] although remote, will take pleasure in the mutual agreement of the noble and base, a mouth organ and musical stone make the same sound, and earnestly make a sound, harmonizing the noises of the palace and marketplace." Reading these words thrice, I, your servant, fully assimilated my aspirations to them. Longing for a huge benefit that will not be forgotten, I recognize a strong connection and would like to be able to meet him. I hope to take a tour of the South on the cart of the Dharma, and although my straightforward longings are deep, when I look back upon the passenger ships sailing off into the West, I become as earnest as the wandering clouds. No matter how much effort I make, it is difficult to know what course to take, and as I loiter around I have thought many times of causes and connections. Although I can estimate my will, I have lost my

---

儀阿闍梨). (4) The *ācārya* of receiving sūtras (*sugyŏng asari* 受經阿闍梨) is the person who teaches methods of reading the sūtras and their meaning. (5) The *ācārya* for reliance and cessation (*ŭiji asari* 依止阿闍梨) is the person who leads the daily lives of the bhikṣus. Aside from these, there was a kuṇḍikā *ācārya* (*kunji asari* 君持阿闍梨) in the Western regions (India and Central Asia); this person was a master of *abhiṣeka* or consecration (*kwanjŏngsa* 灌頂師).

167 The Liangzhe 兩浙 region was the name of the Chinese province (Liangzhelu 兩浙路) during the Northern Song period (960–1127); it comprised the Zhedong 浙東 and Zhexi 浙西 regions. Present-day Jiangsu Province 江蘇省 south of the Yangzi River and the whole of Zhejiang Province 浙江省 belonged to it.

168 The needle and the mustard seed (*ch'imgae*, Ch. *zhenjie* 鍼芥) is an expression used for a highly rare event or something that would be very difficult to come to pass: a very small mustard seed falls down from Trāyastriṃśa Heaven, the heaven of the thirty-three gods, and passes through the eye of a needle set up in the world on Jambudvīpa. It is used in a similar manner to the parable of The Blind Turtle Running into a Block of Wood (*maenggwi umok* 盲龜遇木), which also refers to a highly unlikely occurrence. The Buddha employed this parable in speaking to his disciples. In a scripture, he tells of a blind turtle that dwells in the depths of a vast ocean, coming up for air only once in a hundred years. On the surface of that ocean floats a block of wood with a hole in it. It is more common for that turtle to place its head through the hole in the block of wood when it takes its centennial breath, the sūtra says, than it is for a living being trapped in the cycle of rebirth and death to be born as a human with the good fortune to encounter the Buddhadharma. See *Daban niepan jing* 2, T 374.12.372c15, c18, c22–23.

plan; although I soothe my body, I do not know what to do.

I humbly hope my Lord and Highness that thou doest take pity on me, thy servant, for the sake of the Dharma and respond vigorously to me, thy servant, who hast braved punishment. Regarding as insignificant the myriad deaths from crossing over the long waves, I will entrust my one body to reaching that other shore. As I enjoy the flourishing virtue of my royal forebears and receive the mysterious endowment (*myŏngga* 冥加) of our Buddha, light the flame of wisdom that has been transmitted from the West, and turn the wheel of the Dharma that has returned to the East, the glory of the Way to enlightenment is repeatedly projected back to remote antiquity, and the winds of mercy have increasingly fanned over the Three Han tribes. If the great teaching has been rolled up and unrolled again, profound core teachings have been lost and made manifest once more; although momentarily it has been contrary to loyalty and filial piety, I hope I will be able to supplement the country and its families. Bowing my head, I hope for the dignity of Your Majesty that this will increase perishing transgression. I have now made a vow together with Great Master Tamjin[169] of Ssanggye Monastery and so forth, eleven black-robed and white-robed in all. Although we desire to embark on a commercial passenger ship, we do not dare make an unauthorized decision.

請入大宋求法表

臣聞半偈捐軀能寂, 流芳於重法, 百城問友善財, 垂範於務師. 矧當像教之下衰, 復被哲人之招引. 儻無心於訪道, 必有怠於求眞. 敢希從欲之仁, 輙導由衷之懇. 載循僭越, 甘俟刑章. 伏念臣某, 智識空踈, 器能慵懦, 幸締[170]緣於華旦, 久冒寵

[169] Tamjin 曇眞 (fl. 1085–1116) was a monk of the mid-Koryŏ period. His secular surname was Sin 申, and he was a disciple of State Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk 景德, Nanwŏn 爛圓 (999–1066). Tamjin was entrusted with the responsibility of proofreading and making corrections to Ŭich'ŏn's massive project of collecting, editing, and publishing a canon of the doctrinal teachings, his supplement to the Buddhist canon. He became a royal preceptor (*wangsa* 王師) in 1107 and became state preceptor in 1114 when the Koryŏ king made a royal progress to Pongŭn Monastery 奉恩寺. In 1116 he lectured at Poje Monastery 普濟寺 when the king came making a royal progress and received an award.

[170] Inferring and inserting the logograph *ch'e* 締, which is not readable in the text.

於緇班, 蔑聞福利之稱, 徒積兢慙之素. 伏遇主上承祧以立, 爲世而來, 宿敦菩薩之因, 現感皇王之位. 體佛在之正化, 闡佛後之遺風, 聰明文思, 光被率土, 慈悲喜捨, 利洽黎元, 三尊仗以住持, 兆民賴之慶樂. 匪唯修文偃虎, 克宣人主之威, 抑亦傳敎利生, 聿布法王之令. 但以道流寂爾, 講肆閴然, 遂使眞趣屈於異端, 玄言隱於浮僞. 玩文味義, 空戀於古賢, 負笈橫經, 罕逢於善匠. 若不問津於中國, 固難抉膜於東方. 竊惟圓光振錫已還, 義想浮杯以降, 淸風絶後, 高迹無追. 臣是敢視險若夷, 發憤忘食, 虛襟致想, 引領俟時. 於去年八月, 得大宋兩浙華嚴闍梨淨源法師書一道, 其書云, "因風而來, 口授心傳, 則鍼芥雖遠, 悅高下之相投, 笙磬同音, 穆宮商[171]而切響." 斯言三復, 臣意一同. 晞巨利以未忘, 認强緣而得遇, 望南巡之法駕, 緬戀雖深, 顧西邁之客帆, 雲遊斯切. 僶俛難裁於進退, 徘徊幾念於因緣, 揣志失圖, 撫軀無措. 伏望主上, 愍臣爲法, 恕臣冒刑, 輕萬死於涉長波, 委一身於到彼岸. 賴之以我王盛德, 荷之以吾佛冥加, 炳慧焰於西傳, 輾法輪於東返, 道光重映於千古, 慈風益扇於三韓. 大敎卷而復舒, 幽旨淪而更現, 則雖暫違於忠孝, 冀有補於邦家. 傾望宸嚴, 寔增殞越. 今與雙溪寺大師曇眞等緇素共一十一人 同約, 欲隨商客舡發行, 不敢專擅.

9. Memorial Humbly Requesting to go to the Place of the *Ācārya* Jingyuan in Hangzhou in order to Learn the Dharma (*Kŏl ch'wi Hangju Wŏn sari ch'ŏ hakpŏp p'yo* 乞就杭州源闍梨處學法表)[172]

I, your servant, the monk Ŭich'ŏn, humbly inform you that in humility I had an audience with His Holiness [the emperor] within the palace[173] and have already negotiated the rite for bowing to the north.[174] O dignified

[171] Reading *sang* 商 for *che* (*chŏk/sŏk*) 啇.

[172] *Taegak kuksa munjip* 5, HPC 4.536b6–20.

[173] What I have translated as "the palace," literally means "ninefold [gate]" (*kujung*, Ch. *jiuzhong* 九重) and is an archaic reference to the gate of the palace and by extension to the palace and to the king or emperor himself. In antiquity, the Son of Heaven was said to have lived in a palace behind nine sets of gates, hence, "ninefold gate."

[174] The rite for bowing to the north (*pukkong chi ŭi* 北拱之儀) refers to the method for greeting

master dwelling a thousand miles[175] away, in urging me to travel south, on this account I would be sincerely gratified to raise up and kowtow to your extreme sagacity, for which I, your servant Ŭich'ŏn, am truly grateful.

I humbly think that I, your servant, have politely refused the splendor of the palace, pay attention to the Buddha vehicle, deplore the difficulty of researching the profound pattern, and lament the deterioration of the True Dharma. Therefore, while saving a little bit of time, I determined to search all the canons of scripture. Previously, in my homeland, by chance I acquired a book by Master Lecturer Jingyuan of the Liangzhe region in which he explains and analyzes the lettered teaching of Patriarch Xianshou. When I opened it I was very impressed, and reading it I forgot that I was exhausted. Therefore, it fortified my aspirations for longing for the true meaning and from afar I pay respect as his disciple.

Now, I have fortunately divined the wind, extensively utilized my energies, crossed over the sea, come quickly, and would visit you by means of the ritual of coming to your courtyard; my barely being arranged for and the favor of His Majesty being most pitifully extended to me was unprecedented. Although the wisdom of the master is very profound, and the longings of a lowing child are very deep, and a crane's figure is clear and gaunt, the age of Zhi Dun[176] is reasonably frightening. Hoping to come and participate [in

---

and offering obeisance to the king. From antiquity, kings in East Asia, following norms established by the Chinese, sat in the northern direction facing southward and received kowtows from their ministers and advisors. Hence, subjects' bowing to the northern direction refers to greeting the king. This expression emerged because in ancient ritual propriety, people offered worship to the northern direction when subjects bowed to their ruler just as when people of low status bowed to people of high status or the younger to the elder.

175 I am using the English word "miles" to translate the Sino-Korean distance word *ri* 里 (Ch. *li*).

176 Zhi Dun 支遁 (314–366) was a monk of the Eastern Jin dynasty. His secular surname was Guan 關, and his courtesy name (*zi*) was Daolin 道林, so he is commonly called Zhi Daolin. He was raised in a family that had been Buddhist for several generations in the Buddhist center of Chenliu in eastern China. Before his ordination he studied the *Prajñā-pāramitā* in a monastery in the Yuhang mountains 餘杭山 (in present-day North Zhejiang Province). He was ordained in 338 at twenty-five *sui*. Before his ordination he had already made the acquaintance of several important persons

your community], I request that I might increase [my learning], and I desire to broaden my intellectual skills in order to store up diligence.

I humbly implore that Your Imperial Majesty instantly quickly hear me out, your abased servant, and with humaneness and generosity allow me to follow my desires, speak with a command in response, and provide an imperial rescript. With respect to my aspiration to receive instruction, please make it so that I might fulfill this long-cherished ambition.

乞就杭州源闍梨處學法表

臣僧某言. 伏以九重覲聖, 旣諧北拱之儀, 千里嚴師, 已迫南行之計, 爰將丹慊, 仰叩至聰, 臣某中謝. 伏念臣侯閫辭榮, 佛乘注意, 慨深文[177]之難究, 悲正法之下衰. 是惜寸陰, 擬探群典, 向者於故國, 偶得兩浙淨源講主, 開釋賢首 祖教文字, 披而有感, 閱以忘疲. 迺堅慕義之心, 遙敍爲資之禮. 今幸占風采劭[178]越海, 謚臻來庭之禮謁, 纔陳當宁之寵憐特異. 雖螭頭凝邃, 子牟之戀良深, 而鶴態清羸, 支遁之年可懼. 冀往參而請益, 欲廣業以積勤. 伏乞皇帝陛下, 念急聽卑, 仁敦從欲, 曰兪之命, 荐降於綸言, 奉誨之心, 俾成於素願.

10. Memorial Offering Gratitude for Transmitting the Dharma (*Sa chŏnbŏp p'yo* 謝傳法表)[179]

among the gentry, such as Sun Chuo 孫綽, Xie An 謝安, and Wang Xizhi 王羲之 and was well versed and admired for his knowledge of Lao-Zhuang thought. During the early period of Buddhism in China, when Daoist terminology was used to describe Buddhist ideas (*kyŏgŭi pulgyo*, Ch. *geyi fojiao* 格義佛教), Zhi Dun was a celebrated master. His appearance was peculiar, he was skilled in writing and calligraphy, and he was famous for composition. Later, he lectured and practiced at Zhishan Monastery 支山寺, Lingjia Monastery 靈嘉寺, and Qiguang Monastery 棲光寺 on Mt. Shisheng. He lectured on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* on the shady side of the mountain and on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* at Dongan Monastery 東安寺 in the capital. For more on Zhi Dun, see Eric Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 116–130.

177 Correcting the text by adding *mun* 文 following the woodblock edition.

178 Correcting the text by adding *miso* 釆劭 following the woodblock edition.

179 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 7, HPC 4.538a1–12.

I, your servant, the monk Ŭich'ŏn, humbly inform [Your Majesty] that previously I enjoyed the compassion of His Holiness, and he granted my request to go to Hangzhou to seek out the location of Master Jingyuan, the Huayan master lecturer, and study the Dharma. Now he already transmitted and trained me in his great core teaching. The saintly edification of the preacher is pure and confidential, and I cordially followed ... [two logographs missing]. How fortunate is this for someone of ordinary capacity? Ever since I believed and received the Mahāyāna in all sincerity, my feelings of joy have been extreme.

I humbly think that since I, your servant, was born in the eastern region of the mulberry trees,[180] although my work was been to long for the customs of India, I have not made an illumination of my self-nature and have only earnestly followed my intention of seeking a master. Fortunately, I received the favor of extremely humane care and obtained and inherited the core teachings of the perfect teaching. The ocean of the Dharma is extremely deep, and although it eternally exhausts itself against the shore, the approach of visualization suddenly opens, and one is able to reach the level and easy thoroughfare.[181] I avoided the thought of lamenting all day long and I have already accomplished my life's ambition. Respectfully, I will certainly make my ambition reside in lecturing, and my endeavor will be to progress in my practice. I will be increasingly diligent in my sincere devotions of burning incense and will everlastingly celebrate the felicity of my country.

謝傳法表

臣僧某言. 昨蒙聖慈, 允之所請, 尋詣杭州[182]花嚴講主淨源所學法, 今已傳習大旨. 說者聖化淨秘, 曲從□□, 凡根何幸? 得懞大乘信奉以來, 感抃交極. 伏念臣身生桑域, 業慕竺風, 而非自性之明, 但切求師之念. 幸沐至仁之眷, 獲承圓教

---

180 The "eastern region of the mulberry trees" (*sangyŏk* 桑域) refers to the place where mulberry trees grow—in other words, Korea.

181 The level and easy thoroughfare (*kangchang*, Ch. *kangzhuang* 康莊) refers to a great road that leads to several places. "Level" (*kang*) is the great road of the five accomplishments (*odal*, Ch. *wuda* 五達) and "easy" (*chang*) is a great road of the six directions (*yukpang*, Ch. *liufang* 六方).

182 Inserting Hangju 杭州 into the text following the context.

之宗. 法海彌深, 雖永窮於涯涘, 觀門俄闢, 猶可達於康莊. 免嗟終日之思, 已遂平生之望. 謹當志存講演, 務在進修, 益勤香火之誠, 永祝邦家之慶.

11. Memorial Politely Declining an Invitation to go to the Palace (*Sa pugwŏl p'yo* 辭赴闕表)[183]

Your servant, the śramaṇa Ŭich'ŏn, humbly says:

On the twenty-second day of the tenth month, Kim Tŏkkyun 金德均, the Vice-Director[184] of the Ministry of Personnel and Pacification, Commissioner of the Left[185] of the Security Council,[186] and so forth, arrived and delivered one official message [to me]. It said that since you have enjoyed the favor of the king's mercy, he commands you, his servant, to go to the palace. His Noble Highness issued a command, and the Lotus Society[187]

183 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 8, HPC 4.541a15–b15.

184 A vice-director (*sirang* 侍郎) was a rank 4A position in the Six Ministries during the Koryŏ period. With the exception of those serving concurrently as supervisors (*p'ansa* 判事), vice-director was the position after minister (*sangsŏ* 尙書). Although it was a vice-ministerial position in the early Koryŏ period, after the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 981–997), it was fixed as a rank 4A position in the Six Ministries. One person held this position.

185 Commissioner of the left (*chwa sŭngsŏn* 左承宣) was a rank 3A position in the Security Council during the Koryŏ period. One person held this position. The commissioner of the left conducted business in the Commissioners Office (Sŭngsŏnbang 承宣房), or Security Council, along with the head of the Security Council (*chijusa* 知奏事), the commissioner of the right (*u sŭngsŏn* 右承宣), the assistant commissioner of the left (*chwabu sŭngsŏn* 左副承宣), and the assistant commissioner of the right (*ubu sŭngsŏn* 右副承宣) and was entrusted with protecting the royal palace; in addition, they held the purse strings according to royal order.

186 The Security Council (Ch'umirwŏn 樞密院) was the official office entrusted with the purse strings (receipts and expenditures), protecting the royal palace, and arms and weapons. This is a later incarnation of the Security Council (Chungch'uwŏn 中樞院); the name was changed from Chungch'uwŏn to Ch'umirwŏn in 1095, the final period of Ŭich'ŏn's activity.

187 Lotus Society (*yŏnsa*, Ch. *lianshe* 蓮社) refers to a religious society called the White Lotus Society (Bailianshe 白蓮社) organized by Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334–417) on Mt. Lu 廬山. The society was composed of 123 people who meditated on the Pure Land and recited the

produced glory. After having received your lotus-like favor, my emotion and surprise are earnest, and I, your servant Ŭich'ŏn, am very thankful.

I humbly remember that when I, your servant, was young, my hair was cut, and when I got older I searched for a master. My nature was to love the transmission of the lamp [of wisdom], and although I roughly knew of doctrine and felt a desire to protect the Dharma, how could I not conform to the circumstances? Therefore, long ago I detested clamor and commotion, and from an early age I wanted to have a leisurely life. Eventually examining the pleasures [of the simple life] living by a mountain stream,[188] I hoped to recognize the Way to enlightenment while dwelling in the mountains. Sheltering all things and purifying them is truly not what I dared hope for. Quieting myself and protecting against impetuousness were certainly not those kinds of capabilities. One might say that my preference for reverence was merely peculiar and also that since my nature became that way, I only thought of storage and reduction and cutting off thoughts that gallop away.

How can I say that I will humbly meet His Majesty the Great King, reverentially grasp the celestial tallies,[189] properly approach the throne,[190] receive for myself the bejeweled boon,[191] look up in longing for the Buddha vehicle, follow the pattern and raise up the true and pure customs, and greatly clarify sublime, brilliant, and edifying instruction? However, you

---

Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra. This was the first of the societies for the practice of *buddhānusmṛti* or recollection of the Buddha Amitābha (*yŏmbul kyŏlsa*, Ch. *nianfo jieshe* 念佛結社). For more on Huiyan's White Lotus society see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 219–223.

188 Cf. *Shijing* 詩經, Weifeng kaopan pian 威風考槃篇, *kaopan zaijian yanren zhi guan* 考槃在澗碩人之寬, in *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義, 1st ed., 6 vols. (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 1.312.

189 Celestial tallies (*kŏnbu*, Ch. *qianfu* 乾符) refer to auspicious omens that emperors and kings receive from heaven that serve as evidence that they have received the Mandate of Heaven.

190 What I have translated as "the throne" literally means "screen of the law" (*pŏbŭi*, Ch. *fayi* 法扆) and refers to the southward-facing throne of the king, which was called the jeweled throne (*pojwa*, Ch. *baozuo* 寶座) or jade throne (*okchwa*, Ch. *yuzuo* 玉座).

191 The bejeweled boon (*pojo*, Ch. *baozuo* 寶祚) refers to ascension as king or ruler or the destiny of the country, and thus, by extension, refers to ascending the throne.

say that I, your servant, crafted my ambition in the approach of doctrinal teachings, that you worry because I am a branch of the royal family, and that you have dispatched an intimate official to admonish this narrow-minded person. Nevertheless, when I think of the royal capital, it is a place where heroes and strongmen tread, and lecturing and interpreting eminent monks like rice stalks and hemp[192] are assembled in rows, and meditating and visualizing monks of renowned virtue like bamboo and reeds sit together in the shadows. And yet, I, your servant, no matter how much I have progressed, have not made a name for myself, and although I have regressed, I do not hold a grudge. However, by what meritorious enterprise will I be able to satisfy the search for the East?

I humbly hope that Your Majesty will bow to and observe my innermost feelings of inadequacy and cordially grant your humble mercy. Let me roost in my old monastery so that I might bring my simple mind into harmony. This being the case, I will pursue the traces on Lu Peak,[193] match with the

192 "Rice stalks and hemp" (*toma*, Ch. *daoma* 稻麻) is an expression used frequently in Buddhist literature. In the *Lotus Sūtra* it is found in a gāthā as a metaphor for the fullness of the world systems of the ten directions; see *Miaofa lianhua jing* 1, T 262.9.6a13. In the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and *Prajñā-pāramitā sūtra*, the *Āgamas*, and other sūtras, the abundance of bodhisattvas in buddhalands is compared to sugarcane, bamboo and reeds, rice stalks and hemp, and a dense wood. See *Dafangguang fohuayan jing* 39, T 279.10.208a28–29.

193 Lu Peak 廬峰 (Kor. Yŏbong) refers to Mt. Lu 廬山, and is also called Mt. Kuang 匡山 and Kuanglu 匡廬. In Chinese legend and myth, the legendary Yellow Emperor was said to have wandered and roamed this place. Furthermore, because a certain Guang Su of the Yin dynasty built a hovel in these mountains, cultivated the way toward immortality, became a divine transcendent, and he left behind only his hovel, the mountain is said to derive its name from him. Fantastically shaped rocks and stone are found everywhere; its valleys and waterfalls and its ponds and precipices are extremely beautiful and breathtaking; and it has been famous throughout China for its surpassing scenic beauty since ancient times. Ever since An Shigao 安世高 practiced here during the reign of Lingdi 靈帝 in the Later Han period (168–188), it has been a place where monks gathered. During the first half of the Taiyuan 太元 reign period (376–396) during the Eastern Jin dynasty, Daoan's disciple Huiyong 慧永 established Xilin Monastery 西林寺 in Xianggu 香谷 (Fragrant Valley). In 387, Huiyuan established Donglin Monastery 東林寺 at the request of Huiyong and these two monasteries are called the two forests [monasteries] of Mt. Lu (Lushan erlin 廬山二林). In 390, Huiyuan established the Prajñā Terrace Monastery (Boretai jingshe 般若臺精舍), enshrined an

pleasures of forests and springs, project my sincerity upward toward the gate of the royal palace, and again be diligent in the causal connection of burning incense [for the royal family].

辭赴闕表

臣沙門某言. 十月二十二日, 樞密院左承宣吏部侍郎金德均等至, 奉傳教書一道, 伏蒙王慈, 令臣赴闕者. 芝封降命, 蓮社生光, 祇荷已還, 感驚交切, 臣某中謝. 伏念臣 少而落髮, 長則尋師, 性愛傳燈, 雖粗[194]知於教理, 情存護法, 奈不適於時宜? 而自久厭囂紛, 早圖閑放, 遂考槃而在澗, 冀識道以居山. 庇物激清, 實非敢望, 靜己鎮躁, 固無其能. 但好尚之云殊, 亦性分之所至, 唯思藏縮, 絶意奔馳. 豈謂伏遇大王殿下, 肅秉乾符, 端臨法扆, 自膺寶祚, 仰慕佛乘, 式揚眞淨之風, 丕闡妙明之化? 謂臣以教門刻志, 愍臣以宗室分枝, 遣彼近僚, 諭玆側陋. 然念輦轂之城, 英豪所蹬, 講解高流, 稻麻成列, 禪觀名德, 竹葦連陰. 而臣進無可稱, 退不足惜, 將何功業, 以副東求? 伏望殿下, 俯察愚衷, 曲垂仁惻, 仍栖古寺, 俾恊素心. 則追迹廬峯, 庶適林泉之樂, 翹誠魏闕, 更勤香火之緣.

12. Letter to Dharma Master Jingyuan (*Sang Chŏngwŏn pŏpsa sŏ* 上淨源法師書)[195]

I, Ŭich'ŏn, begin [my letter to Master Jingyuan].

I humbly think that the verbal teachings of Buddhism have circulated widely and that the Chinese and non-Chinese[196] alike admire and look up to

---

image of the Buddha Amitābha, and organized the White Lotus Society (Bailianshe 白蓮社). This monastery was used as the primary worship site for devotional and meditation practices leading to rebirth in the Pure Land and promoted the dharma approach of recollection of the Buddha Amitābha. Later, it became a sacred spot for Chinese Pure Land Buddhism.

194 Inserting *cho* 粗 to correct the text following the woodblock edition.

195 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 10, HPC 4.543b2–544a14.

196 Chinese and non-Chinese (*hwai*, Ch. *huayi* 華夷) refers to the Sinitic conception of the Chinese and the surrounding neighboring peoples: the Eastern Barbarians (*tongi*, Ch. *dongyi* 東夷), the Western Brutes (*sŏyung*, Ch. *xirong* 西戎), the Southern Savages (*namman*, Ch. *nanman* 南蠻), and the Northern Dogs (*pukchŏk*, Ch. *beidi* 北狄). These together form the four barbarians (*sai*, Ch. *siyi* 四

them. Regardless of whether they are near or far away, all are at rest like grass in the true wind. From the west or from the east, all incline themselves like sunflowers toward the sun of wisdom. I longingly consider that originally you, O *ācārya* who lectures [on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], who is an emissary of the Tathāgata, and who was born in the court of the Son of Heaven, composed treatises and annotated scriptures, responded to traces as a bodhisattva adhering to the four necessities,[197] praised the perfect [teaching] and extolled the Mahāyāna, and roused and rewarded the causes and connections of the one event.[198] You are the very source of explaining and expanding the vehicle of the core teaching (*chongsŭng* 宗乘), and you

夷), or barbarous dogs (*ijŏk*, Ch. *yidi* 夷狄).

197 There are two definitions of the four necessities (*saŭi*, Ch. *siyi* 四依). The first, also called the four saintly seeds (*sasŏngjong*, Ch. *sishengzhong* 四聖種) are four dharmas upon which one who has left the householder way of life to become a monk—in accordance with the regulations of the vinaya—should rely in managing and arranging his life. These four are as follow: (1) They should wear rag clothing (*punsoŭi* 糞掃衣; Skt. *pāṃsukūla*), for by wearing clothing thrown away by people of the world they will not develop attachments. (2) They should always beg for food (*kŏlsik* 乞食; Skt. *piṇḍapāta*). (3) They should sit under trees (*suhajwa* 樹下座; Skt. *vṛkṣamūla*) and not dwell in houses, and they should practice under trees and in caves. (4) They should use purgatives and diuretics (*chinbuyak* 陳腐藥; Skt. *pūtimuktabhaiṣajya*) as moral and spiritual means, or they should not use new medicine but old, worn-out medicine. Mendicant monks should practice these four things because they will overcome greed and attachments to the things of this world if they do. The second definition refers to the four kinds of beings on which living beings should rely, the four mahāsattvas on which beings should rely (*saŭi taesa* 四依大士), or, the four bodhisattvas on which beings should rely (*saŭi posal* 四依菩薩): (1) supramundane ordinary beings possessing of the three worthies and four wholesome roots as well as defilements; (2) stream-enterers or stream-winners (*sudawŏn*, *xiuduoyuan* 須多洹 or *yeryugwa*, *yuliuguo* 預流果; Skt. *srota-āpanna*) and once-returners (*sadaham*, Ch. *situohan* 斯陀含 or *illaegwa*, Ch. *yilaiguo* 一來果; Skt. *sakrdāgāmin*); (3) non-returners (*annaham*, Ch. *annahan* 阿那含 or *purhwan'gwa*, Ch. *buhuanguo* 不還果; Skt. *anāgāmin*); and (4) arhats (*arahan*, Ch. *luohan* 阿羅漢, or *muhakkwa*, Ch. *wuxueguo* 無學果). Because these four kinds of people are advantageous in the world and bring peace and bliss to gods and humans, people may rely upon them. Ŭich'ŏn is probably referring to this second definition here.

198 The causes and connections of the one event (*ilsa* 一事), or one great event (*iltaesa* 一大事), refer to one of the great purposes behind the Buddha's manifesting in the world. In other words, the Buddha's taking upon himself the true form of man for a lifetime is a great event.

have poured out the basket[199] with respect to pursuing and revering the works of the patriarchs. In other words, you have planed the sandalwood tree and carved an image, or you have established memorial services in order to arrange curriculum. With respect to your eulogies (*ch'an* 讚), as you have summarized them in eight groups, promotion of your great and beautiful works will never deteriorate. With respect to rituals, you diligently observe the five penances,[200] and you have encouraged pure acts[201] that will never be exhausted. You have sufficiently caused the bequeathed customs, which had been abandoned, to thrive once again, and our Way to enlightenment, which had been extinct, to live once again. Because you have ably finished these affairs, the benefits will be comprehensive.

I humbly think that I, Ŭich'ŏn, was originally a person of insignificance;

---

199 Poured out the basket (*pugwe*, Ch. *fukui* 覆簣) refers to small things piling up and becoming something large.

200 The five penances (*ohoe*, Ch. *wuhui* 五悔) are five methods of repentance for ridding one of unwholesome karma of sins and misdeeds one has committed. According to the Tiantai school, five kinds of penance practices are administered when one practices the Lotus samādhi: (1) Repentance (*ch'amhoe*, Ch. *chanhui* 懺悔) is repenting of one's sins and cultivating wholesome fruit (*sŏn'gwa*, Ch. *shanguo* 善果). (2) Encouraging and requesting (*kwŏnch'ŏng*, Ch. *quanqing* 勸請) is encouraging and requesting that all the buddhas of the ten directions turn the wheel of the Dharma and save living beings. (3) According with happiness (*suhŭi*, Ch. *suixi* 隨喜) is being happy about and praising the wholesome actions performed by other people. (4) Turning toward (*hoehyang*, Ch. *huixiang* 迴向) is transferring the merit of one's wholesome actions toward enlightenment. (5) Arousing the vow (*parwŏn*, Ch. *fayuan* 發願) is making the vow to attain Buddhahood with one's whole mind and heart.

201 Pure acts (*chŏngŏp*, Ch. *jingye* 淨業) refer to the three blessings (*sampok*, Ch. *sanfu* 三福): (1) Blessings of the world (*sebok* 世福) or wholesome karma in the world (*sesŏn* 世善) are Confucian virtues, such as loyalty, filial piety, humaneness, righteousness, morality, and so forth, that bring happiness in this life. (2) Blessings from observing precepts (*kyebok* 戒福) or wholesome karma from observing the precepts (*kyesŏn* 戒善) refer to blessings deriving from observing the five precepts for laypeople, the ten precepts for monastics, and so forth. (3) Blessings from practice (*haengbok* 行福) or wholesome karma from practice (*haengsŏn* 行善) are such things as developing the aspiration to enlightenment and understanding the meaning of the Mahāyāna sūtras and being able to explain them to other people. These three blessings are direct causes (*chŏngin* 正因) of rebirth in the Pure Land. Because bodhisattvas cultivate the causes (*suin* 修因) that purify buddhalands (*buddhakṣetra*) these are called "pure acts."

in addition, I was born in a land far away. I have not yet participated in a high assembly of dragons and elephants,[202] and it is difficult to hear the sublime sound of the clouds and thunder. Although Master Ŭisang was the beginning of the true teaching [in Haedong] and Master Kyunyŏ[203] was an embellisher of the mysterious core teaching, vessels and waves are already far away and the musician and the zither have both been lost.[204] The great

---

202 Dragons and elephants (*yongsang*, Ch. *longxiang* 龍象) are the greatest and most respected creatures among their groups: fish and aquatic animals for the dragon, and beasts of the land for the elephant. For this reason, the term "dragons and elephants" is used as a metaphor to refer to great monks and bodhisattvas who possess great powers of trance and meditation. In the "Inconceivable" chapter (*Busiyi pin* 不思議品) of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, it is used as a metaphor describing the fearless capability of the bodhisattva. See *Weimoji jing* 維摩詰經 2, T 475.14.547a26.

203 Kyunyŏ 均如 (923–973) was a Hwaŏm thinker of the early Koryŏ period. He clearly recognized that the Hwaŏm school was disrupted intellectually by internal issues and discord between doctrinal (Kyo 教) and meditational (Sŏn 禪) approaches to Buddhism. He developed an intellectual system to respond to these issues. Kyunyŏ's large corpus of written works, sixty-five rolls in ten classes, is concerned with the essential writings of the early Huayan patriarchs Zhiyan, Ŭisang, and Fazang and the Silla Hwaŏm tradition, including such works as the *Pōpkye to wŏnt'ong ki* 法界圖圓通記 [Perfectly comprehensive record of the *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm*] and the *Sipku chang wŏngt'ong ki* 十句章圓通記 [Perfectly comprehensive record of the *Composition on the Ten Passages*]. His commentaries on the works of the great Chinese Huayan philosopher Fazang including the *Kyobun ki wŏnt'ong ch'ao* 敎分記圓通鈔 [Perfectly comprehensive account of the *Jiaofen ji*], *Chigwi chang wŏnt'ong ch'ao* 旨歸章圓通鈔 [Perfectly comprehensive account of the *Composition on Taking Refuge in the Profound Meaning*], *Sambo chang wŏnt'ong ch'ao* 三寶章圓通鈔 [Perfectly comprehensive account of the *Composition on the Three Jewels*], are still extant. In these works Kyunyŏ cites the opinions of Zhiyan, Ŭisang, and Fazang, makes them the basis of his own personal theories, and then establishes his individual intellectual position. Although the Hwaŏm thought of Kyunyŏ affirms the primacy of Ŭisang as the patriarch of Silla Hwaŏm tradition, he supplements it by merging it with the Huayan thought of Fazang. By presenting the theory of doctrinal classification affirming the imperative theory of Hwaŏm's one vehicle, Kyunyŏ emphasized the reasonability and superiority of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and Hwaŏm thought and aimed to revitalize the Hwaŏm school, which had atrophied after the end of the Silla period. Kyunyŏ also composed eleven native songs (*hyangga* 鄕歌) under the title "Songs of the Ten Vows of Samantabhadra" (*Pohyŏn sibwŏn ka* 普賢十願歌) by which he intended to spread the practices and vows of Samantabhadra (*Pohyŏn haengwŏn* 普賢行願) among the masses. See also Adrian Buzo and Tony Prince, trans., *Kyunyŏ-jŏn: The Life, Times and Songs of a Tenth Century Korean Monk*, University of Sydney East Asian Series 6 (Canberra: Wild Peony, 1993).

204 These expressions seem to refer to the idea that the eminent monks of the Huayan tradition who

meaning, by way of this, was gradually dismembered and the subtle language was almost extinguished. By the time that local village people entered the court and engaged in the work, I have been obliged to you, our master who dwells in the world in order to benefit living beings. Here I am daringly consigned to my body returning a thousand miles and pay tribute to you with this single courtesy letter; promising to inform you from far away that my mind has not yet become at rest.

Last year, on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, Chief Merchant[205] Li Yuanji 李元積 arrived bearing your letter from the second month and your handwritten *Repentance Rituals Associated with the Practices and Vows of Samantabhadra in the* Avataṃsaka-sūtra (*Huayan Puxian xingyuan chanyi* 花嚴普賢行願懺儀), *Repentance Rituals Associated with the* Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment (*Dafangguang yuanjue chanyi* 大方廣圓覺懺儀), *Repentance Rituals associated with the* Śūraṃgama-sūtra (*Dafoding shoulengyan chanyi* 大佛頂首楞嚴懺儀), *Record of Revealing the Obscure in the* Treatise on the Origin of Humans (*Yuanren lun fawei lu* 原人論發微錄), *Supplementary Explanation on* Commentarial Excerpts from Observations on Exhausting Delusion and Returning to the Source (*Wangjin huanyuan guan shuchao bujie* 妄盡還源觀疏鈔補解), *Text for Directing the Ritual Proceedings of the* Ullambana-sūtra (*Yulanpen lizhan wen* 盂蘭盆禮贊文), *Curricula of the Essay on the Differentiation of Doctrinal Meaning* (*Jiaoyi fenqi zhang kewen* 教義分齊章科文), and so forth, eight books[206] altogether placed in one chest. I received them kneeling, and when I returned home I opened and examined them without getting tired.

In your letter you wrote: "Obtaining the core teaching is bound to

---

developed and promoted the doctrines of the Huayan school passed away and entered quiescence and that their teachings and path of the Dharma were not handed down appropriately.

205 Chief merchant (*togang*, Ch. *dugang* 都綱) is the title of the head merchant or leader of the merchants and traders (*sangin* 商人) from Song China who was authorized to do business in Koryŏ during the Song dynasty (960–1279).

206 Although he says eight books, only seven book titles are listed.

externalities;[207] your meaning is similar to my mind, how it is that you only praise meditation and wisdom? After having seen these words, I worried that the adornment was an excessive mistake. You also wrote: "Having a place to live in the royal gates, you were the wings of the Buddha and the feathers of the patriarchs;[208] this is sincerely the result of your natural disposition and integrity planted in previous lives; and as for your great cause, how do you shoulder this great responsibility?" After having seen these words, I was embarrassed about my inability to carry out this task. You also wrote: "With respect to the forty-six books, they were read in the morning and pondered in the evening by the scripture-reading group." After having seen these words, I was pleased with the breadth of linked karmic connections. You also wrote: "The hundred rolls of the *Hand Mirror*[209] were consumed in a fire." After having seen these words, I lamented the irregularity of my sincerity. You also wrote: "Come riding the wind, and if I instruct you by my own mouth and transmit [the Buddhadharma] to you by means of my mind, then the needle and the mustard seed, although remote, will take pleasure in the mutual agreement of the noble and base, a mouth organ and a musical stone make the same sound, and earnestly make a sound harmonizing the noises of the palace and marketplace." After having seen these words, I hoped that we will be mutually compatible in our giving and receiving.

Moreover, since you composed a eulogy, your wonderful hesitations were laid out in writing, and you avoided the hard labor of encircling selections. Since you handed down these eight books to me, your fine words are distinguished, and I hope that they will flourish and become famous. I would merely like to examine those old words and understand them with a new

---

207 Cf. Zongmi, *Dafangguang yuanjue xiutuoluo liaoyi jing lüeshu* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略疏 2B, T 1795.39.577c15–15; Zongmi, *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 圓覺經大疏釋義鈔 1, X 245.9.479c22–24.

208 With respect to "feathers of the buddha and wings of the patriarchs" (*ubul ikcho*, Ch. *yufo yizu* 羽佛翼祖), "feathers and wings" (*uik*, Ch. *yuyi* 羽翼) are a common metaphor for helping others and assisting, just as feathers and wings help a bird be able to fly.

209 *Hand Mirror* (*Sugyŏng*, Ch. *Shoujing* 手鏡) probably refers to *Suiwenshou jing* 隨文手鏡, in a hundred rolls, written by Chengguan; see *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 14, T 2036.49.601b3.

meaning. If someone is sharp, he will be able to look over the text and arrive at the core teaching. If someone is dull-minded, he must not only instruct orally but also transmit mentally. I presumed but did not hope to ask questions of a spiritual mentor in the hundred cities or devotedly disregard my body for the sake of half a gāthā. Still more, I circulated requests for commands and concurrently made effort to further my qualifications. Having awakened to the cordial karmic connections of several kalpas, I feel that ours was a marvelous encounter that comes once in a thousand years. Although it is natural that according to etiquette one would hear the order and go carry it out, there is a reason for procrastination, not knowing what one should do. One square inch of mind is concerned about it, and a hundred calculations are truly vexing.

I respectfully cite Dharma Master Gushan's[210] *Beating Ignorance in the Lecture Hall Collection* (*Jingtang jimeng ji* 講堂擊蒙集), which says: "If he possesses a mind that is fond of learning, although he establishes the aspirations of a mighty man, he will only be bound to intimate connections; and if he is restrained by his teacher and father, he will necessarily be crookedly clever in describing his original cherished feelings so that they

---

210 Dharma Master Gushan 孤山法師 is Zhiyuan 智圓 (976–1022), who was a monk of the Shanwai sect 山外派 of the Tiantai school 天台宗 during the Song period. His courtesy name (*zi*) was Wuwai 無外, and his pen name (*hao*) was Qianfu 潛夫. When he was eight *sui* he left home to become a monk at Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 in Qiantang (Hangzhou). Although he had first studied Confucianism and was skilled in poetry and prose composition, he became familiar with the doctrinal and visualization practices of the Tiantai school from Yuanqing 源清 of Fengxian Monastery. After Yuanqing passed away, he promoted the theories of the Shanwai sect along with his fellow disciples Qingzhao 慶昭, Wuen 晤恩, and so forth and stirred the flames of dispute with Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960–1028), the representative of the Shanjia sect 山家派. Later, he attracted many students when he went to rest at the Manao Slope 瑪瑙坡 on Gushan 孤山 in West Lake (in Hangzhou). From this time forward he was engrossed in writing. He composed the *Xianju pian* 閑居編, in sixty rolls, and the *Jinguangming jing xuanyi biaozheng ji* 金光明經玄義表徵記, in one roll. Because he was thoroughly conversant in Confucianism and the writings of the early Chinese philosophers of the hundred schools, it is said that he contrived to harmonize the three teachings of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. He earned the epithet Master of Ten Commentaries (Shiben shuzhu 十本疏主) from his followers for composing ten kinds of commentaries, such as the *Wenshu bore jing shu* 文殊般若經疏, *Yijiao jing shu* 遺敎經疏, and *Shoulengyan jing shu* 首楞嚴經疏. Aside from these he wrote several other commentaries totaling more than 170 rolls in all.

will follow royal sanction; he cannot do whatever he wants. If he completely abandons these things, he will suddenly cut off his favor and his feelings. Although he may say he is doing it for the Dharma, he is afraid he will do injury to what is right."[211] With respect to the function of this, if one does not dare to cut off one's favor and does not dare to cause injury to what is right, since he momentarily held back on my plan to journey to the West, it only increased inquiries to desist. Being completely obsessed with time, go when it is time to go; and being discouraged with karmic connections, meet suddenly when you meet. If I depend on availing myself of the Buddha's majesty and trust the virility of the power of the Dharma, as a result of wind I will heed warnings about the road, take my seat, and cross the ocean. I will ride the tallying chamber[212] and [with] words construct a thick wall; then, requesting lapels and exalting sincerity will straightly exhibit the courtesy for my dignified mentor and pivoting on robes and inquiring after the Way to enlightenment will formally trouble you with the personal request of good treatment. Suddenly offering salutations on New Year's Day, I am doubly comforted with warm feelings. I will bear the insight-rendering of the golden tablet[213] and will receive the sincere conversation of the jade-duster.[214] Suddenly hearing and suddenly pondering, perfectly practicing and perfectly severing, one transmits the seal of the one mind. All the seals are the same. [Although] the inexhaustible lamp is divided, all the lamps are

---

211 See Zhiyuan, "Jiangtang jimeng ji xu" 講堂擊蒙集序 in *Xianju pian* 閑居編 12, X 56.883a15–24.

212 The tallying chamber (*chusil*, Ch. *choushi* 籌室) is another name for the abbot's chamber. Whenever mathematicians acquired the Way to enlightenment in the stone chamber of the Venerable Upagupta, he would throw counting sticks one Chinese foot and four inches in length in the chamber. Later, because the whole room was full of counting sticks, the chamber came to be known by that name. See *Shishi jigu lüe* 釋氏稽古略 1, T 2037.49.756c6–7.

213 A golden tablet (*kŭmbi*, Ch. *jinbei* 金碑), also called golden comb (*kŭmbi*, Ch. *jinbi* 金篦), was a medical instrument used to cover and remove from one's eyes to aid in the return of sight. Here it is used as a metaphor for both the master's opening the eyes of his disciples who are blind with ignorance and the power of the Dharma causing one to awaken from darkness.

214 The jade-duster (*okchin*, Ch. *yuchen* 玉塵) is a Buddhist ritual implement made from jade and used to symbolize the removal of defilements, "the dust of the mind," just as a duster sweeps away dust.

mutually continuous. In opening the approach of profundities, one must rest for a while; in extending the life of wisdom, one should be able to lengthen it. By means of these small karmic connections I will assist in promoting your great exertions, and my abased feelings will not be entrusted with the utmost sincerity of taking refuge for one's life.

上淨源法師書

某啓. 伏以聲教流通, 華夷景仰, 近者遠者, 皆草偃於眞風, 自西自東, 共葵傾於慧日. 恭惟本講闍梨, 爲如來之使, 誕天子之朝, 發論箋經, 應迹四依菩薩, 褒圓歎大, 奮庸一事因緣. 濫觴乎開拓宗乘, 覆簣乎追崇祖業. 或彫檀而核像, 或立祀以陳科, 讚略八章, 振鴻休於不朽, 禮勤五悔, 勸淨業於無窮, 足使遺風廢而復興, 吾道消而更長, 能事畢矣, 其利博哉. 伏念某 本以人微, 加之地遠, 未參龍象之高會, 難聽雲雷之妙音. 雖則義想權輿於眞宗, 均如斧藻於玄旨, 舟壑已遠, 人琴兩亡. 大義繇是陵遲, 微言幾於泯絶. 迨鄉人入朝而還役, 承吾師住世以利生. 是敢托千里之歸軆, 貢一封之禮牘, 期於遠達, 心所未遑. 洎去年八月十五日, 都綱李元積至, 得捧二月書敎一通, 并手撰花嚴普賢行願懺儀 大方廣圓覺懺儀 大佛頂首楞嚴懺儀 原人論發微錄 還源觀疏鈔補解 盂蘭盆禮賛文 敎義分齊章科文等八本, 共盛一篋者, 跪受以還, 披閱無斁. 書曰,"得旨繫表, 意猶吾心, 豈獨美於定慧哉?" 見此言已, 慮其奬飾之過誤矣. 曰,"托迹王門, 羽佛翼祖, 此誠善由宿植, 天資大節, 荷玆偉任歟?" 見此言已, 愧其非力之所堪矣. 曰,"四十六册, 皆班橫經之徒, 俾其朝而翫, 夕而思." 見此言已, 喜於締緣之廣矣. 曰,"手鏡百軸, 爲火所焚." 見此言已, 嘆於誠素之未諧矣. 曰,"因風而來, 口授心傳, 則針芥雖遠, 悅高下之相投, 笙磬同音, 穆宮商而切響." 見此言已, 企於授受之相契矣. 伏況著一讚則勝躅章章, 免勞博採, 垂八本則嘉言卓卓, 冀使盛行. 只如闢其古辭, 曉以新意, 利可以臨文到旨, 鈍心須口授心傳. 敢不希問友於百城, 效輕身於半偈, 矧流告勒, 兼勉爲資, 覺累劫之厚緣, 感千齡之奇遇? 雖聞命奔赴, 於禮則然, 而有故淹回, 不知其可, 寸心惟慮, 百計寔繁. 謹按孤山法師講堂擊蒙集云,"厥若有好學心, 立丈夫志, 但以親緣所繫, 師父所拘, 必也曲巧, 述其本懷, 俾至從允,[215] 不得專輒, 捨之而去, 頓絶恩情. 雖云爲法, 恐傷義也." 是用不敢以絶於恩, 不敢以傷於義. 乍寢西遊之計, 但增中輟之咨, 汲汲於時行以行, 忽忽於緣會以會. 若也仗佛威之勝, 賴法力之雄, 因風而戒塗, 挫席而越海.

[215] Inserting *yun* 允 following the woodblock edition.

徑尋籌室, 言造仞墻, 則請衽翹誠, 方展嚴師之禮, 樞衣問道, 式叨善待之私.[216] 奄賀星霜, 倍勤溫凊. 荷金碑之見割, 奉玉塵之款談. 頓聞頓思, 圓修圓斷, 傳一心之印, 印印皆同, 分無盡之燈, 燈燈相續, 闡幽關於幾息, 延慧命於可長. 以此小緣, 助興大用, 卑情無任, 歸命之至.

13. Letter to Dharma Master Jingyuan of the Great Song Empire, no. 1 (*Sang Tae Song Chŏngwŏn pŏpsa sŏ* 上大宋淨源法師書)[217]

I, Ŭich'ŏn, again begin [my letter to Master Jingyuan].

This autumn the Chief Merchant Xu 徐 and others came by boat and again deigned to hand me your letter. I humbly looked it over: Because the dharma master's bodily form is in peace and bliss, my happiness and solace are not small.

Although I am foolish and ignorant, fortunately learned men have gathered standing in rows. With respect to the wrongful promotion of lecture material, although we may say that it deviates from the ornamentation [of principle], what I hope for is not the corruption of our [Huayan] tradition, but the restoration and propagation of the work transmitted by you, my master.

The *Newly Annotated Zhenyuan Edition of the* Avataṃsaka-sūtra[218] in

---

216 Inserting *sa* 私 following the woodblock edition.

217 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 11, HPC 4.545a14–b13.

218 The *Newly Annotated Zhenyuan Edition of the* Avataṃsaka-sūtra (*Xinzhu zhenyuan huayan jing* 新注貞元花嚴經) refers to the translation of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra in forty rolls, which was executed during the Zhenyuan reign period of the Tang dynasty (785–804). The sūtra is actually only a translation of the last chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, a text that circulated separately as the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*. The eminent Huayan monk Chengguan also wrote a commentary on this translation. Because the translation work began in the eleventh year of the Zhenguan reign period (795) and was completed in the fourteenth year of the same reign period (798), it is known as the Zhenguan edition to distinguish it from the earlier translations. Chengguan's commentary, in ten rolls,is variously called the *Huayan jing puxian xingyuan pin shu* 華嚴經普賢行願品疏, *Zhenyuan xinyi huayan jing shu* 貞元新譯華嚴經疏, and *Zhenyuan shu* 貞元疏; see X 227, vol. 7. Chengguan

your possession is something I have hoped for expectantly for several years. Now, because you have so fortunately favored me by bestowing a copy upon me, my emotions and happiness are all mixed up in a heap. I have humbly accepted your merciful core teaching and again have collated your views in detail. Now, contrary to what was expected, the king of the state signed his name and stamped his seal to the end of the roll. Presently he has offered up pure possessions[219] and has universally perfected his superior service. Nevertheless, my lecturing post is vexing and pressing, and my corrections and collation are not yet finished. Wait and I will send them to you later. Again, I hope that you will polish and touch up this lecture and I presently implore you to guide and instruct me.

Now, according to the essential style of the *Great Sūtra* [*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], a *Curricular Text*[220] in six books, and concurrently a *Newly Annotated Edition of the* Lotus Sūtra (*Xinzhu Fahua jing* 新注法華經), *Excerpts from the Golden Balance*,[221] and so forth, and other titles of classical literature were published. If you finish clean and neat handwritten copies [of these works] and send them to me quickly, I will fulfill a lifelong desire.

---

composed his commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in forty rolls upon imperial order after the translation was completed in 798. Although the general meaning of the sūtra in forty rolls is roughly the same as that of the sixty-roll version of the sūtra, its key difference is the detail it provides with regard to the text of the ten great vows of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Puxian pusa shi dayuanwen 普賢菩薩十大願文). Furthermore, an interpretation of the text suggesting that the world system comprising Amitābha's Sukhāvatī is not any different from the Lotus Storehouse World System of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is also a crucial issue. Chengguan's commentary, the *Dafangguang fohuayan jing puxian xingyuan pin biexing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經普賢行願品別行鈔 1, also called *Biexing shu* 別行疏, is Chengguan's annotated commentary.

219 Pure possessions (*chŏngjae*, Ch. *jingzai* 淨財) are possessions, property, treasures, and so forth that have been donated to Buddhist monasteries or for charity.

220 This *Curricular Text* (*kewen* 科文) is probably Zongmi's *Dafangguang fohuayan jing puxian xingyuan biexing shu chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經普賢行願別行疏鈔, in six rolls.

221 *Excerpts from the Golden Balance* (*Jinheng chao* 金衡鈔) is the abbreviated name for *Lengyan jinheng chao* 楞嚴金衡鈔, in six rolls, which was composed by Dharma Master Wulin 武林, Zhongxi 仲希, a Huayan monk of the Song period. See *Yuanjue shuchao suiwen yaojie* 圓覺疏鈔隨文要解 1, X 250, 10.14c23–24.

The *Record of the Doctrinal Holdings of Huiyin Monastery*,[222] the *Pagoda Record of Great Master Lengyan*,[223] the *Complete Catalog and Diagram of Xianshou's Huayan School* (*Xianshouzong congmutu* 賢首宗摠目圖), and so forth, and other editions of classical literature that you bestowed upon me, have all come and have been received according to your instructions. To deal with the lord of state and the royal relatives, in addition, because I have presented each with one book, they received them flushing. Moreover, the *Record of Doctrinal Holdings of the Huiyin Monastery* and the *Pagoda Record of Great Master Lengyan* both describe the whole of our Way to enlightenment and proclaim the customs of our tradition. Your virtues, my master, are its crowning achievement in the past and present. Although your learning has plumbed the subtleties and profundities, it has also not yet been excessively lauded. In addition, that someone like me might be able to establish one name will sincerely be greatly fortunate.

And again, with respect to Emperor Renzong's 仁宗 (r. 1023–1063) "Eulogy on the Three Jewels" (*Sanbao zan* 三寶讚), I have already presented it to His Highness, the King of State. Still, I have copied one book and in the near future I will erect a stele. Fortunately, I hope that all things will work out by means of [Buddha's] mercy.

上大宋淨源法師書 1

某再啓 今秋 徐都綱等 船來, 再辱手教, 伏審法體安樂, 喜慰不小. 某愚蒙末識, 幸以學人駢集, 謬升講科, 雖謂僭飾, 所冀不墜吾宗, 恢弘我師傳授之業也. 所有新注貞[224]元花嚴經, 某佇望多年, 此者幸叨賜及, 感喜交積. 伏奉慈旨, 更令詳勘, 今却得國王, 於卷後簽銜, 仍捨淨財, 周圓勝事. 然某講席煩迫, 校勘未盡,

222 "The Record of the Doctrinal Holdings of Huiyin Monastery" (*Huiyin jiaozang ji* 慧因院敎藏記) is a text that records the facts regarding Ŭich'ŏn's patronage of the monastery while he was in residence, his publication and preservation of Buddhist sūtras. Information about it is preserved in the *Taegak kuksa oejip* 9, HPC 4.584b13–585a7.

223 "The Record of the Pagoda of Great Master Lengyan" (*Lengyan dashi taji* 楞嚴大師塔記) refers to the stele inscription commemorating the life of the eminent Song Huayan master Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 (965–1038). The contents are found in the *Taegak kuksa oejip* 9, HPC 4.583c8–584b11.

224 Reading *chŏng* 貞 for *chŏng* 正.

俟後次附去. 更望本講磨琢, 仍乞指諭. 今依大經體樣, 開板其科文六冊, 兼新注法華經, 金衡鈔等諸部文字, 若淨本寫罷, 早得傳授, 以滿素願也. 所賜慧因教藏記, 楞嚴大師塔記, 賢首宗摠目圖等諸本文字, 一依來教祇受訖. 國君及諸親王處, 並各奉一本, 甚爲炘戴. 況其慧因教藏記, 楞嚴大師塔記, 具敍吾道本末, 現揚宗風, 我師德冠古今, 學窮微奧, 斯亦未爲過稱矣. 加某者, 得立一名, 誠爲大幸. 更有仁宗三[225]寶讃, 已呈上國王, 却摹一本, 將近立石, 幸望慈悉.

14. Letter to Dharma Master Jingyuan of the Great Song Empire, no. 2 (*Sang Tae Song Chŏngwŏn pŏpsa sŏ* 上大宋淨源法師書)[226]

I, Ŭich'ŏn, consult you again [Master Jingyuan].

I have come to the knowledge that last year the *Abbreviated Excerpts of the Huayan Curricula* (*Huayan ke chaolüe* 華嚴科鈔略) was published and have contributed 200 taels of silver, so that whenever it comes time to meet my next life, whether I abandon my body or receive a body, I will always be closely associated with you, my master, and together with you I will hear and listen to the immeasurably sublime dharma in the Lotus Storehouse World System of the Buddha Vairocana. This is my vow. The last time that Li Yuanji came, it happened so suddenly that I was not able to present him with my letter to you and, in addition, describe the significance of my vow. I was overcome with an extremely burdensome sense of shame.

I humbly consider that as for the letters you have so graciously sent me, you have not abandoned such an insignificant one as me, and you have allowed me to enter into a great karmic relationship with you. This is all because of your loving generosity, O lecturer and *ācārya*. My gratitude for your favor and virtue cannot be expressed in full by means of the brush or the tongue. In addition, it has come to me by means of writings composed by

225 Reading *sam* 三 for an improperly written *il* 一, which may have originally been an unfinished or damaged *sam* given that the stroke is high.

226 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 11, HPC 4.545b14–c6.

a number of virtuous monks that you intend to annotate the *Lotus Sūtra*. Not only will it make content this far-away breast, but it will also tally with the vows of a throng of people.

Now, I have initially enclosed two titles published by the two masters Hyŏnil[227] and Taehyŏn,[228] and, in addition, seven annotated editions of works

---

227 Hyŏnil 玄一 was an eminent monk of Silla. He seems to have been most active in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. According to Buddhist catalogs, such as Ŭich'ŏn's *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok*, he composed many commentaries such as the *Muryangsu-gyŏng ki* 無量壽經記, in two rolls, *Kwan Muryangsu-gyŏng ki* 觀無量壽經記, in one roll, *Pŏphwa-gyŏng so* 法華經疏, in eight rolls, *Amit'a-gyŏng so* 阿彌陀經疏, in one roll, *Yŏlban-gyŏng yogan* 涅槃經料簡, in two rolls, *Pŏmmang-gyŏng so* 梵網經疏, in three rolls, *Yuga ron so* 瑜伽論疏, in seventeen rolls, *Chungbyŏn ron yogan* 中邊論料簡, in one roll, *Yusik ch'uyo sagi* 唯識樞要私記, in one roll, and so forth. All that remains of his writings is the first roll of his *Muryangsu-gyŏng ki*. In this work he cites the views and opinions of such exegetes as Wŏnhyo, Kuiji, and Pŏbwi in his analysis on views regarding Pure Land thought.

228 Taehyŏn 大賢 (also T'aehyŏn 太賢, fl. 742–765) was an eminent monk of Silla who was most active at Yongjang Monastery 茸長寺 on Namsan during the middle of the eighth century, the most flourishing period of doctrinal learning in Silla Buddhism. He observed a manifestation of Maitreya at that monastery: the head on the stone image of Maitreya turned to follow him as he circumambulated. In 753, as part of what may have been a ritual for the supplication of rain (*kiu che* 祈雨祭), he lectured on the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (*Jinguang jing* 金光經), and from the wells water sprung up seventy feet (see *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 4, T 2039.49.1010a13–14). The *Samguk sagi* views Taehyŏn as a "patriarch of the Yogācāra tradition" (*yuga cho* 瑜伽祖) in Silla (1009c25), so it seems that he occupied an important position in the Consciousness-only doctrinal tradition in Silla. He was a consummate exegete familiar with all the trends, treatises, and theories of all the Buddhist intellectual traditions. Having written more than fifty titles of Buddhist exegetical works, he is one of the three most prolific authors of Buddhist writings in the Silla period along with Wŏnhyo and Kyŏnghŭng. Many of his writings end with the title words "record of ancient traces" (*kojŏkki* 古迹記). He was familiar with and had a keen interest in all avenues of Buddhism: Avataṃsaka, Lotus, Nirvāṇa, Prajñā, Tathāgatagarbha, Madhyamaka, Vinaya, Pure Land, and so forth. But he was particularly interested in Consciousness-only, having composed twenty works in this field. Taehyŏn was a disciple of Tojŭng 道證 in the lineage of Wŏnch'ŭk's doctrinal interpretation of Consciousness-only. For Consciousness-only he follows the interpretations of Wŏnch'ŭk and Tojŭng, for Hwaŏm he follows the lineage of Fazang and Wŏnhyo. With respect to Madhyamaka and Yogācāra (Consciousness-only), he has been evaluated as a kind of ecumenical thinker who critically evaluates intellectual theories from an impartial standpoint recognizing the characteristics of truth individually. Although he composed fifty-five works, only five are extant at present. Aside from his *Sŏng yusing-non hakki* 成唯識論學記, in ten rolls, his extant works are *Yaksa ponwŏn-gyŏng kojŏkki* 藥師本願經古

by Jizang,[229] Wŏnhyo, Kyŏnghung,[230] Sinung 神雄 and Dharma Master Rui

迹記, in two rolls, *Pŏmmang-gyŏng kojŏkki* 梵網經古迹記, in three rolls, *Pŏmmang-gyŏng posal kyebon chongyo* 梵網經菩薩戒本宗要, in one roll, and *Kisillon naeŭi yakt'am ki* 起信論內義略探記, in one roll.

229 Jizang 吉藏 (549–623) was a monk of the Sui and early Tang dynasties. Jizang's father was Parthian (Anxiren 安息人); his mother was Chinese. He was born in south China, where his ancestors had first migrated; the family then moved on to Jinling 金陵. Because of his parentage he is also called An Jizang 安吉藏 and Huzang 胡藏. When he was three or four *sui* he went along with his father and met Paramārtha (Zhendi 眞諦) by whom he was given the name Jizang. Once his father had left home and became a monk, he heard lectures on the Three Treatises of the Madhyamaka from Falang 法朗, and he also decided to leave home and become a monk. He learned Madhyamaka as a disciple of Falang, and he started to lecture himself from age nineteen *sui*. Once Falang entered quiescence in 581, Jizang went to Jiaxiang Monastery 嘉祥寺 in Kuaiji, immersed himself in lecturing and writing, and gathered a following of many students. For this reason he is called Great Master Jiaxiang. When Sui emperor Yangdi established four great enlightenment sites (*bodhimaṇḍa*) in 606, Jizang was caused to reside at the Huiri enlightenment site 慧日道場 in Yangzhou. Here he completed his *Sanlun xuanyi* 三論玄義. Later, he went to Riyan Monastery 日嚴寺 in Chang'an, and his name became famous. He is commonly referred to as the "revitalizing patriarch of Madhyamaka." He lectured on the *Lotus Sūtra* more than three hundred times, he made and worshipped twenty-five images/portraits of buddhas and bodhisattvas, and he sat facing an image of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and practiced the meditation on reality (*silsang kwan*, Ch. *shishang guan* 實相觀). He was one of the ten *bhadantas* (*daode* 道德, monks of great virtue) who were selected in 618 by the new Tang dynasty, and he lived in Yanxing Monastery 延興寺. Not only did he compose the *Zhongguan lun shu*, *Shiermen lun shu*, *Bailun shu*, *Sanlun xuanyi*, *Dasheng xuan lun*, *Fahua xuan lun*, and so forth, but he wrote commentaries on the *Lotus*, *Nirvāṇa*, *Śrīmālādevi*, and *Vimalakīrti* sūtras. Although he was a great philosopher of the Sanlun tradition, he was one of the most learned thinkers of the entire Northern and Southern dynasties period.

230 Kyŏnghŭng 憬興 was active in the Korean kingdom of Unified Silla during the late seventh and early eighth centuries, was a scholar of the Sinitic Yogācāra intellectual tradition, the so-called "Consciousness-only school" (Yusikchong, Ch. Weishizong 唯識宗) or "Dharma Characteristics school" (Pŏpsangjong, Ch. Faxiangzong 法相宗), which held firm to the belief that all truth and reality come from the mind or consciousness only (*yusik*, Ch. *weishi* 唯識 Skt. *cittamatra*). Although the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 [Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms] includes a biographical narrative pertaining to his life, it contains very little information about his life. Nevertheless, according to this hagiographical account, Kyŏnghŭng's surname was Su 水 and he was a native of Ungch'ŏn 熊川, present-day Kongju 公州 in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province 忠清南道, which had previously served as a capital of the early Korean state of Paekche 百濟 (trad. dates 18 B.C.E.–660 C.E.). He left home and became a monk at about eighteen years of age—probably about the time Silla conquered Paekche in 660 and Koguryŏ in 668 with the help of Tang China—and he became famous in his day because he was thoroughly versed in the Buddhist scriptures. Just before Silla king Munmu 文武 (r.

叡, all of which are handwritten copies, and all of which have been resting [out of circulation] for a long time. Although those who are fond of work have mutually struggled to transmit them, because the passages in them are not without errors and misspellings, I have already caused the most senior and elderly among the monks to repeatedly correct and collate them. In addition, some years ago, I was indexing the names and traces of the past masters of former times, installing them in continuous lines one by one, and employed your assistance in following the fine command. If there is anything in particular that you need from the countryside overseas, I hope that you will not refrain [from asking] for the sake of the core teaching of the Dharma.

上大宋淨源法師書 2

某再咨. 去年承知刊勒花嚴科鈔略, 貢去銀二百兩, 爲當當來世, 捨信受身, 常親近師, 同於毗盧花藏, 聽聞無量妙法, 是所願也. 昨值李元積行計, 倉卒不及奉狀, 并敍願意, 極負慙悚. 伏蒙來書垂示, 不棄輕尠, 許入大緣, 此皆本講闍梨見愛之厚, 感荷恩德, 非笔舌所能具也. 兼承欲以諸德撰述之文, 箋于法華經, 非獨愜於遠懷, 抑亦符於衆願耳. 今先附上玄一·大賢二師印本册兩部, 其有吉藏·元曉·憬興·神雄并叡法師注本七卷, 並皆書寫者, 寢經年紀. 好事者更相傳扎, 其閒文句不無訛舛, 已令僧中耆老, 重加校勘. 并前年所索先達名目蹤迹等, 續後一一封上, 用副嘉命. 海鄉恐別有所須, 希不惜法旨.

661–681) passed away, he recommended that Kyŏnghŭng be made the state elder (*kungno* 國老), a position apparently analogous to a state preceptor (*kuksa* 國師). He took up residence in Samnang Monastery 三郎寺 after his appointment. Because Kyŏnghŭng was probably a monk of Paekche extraction, most scholars believe that he was appointed as head monk to assuage the population of defeated Paekche and assist in their assimilation into Silla. Kyŏnghŭng composed more than forty works of Buddhist exegesis, most of them commentaries on the seminal scriptures of the day. Although his most voluminous writings deal with Yogācāra literature, such as the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*, *Yogācārabhūmi-sūtra*, *Vijñapatimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*, he also wrote substantive commentaries on the Pure Land literature, the *Lotus Sūtra*, Prajñāpāramitā literature, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Consecration Sūtra*, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (also known as *Suvarṇaprabhāsouttamarāja-sūtra*), the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, and so forth. The only works that are still extant in some form are his *Sam Mirŭk-kyŏng so* 三彌勒經疏 [Commentary on the three Maitreya sūtras], in one roll, his *Muryangsu-gyŏng yŏnŭi sulmunch'an* 無量壽經連義述文贊 [Record of combined meanings of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*], in three rolls, and his *Kŭmgwangmyŏng ch'oesŭngwang-gyŏng yakch'an* 金光明最勝王經略贊 [Abbreviated praise of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsouttamarāja-sūtra*], in five rolls.

15. Letter to Dharma Master Jingyuan of the Great Song Empire, no. 3 (*Sang Tae Song Chŏngwŏn pŏpsa sŏ* 上大宋淨源法師書)[231]

Last year the postulant (*haengja* 行者) Anxian arrived; and once he had deigned to hand me your letter, I could not overcome the impression it left on my mind.

At this time I heard that the Prefectural Governor Su [Shi][232] discontinued [correspondence via] commercial shipping and that all those caught coming into the country carrying letters will all be punished as violators of the law. For this reason, I did not dare reply to your letter. It was not because I was lazy. In addition, with respect to the *Six Subjects* (*Liuti* 六題), in one book, that you showed such favor in giving me, ever since I opened and examined it, it has not left my hand even for a moment. I am so very thankful.

With respect to the works of the seven patriarchs[233] of our [Huayan]

---

[231] *Taegak kuksa munjip* 11, HPC 4.545c8–18.

[232] Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1036–1101) was a famous literati and politician during the Northern Song period. His courtesy name (*zi*) was Zizhan 子瞻, and his pen name (*hao*) was Dongpo 東坡. He was one of the eight great thinkers of the Tang and Song periods. His poetry and calligraphy were outstanding, and he was famous even in his own lifetime. Aside from his attainments in poetry and prose, which set the standard for excellent writing in East Asia for generations to come, he also possessed a deep knowledge of Buddhism and is said to have claimed to practice "dual cultivation of dhyāna and purity" (*chanjing jianxiu* 禪淨兼修). He built a large house and enshrined images of four bodhisattvas and described the *Lotus Sūtra*. At that time because of the troubled relations between Song China, the Khitan Liao dynasty in the north, and Koryŏ Korea, he strongly advised that the circulation of books from Song China be prohibited. He attained enlightenment in the middle of a conversation with the Chan master Changzong 常總 of Donglin Chan Cloister 東林禪院 in Jiangzhou 江州. At that time he sang a poem, "The sound of the brook is the Buddha preaching the Dharma; Can the colors of the mountains be anything but the clean and pure Dharma body? The eighty-four thousand gāthās of last night, how could they be shown to people on any other day?" This gāthā became a song that people loved to recite. In addition to the 115 chapters in his collected works, *Dongpo quanji* 東坡全集, he has left behind many other writings.

[233] The seven patriarchs of the Huayan tradition (*Hwaŏm ch'ilcho*, Ch. *Huayan qizu* 華嚴七祖) is one of several lists of Huayan patriarchs. Zongmi composed the early list of three patriarchs: Dushun,

tradition, about which I consulted you, please prepare your noble opinion, because it is not something I alone would like to ask. Because you increasingly show humility and modesty, how could a trivial student, such as myself, be able to discourse on it lightly? Nevertheless, even in this quarter of the realm, moreover, that which has been established according to the main lectures, I will subsequently briefly describe my own humble views, although the above will desecrate the dharma seat at my side. *The Record of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan ji* 華嚴記), in three rolls, that you sent me seems not to be an authentic composition of Xianshou. Probably someone who was fond of his works falsely attached his name. I humbly request that you examine all my work.

上大宋淨源法師書 3
往年, 行者顔顯到來, 曾辱手敎, 不勝銘佩. 是時, 聞蘇牧斷截商舩, 持書往復者, 俱罹非法之誅, 是以未敢裁答, 非怠故也. 兼蒙寵貺六題一册, 披閱已來, 暫不釋手, 珍感珍感. 所議及本宗七祖之事, 備審高意, 非獨好問, 益見謙沖, 如末學者, 烏可輕論哉? 然此方且依本講所立, 後當略叙管見, 上瀆座右. 送下花嚴記三卷, 似非賢首所述, 切恐好事者, 假託名字. 伏請悉察.

16. Letter to Dharma Master Shancong of the Great Song Empire, no. 1 (*Yŏ Tae Song Sŏnch'ong pŏpsa chang* 與大宋善聰法師狀)[234]

Zhiyan, and Fazang. The common designation in the mature Chinese Buddhist tradition is a list of five patriarchs: Dushun, Zhiyan, Fazang, Chengguan, and Zongmi. Here Jingyuan of the Song presents a theory of seven patriarchs that will be echoed in other later records, including such works as the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記: Aśvaghoṣa (Maming 馬鳴) and Nāgārjuna (Longshu 龍樹) are placed at the beginning to create seven patriarchs. When Ŭich'ŏn founded Hongwŏn Monastery 洪圓寺 he built a Shrine to the Nine Patriarchs (Kujodang 九祖堂), unveiling his own theory of nine patriarchs of the Huayan tradition: Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu (Tianqin 天親, Shiqin 世親), Buddhabhadra (Fotuo 佛陀, Juexian 覺賢, 359–429), Guangtong 光統 (Huiguang 慧光, fl. 508), Dixin 帝心 (Dushun), Yunhua 雲華 (Zhiyan), Xianshou 賢首 (Fazang), and Qingliang 清凉 (Chengguan).

[234] *Taegak kuksa munjip* 11, HPC 4.546a7–13.

I, Ŭich'ŏn, begin my letter [to Dharma Master Shancong].

Late autumn and it is already cold. I have humbly been wondering if your health and condition, O master lecturer and Great Dharma Master, is that of great fortune? Last time, I, Ŭich'ŏn, roamed the far-off imperial capital, and my travels took me to Gusu.[235] How could I have planned, because of the feeble appearance of this muddy backwater, that I would suddenly encounter a great master of the Perfect (Huayan) Tradition? Meeting and participating with you was truly fortuitous, for I was able to sup on the customs of the dual cultivation of doctrinal learning and visualization practices. As I look back on it, you treated me excessively well, giving full comfort to the traces of a lonely wayfarer. I received a lot of favor, and the virtues I gained were truly deep. After I returned to the land of the ancestral shrines of my fathers, you with difficulty enclosed an epistle[236] to me. Whenever I think about your words and discussion, my futile efforts are as my own soul as it appears in a dream. I humbly hope that you are sleeping and arising regularly and systematically tallying celebratory chanting. Because the cool storm winds are at their zenith, being able to have an appropriately decorous audience with you is still a remote possibility. There is no end to my longing and yearning sincere desire to meet you.

與大宋善聰法師狀 1

右某啓. 季秋已冷, 伏惟講主大法師, 尊候萬福? 某向者, 遠遊京輦, 旋届姑蘇. 豈圖邊壤[237]之孱姿, 忽際圓宗之大士? 參承有幸, 獲飡教觀之風, 顧眄踰涯, 頗慰羇孤之迹. 受恩愈甚, 荷德彌深. 洎回祖禰之邦, 阻附鱗鴻之信, 每思言論, 徒役夢魂. 伏冀雅保寢興, 式符祝詠. 凉飈正屬, 禮覲尚遙. 慕戀之誠, 部宣罔究.

[235] Gusu 姑蘇 is present-day Suzhou 蘇州, Wu district 吳縣, in Jiangsu Province. In an anecdote concerning Hanshan 寒山 and Shide 拾得, it is the location of the famous Hanshan Monastery 寒山寺.

[236] What I have translated as "epistle" is literally "fish and wild goose" (*inhŭng*, Ch. *linhong* 鱗鴻). It is a literary expression for a letter because these animals are said to carry messages.

[237] Inserting *yang* 壤 following the woodblock edition.

17. Letter to Dharma Master Shancong of the Great Song Empire, no. 2 (*Yŏ Tae Song Sŏnch'ong pŏpsa chang* 與大宋善聰法師狀)[238]

I, Ŭich'ŏn, humbly think that once I was separated from your graceful bearing, three years have passed unawares. Futilely, I was in suspense with a mind to meet [you] again and repeatedly did not send a letter. I humbly consider that with respect to you, master lecturer and Great Dharma Master, your hearing and thoughts penetrate sublimity and your understanding and practice are outstanding. You have obtained the core principles of and taken refuge in the five teachings, and you have attained an inclination toward and longing for the fourfold assembly.

The last time I inquired about the Way to enlightenment because of our karmic connection. Fortunately, I was subsequently able to inherit your customs. My deep sense of personal gratitude never wearies from dawn to dusk. Please moderately follow the precepts for this freezing cold weather. I hope you find a way to rest and recuperate yourself.

與大宋善聰法師狀 2
右某伏念, 一違風采, 三易歲華. 空懸再會之心, 復曠重封之信. 伏惟講主大法師, 聞思入妙, 解行軼輪, 得五教之指歸, 致四衆之傾慕. 向緣問道, 幸遂承風, 感激之私, 晨昏無斁. 適戒沍寒之候, 希臻浩養之方.

18. Letter to Dharma Master Shancong of the Great Song Empire, no. 3 (*Yŏ Tae Song Sŏnch'ong pŏpsa chang* 與大宋善聰法師狀)[239]

I, Ŭich'ŏn, again begin [a letter to Shancong].

From the time I returned to my native land, it is still just the same

---

238 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 11, HPC 4.546a7–13.

239 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 11, HPC 4.546b1–10.

as it ever was. I have gathered together some students and I am coarsely instructing them through lectures. Because I have no free time in the morning and evening, I have neglected to send my regards quickly.

Last year it appears that you fortunately received the *New Commentary*, in ten rolls,[240] that I sent so easily. Since you have responded so well to my sincerity, I will be forever grateful. Now I have again enclosed the *Line Penetrating the Avataṃsaka*,[241] in fifteen rolls and fourteen books; *Excerpts from the Profundities of Lectures on the* Awakening of Faith,[242] in ten rolls; *Curricula* (*ke* 科), in one roll; a *Corrected Edition of Nāgārjuna's Analytical Treatises* (*Zhongjiao Longshu shi lun* 重校龍樹釋論), in ten rolls; the *Composition on the Three Jewels*,[243] in ten rolls; the *Composition on Taking Refuge in the Profound Meaning*,[244] in ten rolls, and so forth. When they

240 The *New Commentary* (*Xin shu* 新疏) refers to Chengguan's *Zhenyuan xinyi huayan jing shu*, in ten rolls.

241 The *Line Penetrating the Avataṃsaka* (*Huayan lunguan* 花嚴綸貫) was composed by Fuan 復菴 of the Song period. The text, which provides a simple explanation of the contents of chapter thirty-nine of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls, is also called *Fuan heshang huayan lunguan* 復菴和尚華嚴綸貫. It is an important work for research on the Chan school and the Huayan school during the Song period. It provides an overview of the chapters of the sūtra, Chengguan's theory of the three parts of the sūtra (*sanfen shuo* 三分說), the meaning of all the names, descriptions of the assemblies and chapters of the sūtra, and so forth. It included discussions of the four parts (*sifen* 四分), the five universal causes and effects (*wuzhou yinguo* 五周因果), the ten mysteries and six characteristics (*shixuan liuxiang* 十玄六相), the four dharma realms (*si fajie* 四法界), Sudhana (Shanzai tongzi 善財童子), and the main teaching (*jiaozhi* 教旨) of the Chan school.

242 *Excerpts from the Profundities of Lectures on the* Awakening of Faith (*Qixin lun yan ao chao* 起信論演奥鈔) is recorded in Ŭich'ŏn's catalog as "Yan ao chao, ten rolls; curricula, two rolls" 演奥鈔 十卷 科二卷 by Yanhou 延後 of the Song period. See *Sinp'yon chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 3, T 2184.55.1175a16.

243 The *Composition on the Three Jewels* (*Sanbao zhang* 三寶章) is an essay on the rituals of the Three Jewels (*sanbao li* 三寶禮) in the "Elucidating the Dharma" chapter (*Mingfa pin* 明法品) analyzed by Fazang, which is based on Zhiyan's *Kongmu zhang* 孔目章.

244 The *Composition on Taking Refuge in the Profound Meaning* (*Zhigui zhang* 指歸章) is a composition by Fazang that elucidates the thematic essentials of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*: (1) the place where the sūtra was preached (*shuojing chu* 說經處), (2) the time the sūtra was preached (*shuojing shi* 說經時), (3) the Buddha who preached the sūtra (*shuojing fo* 說經佛), (4) the assembly to whom the sūtra was

arrive I hope you will pick them up and look them over. In your letter which I received so humbly, you mention that "I have newly composed an *Approach to Meaning* (*Yimen* 義門)." If you feel that it might serve as wholesome inducement, I hope that you will show it to me immediately. May myriads of felicitations be upon you.

與大宋善聰法師狀 3

某再啓. 某自還鄉國, 但積依然. 會集學徒, 粗敷講演, 朝夕無暇, 有曠馳問. 去年容易貢上新疏十卷, 幸蒙允納, 以副勤誠, 不勝忻抃. 今再附去花嚴綸貫十五卷十四册, 起信論演奧鈔十卷, 科一卷, 重校龍樹釋論十卷, 三寶章十卷, 指歸章十卷等, 到希采閱. 伏承來翰, 云"有新出義門," 儻存善誘之情, 早望示及也. 萬祝萬祝.

19. Letter to Dharma Master Jingyin of the Great Song Empire (*Yŏ Tae Song Chŏngin pŏpsa sŏ* 與大宋淨因法師書)[245]

I, Ŭich'ŏn, begin my letter [to Jingyin].

After meeting once and parting, how many years have passed; but my sincere longing and yearning from dawn to dusk have not changed.

Recently a passenger ship arrived in which, in particular, I found something fragrant [your letter] sealed. Because of your tender feelings of remembrance I am full of gratitude. In addition, I received the Treatise on the Great Inconceivability,[246] in twenty rolls, which you enclosed. Although

---

preached (*shuojing zhong* 說經衆), (5) the meaning of the sūtra that was preached (*shuojing yi* 說經義), (6) distinguishing the teachings of the sūtra (*bian jingjiao* 辨經教), (7) manifesting the meaning of the sūtra (*xian jingyi* 顯經義), (8) analyzing the meaning of the sūtra (*shi jingyi* 釋經義), (9) elucidating the benefits of the sūtra (*ming jingyi* 明經益), and (10) displaying the perfections of the sūtra (*shi jingyuan* 示經圓). Kyunyŏ wrote *Hwaŏm-gyŏng chigwi chang wŏnt'ong ch'ao* 華嚴經旨歸章圓通鈔 [Perfectly comprehensive account of the *Composition on Taking Refuge in the Profound Meaning* of the Avataṃsaka].

245 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 11, HPC 4.546b1–10.

246 The *Treatise on the Great Inconceivability* (*Da bushiyi lun* 大不思議論) is associated with the tale

what I humbly desired I gradually attained with respect to the original mind, you, great sir, until I accomplished it, were exceedingly troubled with respect to my paying attention. Again, please do not forget my fervent request for leftover rolls [of curricular materials]. I hope you will show them to me by this coming spring. Your favor and grace completely fill the depths of my heart. Thousands upon thousands [of miles] over water and land [separate us, so] I will not be able to express my appreciation. Since going to meet you is said to be far, I hope that you will take good care of yourself. I respectfully reply with this communication from my side. I humbly think you should please examine them accordingly.

與大宋淨因法師書

某啓. 一從睽別, 幾涉星霜, 慕戀之誠, 朝昏罔替. 近者客帆至止, 特辱芳緘, 存記之情, 良多感佩. 兼蒙附至大不思議論二十卷, 雖拙人所欲, 漸遂於本心, 而大士相成, 極煩於注意. 更有餘卷, 切託不忘, 來春便舟, 併希垂示. 其於恩惠, 盡在肺懷, 水陸千重, 莫由致謝. 趨會云遠, 善養爲宜. 謹當便次, 聊此通答. 伏惟炤察.

20. Response Letter to Vinaya Master Yuanzhao of the Great Song Empire (*Tap Tae Song Wŏnso yulsa sŏ* 答大宋元炤律師書)[247]

I well received the letter you sent me.

Furthermore, with respect to the Trepiṭaka Cimin's[248] *Pure Land*

---

regarding Nāgārjuna's entering the dragon palace and returning with the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. He took the second half of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and from it made the *Treatise on the Great Inconceivability*. Furthermore, with respect to this, he wrote analyses of one hundred thousand religious songs/hymns (*shiwan song* 十萬頌) in order to analyze the sūtra. The *Shizhu piposha lun* 十住毘婆沙論 (T 1521) is said to be one part of this vast work. See *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 1, T 1733.35.122b25–27.

247 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 11, HPC 4.546b17–c13.

248 Cimin 慈愍 is the Tang Pure Land monk Huiri 慧日 (680–748). When he was young he saw the monk Yijing 義淨 (635–713), who had returned from pilgrimage to India. Cimin was so deeply

Collection (*Jingtu ji* 淨土集), in one book, and the newly revised *Text on the Bhikṣuṇī Precepts* (*Biqiuni jieben* 比丘尼戒本), and so forth, which you sent, I have already ordered the Sūtra Printing Office (In'gyŏng so 印經所) to recarve and distribute them. The *Pure Land Collection* has not been popular to the present time, and yet recently a visitor from overseas brought the *Book of Deciphering Condemnations of the Chan School* (*Chanzong jiebang shu* 禪宗解謗書), in one roll, and from the first I thought that we possessed Huiri's *Pure Land Collection*. I straightway desired to search for the book, and when suddenly I saw that one was in circulation, I can sincerely say that a great treasure of the King of the Dharma arrived spontaneously. I only dislike that I barely obtained half a pearl and have not yet been able to take a peep at the whole treasure. [In addition,] with respect to those in-vogue compositions *Vehicle of the Great Part Vinaya* (*Dabulü sheng* 大部律乘) and *Classic Lines from the Pure Land Sūtras* (*Jingtu wenzi* 淨土文字), I fervently hope that if you would contribute them, it would be most fortunate. [Also,] with respect to the *Record of Subsidies and Support* (*Zichi ji* 資持記), I have already ordered its publication.

At this time, also I will continue to send you the newly published *Collection on Rebirth in the Pure Land according to Vows*,[249] one title in twenty

---

influenced by this experience that he made a vow to go to India. In 702 he took a boat, and three years later he arrived in India. He spent thirteen years on a pilgrimage visiting the sacred Buddhist sites in India and searching out the Buddhist scriptures. On his way home after he saw an image of Avalokiteśvara in the country of Gandhāra, he fasted and prayed, and after seven days he received a spiritual manifestation of the true form of Avalokiteśvara in this very body. He visited more than seventy countries on his journey and returned to Chang'an in 719 after an absence of eighteen years. He presented the Buddhist images and sūtras he brought home to Tang emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–755), and the emperor bestowed on him the title the Trepiṭaka Cimin (*Cimin sanzang* 慈愍三藏). He diligently practiced the dharma approach of recollection of the Buddha Amitābha (*nianfo famen* 念佛法門) and promoted the doctrinal significance of the Pure Land teachings. His writings include such works as *Wangsheng jingtu ji* 往生淨土集 and *Banzhou sanmei zan* 般舟三昧讚. Huiri's Pure Land thought and approach to Pure Land practice has an individualistic aspect to it and in this respect represents a stream or lineage different from the more mainstream lineage traced through Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–417) and Shandao 善導 (613–681).

249 The *Collection on Rebirth in the Pure Land According to Vows* (*Suiyuan wangsheng ji* 隨願往生

rolls; and furthermore the *Larger Sūtra on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life* (*Da Wuliangshou* [*jing*] 大無量壽經, viz. [Larger] *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*), the *Smaller Amitābha Sūtra* (*Xiao Amituo jing* 小阿彌陀經, viz. [Smaller] *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*), the *Sūtra on the Sixteen Visualizations*,[250] the *Sūtra on Praising the Pure Land*,[251] and so forth, the essays and commentaries of more than ten monastic thinkers.

With respect to the chapters and verses of the three translations of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*,[252] the edition of it in four rolls, Meditation Master

集) was collected and edited by the Liao monk Feizhuo 非濁 (d. 1063). He is said to have practiced the "method of the white umbrella covering" (*baisan'gai fa* 白傘蓋法) on Mt. Pan 盤山, and when he engaged in seated meditation and chanted sutras, the mountain spirit came and paid respect to him, and he was healed from an illness. In 1050, he was entrusted with the leading the government organs controlling Buddhism (*sengguan* 僧官) in Liao, and he was shown even more preferential treatment after Liao Daozong 道宗 (r. 1055–1101) ascended the throne, when he received the office of Acting Grand Mentor and Defender in chief (*jianjiao taifu taiwei* 檢校太傅太尉), one of the three paramount advisors to the Liao emperor. He collected and supplemented missing material in the twenty-roll work *Collection on Rebirth in the Pure Land according to Vows*. As soon as he presented it to the Liao emperor, the ruler is said to have caused it to be included in the Liao Buddhist canon.

250 The *Sūtra on the Sixteen Visualizations* (*Shiliu guan jing* 十六觀經) is an alternate name for the *Guan Wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 [Sūtra on the visualization of the Buddha Amitāyus, T 365].

251 The *Sūtra on Praising the Pure Land* (*Chengzan jingtu jing* 稱讚淨土經, T 367), in one roll, is an alternate version of the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha sūtra* (*Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經, T 366). It was translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664) and his translation team in 650 at Cien Monastery 慈恩寺.

252 The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (*Lengga jing* 楞伽經). The original title of the sūtra translated into Chinese by Guṇabhadra in 443 is *Lengga abaduoluo bao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 [Sūtra on [the Buddha's] entering [the country of] Lanka, T 670]. There were four translations of the sūtra into Chinese, three of which are extant (T 670, T 671, and T 672). The sūtra is said to have been delivered on the Laṅka mountain in Sri Lanka, and but was probably composed in the fourth or fifth century C.E. The text held enormous influence among many schools in all regions of East Asia, including such disparate traditions as East Asian Yogācāra (Faxiang 法相), where it was considered to be one of the six orthodox texts (*liujing* 六經), and Chan, where it is associated with some of the early patriarchs of the Chinese tradition. The *Laṅkāvatāra* contains criticisms of the Sāṃkhya, Pāśupata, and other Brahmanistic schools and attempts to explain the points of potential conflation of Mahāyāna and Brahmanistic philosophy. Because the sūtra discusses a number of characteristic Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha theories, such as the eight consciousnesses (*bashi* 八識) and *tathāgatagarbha* (*rulaizang* 如來藏), it was an instrumental text in the formation of the Tathāgatagarbha strand of

Tanqian[253] of the Sui dynasty wrote a commentary in a six rolls, the Dharma Master Lishe[254] of the Great Tang empire wrote a commentary in five rolls, and furthermore the Meditation Master Youyan[255] composed an annotated

---

Mahāyāna thought that had so much influence on the development of Chan. *Avatāra* 阿跋多羅 means "enter" (*ru* 入). It is understood that the research on the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* was stimulated by its mention in connection with the Chan line associated with Bodhidharma 菩提達磨 and Huike 慧可 in roll sixteen of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* [Further lives of eminent monks, T 2060], and this trend probably continued up through the time of Shenxiu 神秀 (ca. 606–706). After the appearance of the Huineng 慧能 tradition however, Chan scriptural associations tended to drift toward the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Jingang jing* 金剛經). The text's key doctrinal positions include the explanation of the two kinds of selflessness (*er wuwo* 二無我) and the four kinds of meditation (*sizhong chan* 四種禪). There were numerous treatises and commentaries composed on the *Laṅkāvatāra*, including those by Faxian, Wŏnhyo and others, and the sūtra was often discussed in relation to the *Awakening of Faith* (*Qixin lun* 起信論). D. T. (Daisetsu Teitaro) Suzuki 鈴木大拙 was the first to introduce the sūtra to the West in his *Studies in the Laṅkâvatāra Sūtra*, 2 vols. (London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1930).

253 Tanqian 曇遷 (542–607), a scion of the powerful Taiyuan Wang family 太原王氏, was an important Buddhist scholiast during the late Northern and Southern dynasties period and the Sui dynasty (581–618). He was closely connected with the Emperor Wen, the founder of the Sui dynasty, and actively promoted relics-distribution campaigns. For an innovative treatment of Tanqian see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs, Kinship and Kingship: Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and Politics* (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 2002).

254 Lishe 利涉 (d.u.) was a monk from the Western regions who entered China during the Zhenguan reign period (627–649). He encountered Xuanzang (ca. 602–664) on the road and made him his master. During the Kaiyuan reign period (713–741) he lectured on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* at Anguo Monastery 安國寺. By imperial edict Tang emperor Xuanzong was selected as one of the hundred greatest representatives of the Three Teachings and bestowed gifts of money and silk upon him in the inner chambers of the palace. Lishe used this money to help build Mingjiao Monastery 明教寺, so he is also called Great Master Mingjiao 明教大師. He entered quiescence in Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 in Nanyang 南陽. His writings include the *Fachuang lun* 法幢論, in one roll. See *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 17, T 2061.50.815a8–b21.

255 Youyan 有嚴 (1021–1101) was a monk of the Song dynasty. His courtesy name (*zi*) was Tanwu 曇武, and he hailed from the Hu 胡氏 family of Linhai 臨海 (presently part of Zhejiang Province). When he was young he followed the monk Lingjiu 靈鷲 and received the full precepts at fourteen *sui*. He went to Shandong 山東 and served Shenzhao 神照 and studied the teachings of the Tiantai tradition. He initially treated Wuxiang Huiyin 無相慧因 as his master but later switched to Chicheng Chongshan 赤城崇善. In his final years he lived in reclusion on the East Peak of Mt. Gu 故山東峰, tying watermallows (*mao* 茆) underneath a *zha* 樝 tree, Thus, his pen name was Zhaan 樝庵.

edition in seven rolls. Lecturers of the present most commonly rely on Lishe's commentary. If you lecture on the edition in ten rolls, you should only use the commentary by the ancient monk of great virtue, Dharma Master Wŏnhyo from this region. With respect to the newer translation in seven rolls, one cannot see the essays and commentaries. Presently I will first send you Wŏnhyo's commentary in eight rolls. Nevertheless, with respect to Master Wŏnhyo, because his spirit descended into a human body at the end of the Sui period and he was active in edifying people in the early Tang period, he manifested his form in hundreds of places and he announced nirvāṇa in the six directions. He wrote commentaries on all the sūtras and there was no theory he did not thoroughly comprehend. Long ago, ... (the remainder of the text is lost).

答大宋元炤律師書

承示. 及慈愍三藏淨土集一册, 并新刪定尼戒本等, 已令印經所, 重彫流布也. 其淨土集, 自來未行, 而近有海客, 將到禪宗解謗書一卷, 始知慧日有淨土集, 方欲求本, 忽見流通, 誠所謂法王大寶, 自然而至也. 但恨纔獲半珠, 未窺全寶耳. 盛製大部律乘, 淨土文字, 切望寄示爲幸. 資持記, 已令開板也. 此間亦有新行隨願往生集一部二十卷, 又有大無量壽·小彌陀·十六觀·稱贊淨土等經 新舊章疏一十餘家, 續當附上. 楞伽經三譯章句, 其四卷本, 隋朝曇遷禪師有疏六卷, 大唐利涉法師有疏五卷, 又有嚴禪師注七卷等, 今時講者多依涉疏. 若講十卷本, 但用此方古德元曉法[256]師疏文也. 新譯七卷, 未見章疏. 其曉疏八卷, 今先寄上. 然曉公降靈隋末, 行化唐初, 百處現形, 六方告滅, 有經皆疏, 無論不通. 昔(...)

21. Commentary on Minting Coinage (*Chujŏn so* 鑄錢疏)[257]

He cultivated pure actions and encouraged rebirth in the Pure Land. See *Wangsheng ji* 往生集 1, T 2072.51.135a22–27; *Buxu gaoseng zhuan* 補續高僧傳 2, X 1524.77.380c19–381a13.

256 Adding *pŏp* 法 following the woodblock edition.

257 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 12, HPC 4.547a14–549c14. Ŭich'ŏn's "Commentary on Minting Coinage," also called "Treatise on Minting Coinage" (*Chujŏn ron* 鑄錢論) is a very special piece of writing because Ŭich'ŏn advocates the use of currency and engages in fiscal and economic policy. That

(The front portion of the text is lost) ... the one thing that may be extolled as being fit for a lord is what we call coinage.

From the time of King Jing[258] of the Zhou dynasty,[259] the light weight of money was said to be a problem, so large coins were minted; thus, the origins of fixing currency began in the time of King Jing. Grand Master Dan Qi 單旗 remonstrated, "This is not right," but King Jing did not listen and in the end minted large coins. The writing on them said: "Treasured Valuable with a Hole in the Middle" (*baohua rouhao* 寶貨肉好), and all of them were of a circular hoop shape. Wei Yao[260] explained that "the logograph *rou*

Ŭich'ŏn, a monk, would make such claims shows that aside from Buddhism he also studied statecraft (*kyŏngse* 經世). He certainly came into contact with merchants as he travelled around Song China, and he understood trading and market forces. Ŭich'ŏn himself handled goods and commodities in order to purchase books from Song merchants, and he must have recognized the utility of currency in this process. Although more specifically Ŭich'ŏn's recommendation was meant to influence policy during Sukchong's reign (r. 1095–1105), the real policy was to do more than present the idea to create coins (2 *su* 4 *ryu*) that could be used by civilians; it was to promote the expansion of financial income by means of the circulation of silver bottles (*ŭnbyŏng* 銀瓶), a special type of bottle cast during Sukchong's reign and used as currency. See Yi Pyŏnghŭi 李炳熙, "Taegak kuksa Ŭich'ŏn ŭi Chujŏn ron" 大覺國師 義天의 鑄錢論 [Ŭich'ŏn's treatise on minting coinage], *Ch'ŏnt'aehak yŏn'gu* 天台學研究 4 (2003): 195–203.

258 King Jing 景王 (r. 543–521 B.C.E.) was the twenty-fourth king of the Zhou dynasty.

259 The Zhou 周 dynasty (ca. 1045–256), which followed the Shang 商 (or Yin 殷) period, is the classical age of early China. The Zhou first made their capital in Haojing 鎬京 (present-day Xi'an 西安 in Shanxi Province陝西省); but in 771 the Quanrong 犬戎 (early Tibetans?) attacked, sacked the capital, and murdered King Yu 幽王. King Ping 平王moved the capital eastward to Luoyi 洛邑 (present-day Luoyang 洛陽 in Henan Province), where the capital stayed until the Zhou were destroyed by the Qin 秦 in 256 B.C.E. From the founding of the dynasty until 771 is called the Western Zhou 西周, and from 771 to 256 B.C.E. is called the Eastern Zhou 東周. The Spring and Autumn annals period (Chunqiu shidai 春秋時代, 722–481 B.C.E.) and the Warring States period (Zhanguo shidai 戰國時代, 403–221 B.C.E.) fall under the Eastern Zhou period.

260 Wei Yao 韋曜 is Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204–273), who was an official and scholar of the state of Wu during the Three Kingdoms period. He composed the *Boyi lun* 博奕論 upon royal command. When King Huiji (r. 252–257) ascended the throne Wei became the Grand Astrologer and edited the *Wu shu* 吳書 [History of Wu]. During the reign of Emperor Jing (r. 258–263) he became the Gentleman of the Secretariat and Chancellor of the Erudites, and during the reign of the last emperor, Duke Wucheng (r. 264–280), he became a Palace Attendant, one of the emperor's chief advisors. He wrote commentaries

肉[261] refers to the shape of the money and the logograph *hao* 好[262] refers to the hole in the money." At that time they used [the coins] to encourage agriculture, and because [the coins] served to supplement their deficiencies the people obtained benefits. By the time of King Zhuang[263] of the Chu dynasty,[264] the currency was light and its small size was changed to a big size, but the people considered [such currency] inconvenient, and it was just the same even in the marketplace. The First August Emperor of the Qin[265] standardizied all the currency and divided it into two types: the superior currency was gold and the inferior currency was coinage.

---

on the *Lunyu* 論語 [Analects], *Xiaojing* 孝經 [Classic of filial piety], *Guoyu* 國語, and so forth.

261 The logograph *rou* 肉 refers to the exterior of an object that has a hole in the middle, like money.

262 The logograph *hao* 好 refers to the hole in the money.

263 King Zhuang 莊王 (r. 614–591) was a ruler of the state of Chu during the Spring and Autumn period. He was one of the five hegemonic rulers of the Spring and Autumn period. The state of Chu's stronghold was on the middle reaches of the Yangzi River. King Zhuang advanced the northward expansion policy that characterized the state of Chu's activities during the mid-seventh century. During his reign, the Rong were subjugated, and they extended the state's power and influence to the vicinity of Luoyang.

264 The state of Chu 楚 was one of the seven contenders during the Warring States period (*changuo qixiong* 戰國七雄) of the Zhou dynasty. The state's stronghold was on the middle reaches of the Yangzi River; it was an active feudal state centered on Hubei Province 湖北省. The feudal lord of Chu was installed by King Cheng 成王 of Zhou (trad. dates 1115–1079 B.C.E.), and his court is said to have settled at Danyang 丹陽. The state of Chu possessed the most territory and the largest population of all the warring states in the fourth century B.C.E. However, the state of Qin continually applied pressure to Chu, and its capital fell in 278 B.C.E. Chu was destroyed and absorbed by Qin in 223 B.C.E.

265 The First August Emperor of the Qin (Qin Shihuang 秦始皇, 246–210 B.C.E.) was the first emperor over a unified and centralized Chinese state. The Qin state attained supremacy over the other warring states by adopting Legalist policies such as promoting agriculture to make their state wealthy and strengthening their armies in order to conquer more territory. After coming to power, Qin Shihuang struck against the Xiongnu, nomads to the north of China, and began work on the Great Wall of China by unifying and consolidating the walls built by previous dynasties and states in the north. The demands of his building projects, his palace, his mausoleum, and the Great Wall were severe, and after his death in 210, his empire quickly fell into chaos and rebellion in 209.

When the Han dynasty[266] first arose, [the officials] said that the heavy weight of the Qin money was a problem, and again they made money light as a peapod, and its weight was half of a *shu* 銖.[267] Gaozu's empress,[268] within two years said it was a problem because it was too light, and initially they used an eight *shu* coin, in six years later they further used a five *fen** 分 coin. By the time of Emperor Wendi[269] they were again making a four shu coin and issued an edict prohibiting counterfeit currency. Therefore, Jia Yi,[270] recognizing that if unofficial minting was rampant in the realm, the

---

266 The Han 漢 dynasty (206 b.c.e.–220 c.e.) was the Chinese dynasty that restored order and reunified China after the fall of the Qin dynasty (221–206 b.c.e.). It continued for about four hundred years after its founding by Liu Bang 劉邦 (Han Gaozu 漢高祖, r. 206–195 b.c.e.) and was one of greatest periods of Chinese military might and cultural influence. Ever since this time when speaking of Chinese people or Chinese culture, Chinese people themselves use the expression "Han." There was a short interregnum from 8–23 c.e. when Wang Mang 王莽 (45 b.c.e.–23 c.e.) founded the short-lived Xin 新 dynasty.

267 A *shu* 銖 (Kor. *su*) is a unit of measurement. A *shu* corresponds to 1/24 of a tael (*nyang*, Ch. *liang* 兩); one tael is approximately 37.5 grams.

268 Gaozu's empress (Gaohou 高后, Gao huanghou 高皇后, née Lu 呂 [d. 180 b.c.e.]) was the wife and empress of Liu Bang, Han emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 206–195 b.c.e.) of the Former Han period and the mother of Huidi (r. 194–188 b.c.e.). After the death of Gaozu, she became Empress Dowager and was known as Empress Lu (Lu hou 呂后, Lu taihou 呂太后). Because of the way she grasped and wielded power and authority she is often compared to Empress Wu Zitian (r. 690–705) of the Tang period and Empress Dowager Cixi of the Qing period.

269 Emperor Wendi 文帝 (r. 180–157 b.c.e.) was the fifth ruler of the Former Han period. His temple name (*miaohao* 廟號) was Taizong 太宗, and he was the fourth son of Gaozu. After quelling the rebellion of Empress Lu, he ascended the throne with the support of his loyal ministers. He inherited Gaozu's system of commanderies and semifeudal domains (*junguo zhi* 郡國制), reduced and mitigated land taxes and poll taxes, and exerted his strength in stabilizing the welfare of the people and their livelihoods and cultivating national resources and strength. When he died his son Jingdi (r. 156–141) ascended the throne and continued the policies of his father. This period of time is remembered in Chinese history as the "rule of Wen and Jing" and as one of the most peaceful and prosperous in Chinese history.

270 Jia Yi 賈誼 (200–168 b.c.e.) was a man of letters and a scholar during the reign of Emperor Wendi during the Former Han period. He revised systems of the laws and codes, government organization, ritual music, and so forth that had been passed down from the Qin dynasty. He

disaster for the court was serious, subsequently remonstrated: "If we get rid of this disaster now there will be seven boons. As for these seven boons, if the state collects the copper and commands that it not be distributed among the people, because the people will not mint their own money, a decrease in crimes punished by facial tattooing[271] is the first. If counterfeit money does not increase, the people's not being suspicious of each other is the second. Their not digging for copper and returning to cultivating their fields is the third. Copper's eventually returning to the state and, by means of the control over the relative gravity of the crime of gathering and accumulating copper, the assimilation of it to those matters being made more fairly is the fourth. The production and distribution of weapons to noble officials and to some extent the institution of sanctions for use in distinguishing between the noble and base is the fifth. By regulating the fullness and emptiness of all currency, if we gather great benefits, the authorities will be well off, strong and healthy, and the poverty of the people will dwindle is the sixth. Moderating the extravagant waste of our means and giving [our excess] to the Xiongnu,[272]

---

reported to the throne on the many intellectual opinions on improving and consolidating government organization. After he was downgraded in the age of the high officials, he wrote the "Diao Qu Yuan fu" 弔屈原賦 [Rhapsody on giving condolences to Qu Yuan] in which he compared his unfortunate fate to that of Qu Yuan 屈原.

271 Facial tattooing (*kyŏngjoe*, Ch. *qingzui* 黥罪) refers to the ancient punishment of tattooing the face.

272 The Xiongnu 匈奴 were a confederation of nomadic tribes from Central Asia with a ruling class of unknown origin and other subjugated tribes. The bulk of information on the Xiongnu comes from Chinese sources. What little is known of their titles and names comes from Chinese transliterations from their language. The language of Xiongnu has been a subject of varied hypotheses since only a few words, mainly titles and personal names, have been preserved in the Chinese sources. Among the languages that have been proposed are Yeniseian, Iranian, Turkic, and Mongolic. Their name, Xiongnu, may also be related to the name known to the Greco-Roman world as Huns, but the identification of the two groups is not certain. In the second century B.C.E., they defeated and displaced the previously dominant Yuezhi 月氏 and became the predominant power on the steppes north of China. They appear in Chinese sources from the third century B.C.E. as controlling an empire under Modu Chanyu (who became supreme leader in 209 B.C.E.) stretching beyond the borders of modern-day Mongolia. They were active in the areas of southern Siberia, western Manchuria and the modern Chinese provinces of Inner Mongolia, Gansu, and Xinjiang. These nomadic people

and if they fight amongst themselves the brigands will certainly long for it, is the seventh. This, we may say, was truly a fair criticism."

By the time of Emperor Wu,[273] since there was a difference between three *shu* and a half *liang*,[274] the people did much counterfeit minting. In addition, since "red sides"[275] were popular and one *fen* was equal to five *fen*, and as the so-called red sides were things in which the circular hoop shape was encircled with red copper, it became a custom of the Han dynasty to call it "deep purple money" (*zigan jian*, *Kor. chagam chŏn* 紫紺錢).

In the early period of the Later Han, Ma Yuan[276] informed [the state that they would use a five shu coin, but as soon as the Three Offices[277] blocked

---

were considered so dangerous and disruptive that the Qin dynasty began construction of the Great Wall to protect China from Xiongnu attacks. Relations between early Chinese dynasties and the Xiongnu were complex, including repeated periods of military conflict and intrigue, interspersed with exchanges of tribute and trade, and marriage treaties.

273 Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (156–87 B.C.E., r. 141–87 B.C.E.), personal name Liu Che 劉徹, was the seventh emperor of the Han dynasty in modern-day mainland China. Emperor Wu is best remembered for the vast territorial expansion into Central Asia, the Korean peninsula, and Vietnam that occurred under his reign, as well as the strong and centralized Confucian state he organized. Chinese history remembers him as the greatest emperor of the Han dynasty and one of the greatest emperors in Chinese history. Emperor Wu's effective governance made the Han dynasty one of the most powerful nations, if not the most powerful one, in the world.

274 A half *liang* (*pallyang*, Ch. *banliang* 半兩), or half-tael, is a half ounce or 12 *shu*.

275 "Red sides" (*chŏkch'ŭk*, Ch. *chice* 赤側) were a coin of the Han dynasty. The nickname came into being because the edges were red copper color.

276 Ma Yuan 馬援 (14 B.C.E.–49 C.E.) was a general during the Later Han period. Although he received his office from the usurper Wang Mang, he became an Inner Gentleman and Governor of the Han. During the reign of Emperor Guangwu (r. 25–57) he became Superior Grand Master of the Palace. As governor of the Longxi 隴西 (present-day Gansu) he subjugated the barbarians and later he was named "generalissimo who quells the waves [of rebellion]" (*fupo jiangjun* 伏波將軍) for his brilliant reuniting of the empire by putting down a rebellion in Jiaozhi 交趾 (present-day northern Vietnam).

277 The Three Offices (*sambu*, Ch. *sanfu* 三府), also Three Dukes (*samgong*, Ch. *sangong* 三公), have been a collective reference from antiquity to the dignitaries who were officially considered the three paramount aides to the ruler and held the highest possible ranks among all the officialdom. The Three Dukes are the Defender in Chief (*taewi*, Ch. *taiwei* 太尉), Minister of Education (*sado*, Ch.

that action Ma Yuan entered the court and became an Inner Gentleman Brave as Tigers;[278] he figured out thirteen difficult problems directly in the presence of his majesty and solved them following the record. Emperor Guangwu[279] followed his opinions and the people reaped the benefits.

In the time of Emperor An[280] of the Jin dynasty,[281] when Huan Xuan[282]

---

situ 司徒), and Minister of Works (*sagong*, Ch. *sikong* 司空).

278 With respect to the Inner Gentleman Brave as Tigers (*hobun chongnang*, Ch. *hupen zhonglang* 虎賁中郞), "Brave as Tigers" occurs throughout Chinese history as a prefix to military titles associated with guarding the ruler, such as the Leader of the Court Gentlemen (*zhonglang jiang* 中郞將), especially during Han and Tang times. An inner gentleman or court gentleman was subordinate to the Chamberlain for Attendants (*nangjung ryŏng*, Ch. *langzhong ling* 郞中令). At the end of the Later Han period, four Leaders of the Court Gentlemen were installed.

279 Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (5 B.C.E.–57 C.E.), born Liu Xiu, was the first emperor of the Later Han dynasty, restorer of the Han dynasty in 25 C.E., and thus founder of the Later Han or Eastern Han (the restored Han dynasty). He ruled only over parts of China at first, but through suppression and conquest of regional warlords he regained much of the empire by 36; the whole of China was consolidated by the time of his death in 57. He promoted learning, revered Confucianism and Confucian government, and laid the foundations for the system of ritual learning (*yegyo chuŭi*, Ch. *lijiao zhuyi* 禮敎主義).

280 Emperor An 安帝 (r. 395–418 C.E.) was the last ruler of the Eastern Jin dynasty.

281 The Jin 晉 dynasty (265–420) was the successor state to the powerful but short-lived Wei 魏 dynasty (220–265) of the Three Kingdoms period after the fall of the Later Han dynasty in 220. Although Cao Cao 曹操 (154–220) laid the foundations of the Wei state, the most powerful of the Three Kingdoms, his descendants were pushed aside and replayed by Sima Yan 司馬炎 (r. 265–290), who founded the Jin dynasty in 265. The Jin dynasty is divided into the Western Jin 西晉 (265–317) and the Eastern Jin 東晉 (317–420) periods. The Western Jin was defeated by the Former Zhao 前趙 (303–330) in 317, and Sima Rui 司馬睿 (r. 317–323) fled south of the Yangzi River to the Jiangnan region and established a new capital at Jianye 建業 (Jiankang 建康). The Eastern Jin eventually fell to the Song 宋 (Liu-Song 劉宋, 420–479).

282 Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404), courtesy name Jingdao 敬道, nickname Lingbao 靈寶, formally Emperor Wudao of Chu 楚武悼帝, was a warlord during the Jin period (265–420) who briefly took over the imperial throne from Emperor An of Jin and declared his own state of Chu in 403 but was defeated by an uprising led by the general Liu Yu in 404 and killed. He was the youngest son of Huan Wen 桓溫, the commander in chief (*dasima* 大司馬) of the Eastern Jin. Ever since 340, there had been confusion, discussion, and debate over the status of the saṃgha and whether they would bow to the ruler. In 403, Huan Xuan, who wanted the saṃgha to be strictly subordinate to

assisted with government, he discontinued coinage and encouraged the use of grains and silk. Kong Lin 孔琳 objected saying: "You, O sage king, make useless currency and cause it to circulate for useful goods. Already there is no wasteful extravagance as it is; furthermore, the affliction of moving difficult things is diminished. This, as a continuation of the merits of turtle and cowries shells[283] was not discontinued generation after generation. Grains and linens, as treasures, are things originally used for eating and wearing, but if we divide them up and make them currency, the loss of wealth will be very great. Furthermore, they will become damaged in the process of buying and selling; and they will be consumed in the process of cutting them up and will be discarded. This will be an abuse more conspicuous than before." Furthermore, for example, he also said: "In the time of Emperor Ming[284] of the Wei dynasty, coinage was discontinued and grains were used. This was so inconvenient to the people that the whole court was in dispute over the issue. As soon as the most talented and brilliant people in the government said that using money was the appropriate thing to do, the people had no different thoughts, and even at court there were no dissenting opinions." At this time, because Kong Lin's words were considered to be right and reasonable, Huan Xuan's proposal was discontinued and not carried out.

In the time of the Former Liang regional regime,[285] even Suo Fu told

---

the state and therefore wanted monks to bow to rulers, once again presented this issue at court and asked for Lushan Huiyuan's opinion of the matter. Huiyuan elaborated his conclusions in his famous essay "Shamen bujing wangzhe lun" 沙門不敬王者論 [Treatise on śramaṇas not offering reverence to kings], which ultimately caused Huan Xuan to retract his position. See Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 231–238.

283 Turtle and cowries shells (*kwip'ae*, Ch. *guibei* 龜貝) were used as currency in ancient China.

284 Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 226–239), the successor to Cao Pi 曹丕, was the second ruler of the Wei 魏 dynasty during the Three Kingdoms period.

285 The Former Liang regional regime 前涼 (313–373) was founded by Zhang Gui 張軌 of the Han Chinese Zhang family. Its territories included present-day Gansu and parts of Ningxia, Shaanxi, Qinghai, and Xinjiang. All rulers of the Former Liang remained largely titular rulers under the court of the Jin dynasty as the Duke of Xiping except Zhang Zuo, who proclaimed himself *wang* 王 (prince/king). However, at times the other Former Liang rulers also used the *wang* title when it was imposed

Zhang Gui:[286] "In ancient time gold or cowries, leather or silk were used as money, and consumption measuring in grains and linens was gotten rid of. In the Former and Later Han periods, they made five shu coins, and circulation of goods and trade was not impeded. During the Taishi reign period,[287] the Hexi region[288] had been laid waste and then subsequently did not use coins. Presently in the central regions,[289] although they are engulfed in chaos, if we make this place safe and peaceful, we should again use five shu coins and must deliver it from rebellion." Accepting [Suo Fu's] words, Zhang Gui he standardized hemp cloth and used coinage. The coinage was very popular and the people reaped the benefits.

By the Xiping reign period[290] of Emperor Xiaoming[291] [of the Northern Wei dynasty][292] coinage was not newly minted. Wang Cheng 王澄 presented a

---

on them such as when they were forced to submit to the Han Zhao, Later Zhao, or Former Qin dynasties. It was one of the regional regimes during the period of the Five Barbarian Dynasties and Sixteen Kingdoms (*wuhu shiliu guo* 五胡十六國).

286 Zhang Gui 張軌 (r. 313–319) was the founder of the Former Liang regional regime.

287 The Taishi 泰始 reign period (265–274) was the first reign period of Sima Yan, Emperor Wu 武帝 of the Jin dynasty.

288 The Hexi 河西 region is a classical expression from the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods (771–221 C.E.) used to refer to the southern extremity of the Yellow River between present-day Shanxi Province 山西省 and Shaanxi Province 陝西省.

289 There are two primary definitions of "central region" (*chungju*, Ch. *zhongzhou* 中州). It could be an expression referring to the area of present-day Henan Province 河南省. China is cosmically conceptualized as being divided into nine regions, and this would refer to the central region of these nine. It may also be a reference to the Central Plains (*chungwŏn*, Ch. *zhongyuan* 中原) of China, the heartland of Chinese culture.

290 The Xiping 熙平 reign period (516–518) was the first of several reign periods of the Northern Wei emperor Xiaoming (r. 515–528).

291 Emperor Xiaoming 孝明帝 (r. 515–528) was the eighth ruler of the Northern Wei dynasty. He lost in a power struggle with his birth mother, Empress Dowager Ling 靈太后, and was slain by her in 528.

292 The Northern Wei dynasty 北魏, also called the Later Wei dynasty 後魏 or Yuan Wei dynasty 元魏 (386–534), was the most powerful and long-lived of the Northern dynasties and held sway over most of northern China beginning in 439. It was founded by the Tuoba people 拓跋部, one of the Xianbei tribes 鮮卑. Although their tribal horsemen were strong, they possessed no systematic

memorial to the throne that said: "If you plan to revive the use of coinage you should start from a superior article. If you desire to cause the artisans of the world to make them even and the same so that they will circulate universally and have no end, although it will not be difficult to execute such a thing, if you obstruct it, you will go against the law of currency. Why? This is because hemp and cloth cannot be divided up individually into the units of feet and inches and it is difficult to lug the five grains around. In using coins, because they are strung together on a string there is no need for tools and apparatuses such as horses and straw sacks, and because there is no need to work hard to be even and fair in using scales or rulers, I will say that as something appropriate for delivering the world, it is the most profound and the best."

In the fourth year of the Wude reign period[293] of Emperor Gaozu[294] of

---

organization for rule of the vast regions they conquered. Because they appointed and promoted Han Chinese to help rule the empire, the imperial family promoted Sinocization. They also patronized Buddhism lavishly in the process of transforming Xianbei culture into Chinese culture. Their patronage of the Yungang caves 雲崗石窟 and Longmen caves 龍門石窟 show the influence and importance of this dynasty with respect to Buddhist art on the grand scale.

293 The Wude 武德 reign period (618–626) was the reign period of Li Yuan 李淵, Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618–626), the first emperor of the Tang dynasty.

294 Emperor Gaozu 高祖 of Tang (566–635), born Li Yuan 李淵, was the founder of the Tang dynasty, and the first emperor of this dynasty from 618 to 626. Under the Sui dynasty (581–618), Li Yuan was the governor in the area of modern-day Shanxi, and was based in Taiyuan 太原. In 615, Li Yuan was assigned to garrison Longxi. He gained much experience by dealing with the Göktürks of the north and was able to pacify them. Li Yuan was also able to gather support from these successes and, with the disintegration of the Sui dynasty in July of 617, Li Yuan—urged on by his second son Li Shimin 李世民 (the eventual Emperor Taizong)—rose in rebellion. Using the title of Great Chancellor (*dashengxiang* 大丞相), Li Yuan installed a puppet child emperor, Emperor Gong, but eventually removed him altogether and established the Tang dynasty in 618 as Emperor Gaozu (lit. "high founder"). Emperor Gaozu's reign was concentrated on uniting the empire under the Tang. Aided by Li Shimin, whom he created the Prince of Qin, he defeated all the other contenders, including Li Gui, Dou Jiande, Wang Shichong, Xue Rengao, and Liu Wuzhou. By 628, the Tang dynasty had succeeded in uniting all of China. On the home front, he recognized the early successes forged by Emperor Wen of Sui (r. 581–604) and strove to emulate most of Emperor Wen's policies, including the equal distribution of land amongst his people, and he also lowered taxes. He abandoned the harsh system of law established by Emperor Yang of Sui (r. 605–616) and reformed the judicial

the Tang dynasty,[295] they initially discontinued the five shu coins and put into circulation the coinage called *kaiyuan tongbao* 開元通寶.[296] As its diameter was eight *fen* and its weight was two *shu* and four *lei*,[297] it was most becoming and everyone used it conveniently. From the time that King Jing of the

system. These acts of reform paved the way for the reign of Emperor Taizong (r. 627–649), which ultimately pushed Tang to the height of its power. In 626, Li Shimin, in a dispute with his brothers Li Jiancheng, the Crown Prince, and Li Yuanji, the Prince of Qi, ambushed Li Jiancheng and Li Yuanji at Xuanwu Gate, killing them. Fearful of what Li Shimin might do next, Emperor Gaozu passed the throne to him and became Taishang Huang 太上皇 (retired emperor). He died in 635.

295 The Tang dynasty 唐 (618–907) was an imperial dynasty of China preceded by the Sui dynasty (581–618) and followed by the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period (907–960). It was founded by the Li 李 family, who seized power during the decline and collapse of the Sui empire. The dynasty was interrupted briefly by the second Zhou dynasty (690–705) when Empress Wu Zetian seized the throne, becoming the first and only Chinese empress regnant, ruling in her own right. The Tang dynasty, with its capital at Chang'an 長安 (present-day Xi'an 西安), the most populous city in the world at the time, is regarded by historians as a high point in Chinese civilization—equal to or surpassing that of the earlier Han Dynasty—as well as a golden age of cosmopolitan culture. Its territory, acquired through the military campaigns of its early rulers, was greater than that of the Han period, and it rivaled that of the later Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties. The enormous Grand Canal of China, built during the previous Sui dynasty, facilitated the rise of new urban settlements along its route as well as increased trade between mainland Chinese markets. The canal is to this day the longest in the world. In two censuses of the seventh and eighth centuries, the Tang records stated that the population (by number of registered households) was about fifty million people. However, even when the central government was breaking down and unable to compile an accurate census of the population in the ninth century, it is estimated that the population in that century had grown to about eighty million people. With its large population base, the dynasty was able to raise professional and conscripted armies of hundreds of thousands of troops to contend with nomadic powers in dominating Inner Asia and the lucrative trade routes along the Silk Road. Various kingdoms and states paid tribute to the Tang court, while the Tang also conquered or subdued several regions, which it indirectly controlled through a protectorate system. Besides political hegemony, the Tang also exerted a powerful cultural influence over neighboring states such as those in Korea and Japan.

296 The original text reads *kaet'ong wŏnbo* 開通元寶 (Ch. *kaitong yuanbao*); this is because Ŭich'ŏn appears to have been reading the name of the money in a clockwise manner starting with the logograph *kae* at the top, *t'ong* to the right, *wŏn* on the bottom, and *po* on the left, reading around the hole in the center. However, the official name of the currency is *kaiyuan tongbao* (reading top and bottom, right and left).

297 A *lei* 絫 (Kor. *ru*) is the smallest measure of weight at one-tenth of a *shu*.

Zhou dynasty revised the currency until the Tang dynasty formulated fiscal laws, because coinage was made pertinently according to the times, partiality toward [the coins] was not the same. Whether small or big, heavy or light, there were so many revisions it would be impossible to cover them all.

鑄錢疏

(...) 主之一物之稱, 盖謂錢也. 周自景王, 乃患錢輕, 更鑄大錢, 故改幣之端, 自景王始. 大夫單旗諫曰不可, 景王弗聽, 卒鑄大錢, 文曰寶貨肉好, 皆有周郭. 韋曜曰, "肉者, 錢形也. 好者, 錢孔也." 是時用之以勸農, 而贍不足, 百姓蒙[298]利焉. 至楚莊王, 以幣爲輕, 用小易大, 百姓不便,[299] 市復如故. 秦皇兼并, 分幣爲二, 上幣金也, 下幣錢也. 漢之初興, 患秦泉重, 更鑄莢錢, 其重銖半. 高后二年, 患其大輕, 始行八銖, 六年又行五分. 至文帝, 更鑄四銖, 除盜鑄令. 賈誼以謂, 私鑄恣於天下, 其爲禍博, 遂諫曰, "今愽禍可除 而七福可致. 何謂七福. 上收銅, 勿令布下, 則民不鑄錢, 黥罪不積, 一矣. 僞錢不蕃, 民不相疑, 二矣. 采銅不作, 反於耕田, 三矣. 銅畢歸上, 挾銅積以御輕重, 化物必平, 四矣. 以作兵器, 以假貴臣, 多少有制, 用別貴賤, 五矣. 以臨萬貨, 以調盈虛, 以收奇羡, 則官富實而末民困, 六矣. 制吾棄財, 以與匈奴, 逐爭其民, 則敵必懷, 七矣." 夫是可謂公論也. 至於虎帝, 則有三銖半兩之異, 民多姧鑄. 又行赤側, 以一當五, 赤側者, 以赤銅爲輪郭也, 漢俗呼紫紺錢是也. 後漢之初, 馬援奏用五銖, 三府沮之, 及援入爲虎賁中郎, 親對御前, 詰難十三, 隨牒解釋. 光虎從之, 下賴其利. 至於晋安, 桓玄輔政, 欲廢錢用穀帛. 孔琳議之曰, "聖王制無用之貨, 以通有用之財, 旣無毀敗之費, 又省難轉之苦, 此錢所以嗣功龜貝, 歷代不廢也. 穀帛爲寶, 本充衣食, 分以爲貨, 則致損甚多. 又勞毀於商販之手, 耗棄於割截之用. 此之爲弊, 著於曩昔." 又引 "魏明帝時, 廢錢用穀, 不便於人, 擧朝大議, 精才達政之士, 莫不爲宜復用錢, 下無異情, 廷無異論." 是時以琳爲至當故, 桓玄之說, 寢而不行. 前凉之時, 索輔亦言於張軌曰, "古以金貝皮幣爲貨, 息穀帛量度之耗, 二漢制五銖錢, 通易不滯. 泰始年中, 河西荒廢, 遂不用錢. 今中州雖亂, 此方安全, 宜復五銖, 以濟通變." 張軌納之, 準布用錢, 錢遂大行, 民受其賜. 至於後魏, 孝明凞平之閒, 不行新鑄. 王澄上疏曰, "錢之興也, 始於一品. 欲令世匠均同, 圜流無極, 行之不足爲難, 塞之有乖通典. 何者, 布帛不可尺寸而裂, 五穀則有負擔之艱. 錢之爲用, 貫繈相屬, 不假斗斛

298 Correcting the text to read *mong* 蒙 following the woodblock edition.

299 Correcting the text to read *p'yŏn* 便 following the woodblock edition.

之器, 不勞稱尺之平, 濟世之宜, 謂爲深元. 及唐高祖虎德四年, 始廢五銖, 行開通元寶錢, 徑八分重二銖四絫, 最爲折衷, 遠近便之. 自周景更幣之後, 至李唐立法之閒, 隨時制宜, 所尚不一, 或小或大, 或重或輕, 更變頗多, 不可遍擧.

Generally speaking, the minting of money and the regulation of currency are necessary policies in human institutions. I humbly observe that with respect to Haedong (Korea), before the unification of the Three Han states, their customs were unsophisticated, and we may use the quote "Our predecessors did things in accordance with the rituals and music."[300] Since their country was thrifty and frugal, we may use the quote "Since they were in squalor, what would they do?"[301] Therefore, the Great Saṃgha Overseer, Dharma Master Chajang,[302] presented a memorial to the throne that said

---

300 Cf. *Lunyu* 論語, Xianjin pian 先進篇, "The Master said, 'As far as the rites and music area concerned, the disciples who were the first to come to me were rustics while those who came to me afterwards were gentlemen. When it comes to putting the rites and music to use, I follow the former." *Lunyu* 11.1; Confucius, *The Analects*, trans. D. C. Lau (London and New York: Penguin, 1979), 106.

301 Cf. *Lunyu*, Zihan pian 子罕篇, "The Master wanted the settle amongst the Nine Barbarian Tribes of the east. Someone said, 'But could you put up with their uncouth ways?' The Master said, 'Once a gentleman settles amongst them, what uncouthness will there be?'" *Lunyu* 9.14; Confucius, *Analects*, 98.

302 Chajang 慈藏 (d. between 650–655) was an eminent monk of Silla. Surnamed Kim 金, his secular name was Sŏnjongnang 善宗郞; he was the son of the true-bone noble Murim 武林/茂林. He went to Tang China by royal command in 638 and made a pilgrimage on Mt. Wutai. There he had an experience, seeing the true body of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, and received a kaṣāya (robe) and śarīra. He also practiced at Yunji Monastery 雲際寺 on Mt. Zhongnan 終南山. Although he is traditionally thought to have been instructed by Vinaya Master Daoxuan (596–667), this is unlikely. He returned to Silla in 643 bearing Buddhist sūtras and Buddhist ritual implements. While serving as abbot of Punhwang Monastery 芬皇寺, he lectured on such texts as the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* and *Pusa jieben* 菩薩戒本 [Text on bodhisattva precepts] in the palace and at Hwangnyong Monastery 皇龍寺. He was entrusted with the newly created ecclesiastical position of Great Buddhist Overseer (*taegukt'ong* 大國統) and supervised the norms of the monks and nuns. He travelled around among Silla monasteries checking on the monastics' strict compliance with the vinaya, and he performed inspections of monasteries in the provinces, systematized formal procedures, and so forth. He recommended the construction of a nine-story wooden pagoda at Hwangnyong Monastery, which was reportedly completed in 645. He founded T'ongdo Monastery 通度寺 and enshrined a true śarīra (relic) of the Buddha Śākyamuni in the Adamantine Precepts Platform (Kŭmgang kyedan 金剛戒壇)

because the customary clothing of our country was very shabby, he requested that they use Tang styles; and the king of state permitted it. Eventually we discarded the clothing of the remote frontier, and revered robes and headgear, and undeniably until the present they have greatly flourished and become very attractive. I humbly think that our country (Koryŏ) executed a rebellion in accordance with the will of Heaven, unified the Three Han states, renewed all the more ritual decorum, and clarified the rules and regulations. With respect to clothing, there is an institutionalized system; and since there are unchanged laws governing carts and vehicles to ride, we established the fundamental principles of government as a civilization, advanced by means of education, controlled all the government officials, and reigned over all nations; all were struck with awe and not without restraining themselves were solemn. Also, if one adjusts clothing and headgear once, the longer and newer it is, how could laws regulating coinage not be any different? Your servant Ŭich'ŏn would not presume to follow in the footsteps of Dharma Master Chajang. However, just as I have said above, it is difficult to meet a sagely man and it is difficult to encounter the opportune time. Ah! If one does not fix what should be fixed, this is like not retuning a zither or a lute even though they are out of tune. I respectfully think that with respect to Your Lordly Highness, your virtue far exceeds that of the three [sage] kings,[303] and your Way runs side by side with that of the two thearchs;[304] your merits are

---

that was erected. According to Buddhist records, in 649 he submitted to the throne that Silla should adopt the Tang calendar and official court dress. In his final years he built Suda Monastery 水多寺 in Kangnŭng and Sŏngnam Monastery 石南寺 on Mt. T'aebaek (present-day Chŏngam Monastery 淨岩寺). He was later venerated as the patriarch of the the Vinaya school in Silla. Kim Jongmyung (Kim Chongmyŏng) 金鍾明, "Chajang (fl. 636–650) and 'Buddhism as National Protector' in Korea: A Reconsideration," in *Religions of Traditional Korea*, ed. Henrik H. Sørensen (Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, University of Copenhagen, 1995), 23–55.

303 The three sage kings (*sanwang*, Ch. *sanwang* 三王) are three famous rulers of Chinese antiquity: King Yu 禹王 (trad., r. 2205–2196 B.C.E.) of the Xia 夏, King Tang 湯王 (trad., r. 1766–1754 B.C.E.) of the Shang 商 (Yin 殷), and King Wen 文王 of the Zhou 周 (ca. 1099–1050 B.C.E.).

304 The two thearchs (*ije*, Ch. *erdi* 二帝) are the last two sage rulers of five legendary thearchs: Tang Yao 唐堯 (trad. ascend throne in 2356 B.C.E.) and Yu Shun 虞舜 (trad. ascend throne in 2255 B.C.E.).

higher than the Han dynasty, and your institutions have succeed those of the Tang dynasty. All the nations have turned toward this place, and the people are getting along comfortably. If we do not amend the wrongful practice of bartering with grains, who will wait for someday in the future?

Generally speaking, although that which we refer to as coinage has one corporeal form, it includes and comprises four meanings. First, as for that which we refer to as "coins" (*chŏn*, Ch. *jian* 錢), their constitutions are round and their holes are square. Their roundness follows the pattern of Heaven and their squareness follows the pattern of earth. This refers to [Heaven's ability to] cover and accommodate and turn and revolve without end. Second, as for that which we refer to as "[archaic] coins" (*ch'ŏn*, Ch. *quan* 泉), their circulation and flowing are like the inexhaustibility of a running stream. Third, as for that which we refer to as "linen" (*p'o*, Ch. *bu* 布), that is prevalent among the people and as it is universally spread out among the upper and lower classes it will not ever be discontinued. Fourth, as for that which we refer to as "knife money" (*to*, Ch. *dao* 刀), if manipulated well and beneficially, the rich and poor will be divided, and although used everyday [the knife money] will not be made dull. I earnestly implore you that if we do not now follow the pattern of merits of the monetary laws (*wŏnbŏp* 圓法) of antiquity, practical benefits will be twofold. If, by chance, we execute such a fiscal plan, there will be five benefits to the country. I will describe them summarily.

Generally speaking, if we employ uncooked rice grain as currency, when one seeks to engage in trade in places whether near or far away, it will be the most difficult to transport. In truth, with respect to when it is consumed, although it is as light as a *shu* 銖 or *liang* 兩 (tael), [the husks and chaff] that are useless and are discarded are as heavy as a thousand *jun* 鈞 (Kor. *kyun*).[305]

The two thearchs combined with the three sage kings represent the ideal Chineses rulers.

305 With respect to the expression a "thousand *jun*" (Kor. *ch'ŏn'gyun*, Ch. *qianjun* 千鈞), a *jun* is an unit of weight measurement equaling thirty catties (*kŭn*, Ch. *jin* 斤). One *shi* 石 (Kor. *sŏk*) is four *jin*; one *jun* is thirty catties (*jin*); one *cheng* 秤 (Kor. *ch'ing*) is fifteen catties (*jin*); one cattie (*jin*) is sixteen taels (*liang*) and equals approximately 226.5 grams; one tael (*liang*) is twenty-four *shu*; and one *shu* is a hundred *shu* 黍 (Kor. *sŏ*, kernals); and one shu is ten *lei* (Kor. *ru*). One *qian* (Kor. *chŏn*) is two *shu*

Or if you go forth on a journey of several hundred miles packing rice grain as your goods, having loaded no more than two sacks of grain on one horse, after ten days you would be stuck since already half of your grain would be consumed by the expenses for both man and horse. Or in the middle of winter or hot summer the people will not have anything stored up and will travel around bearing it on their backs, afflicted with heat and braving the cold they will pass out from exhaustion on the road. The extent of their distress cannot be known. Nowadays, if we use coinage there will be no distress from [horses] packing it around or [people] carrying it around. This is the first benefit.

Generally speaking, eating is that which the people take as Heaven. Hard-pressed people like widows and widowers still rely on rice grain, so now if we employ it as currency, throngs of crafty people devoid of good intentions or throngs of wily people greedy for profits will mix it with sand or dirt or supplement it with blighted grain or useless hulled rice. Furthermore, if they deceive others by substituting a small measure for a large measure and a light weight for a heavy weight, the good people who cannot be appealed to for goodness' sake obtain barely a few measures or a few cups (*hop* 合), and they lose after winnowing four out of ten (less than half). Although they are sentenced with severe punishment, you will never be able to make them desist. Now, if you use coinage, you will block the throngs of the cunning and wily and attend to those who are hard pressed. This is the second benefit.

State stipends in the state are given by means of rice grain. The hoard in the state's storehouses will last no longer than one year. Although the *yangban*[306] would like to receive it, because they must wait for [rice] to arrive from other regions, the demand is excessive and transportation is troublesome. Or

---

and four *lei* and equals one money or 3.75 grams.

306 *Yangban* 兩班, literally "both sides," refers to the noble or higher class of individuals who were qualified to serve as civil or military officials in traditional Korea. The *yangban* emerged from the transformation of Korean society with the demise of Silla's bone-rank system (*kolp'umje* 骨品制), although many noble true-bone families made the transition to *yangban* families during the Koryŏ period. The *yangban* evolved over the source of the Koryŏ period to become the scholar-gentry elite of Korea.

because of wind or frost, delivery is delayed; or if it is a bad harvest year, in the houses of the lower-ranking officials there is nothing to eat by summertime. Those who have power and authority pass the time, release [their stores of rice], and double their profit. Poor people become more hard-pressed, and greedy officials throw their weight around even more. What is worse, learned gentlemen of integrity and decency, since they have no other sources of income, rely on their stipend for serving their parents and supporting their families and enter the marketplace carrying half of their rice grain to exchange it for miscellaneous cereals, just like a peddler peddling his wares. Therefore, if you decisively implement the monetary laws and supply on a standard half of the stipend by coinage, demand will decrease and you will be able to prepare against years of bad harvest, you will put down the powerful and influential families and local strongmen and give preferential treatment to those possessing of integrity and purity. This is the third benefit.

With respect to the state's storehouses, aside from precious items, such as pearls and jade, turtle and cowrie shells, and treasures, such as gold and silver and rhino horns and elephant tusks, that which is stored up outside of these are only rice and linen. Now, if linen sits for a long time it rots and decays; and if rice sits for a long time it spoils and decomposes. And what is more, maggots and worms spawn, moisture from humidity brims, rain leaks through, and fires break out. With respect to last year's tax linen, which had completely filled new storehouses, because moisture from humidity brimmed, the bolts spoiled and were discarded. If you sort out the perfect specimens there are no more than ten good ones in one hundred. At the time of last year's conflagration, a blaze started in one pile, but the fire spread to hundreds of adjoining pile, and in a moment all were ashes. Now, if we were to use coinage, not only would [the coins] be secure with respect to storage, but they would also be very convenient with respect to distribution to the people. This is the fourth benefit.

I humbly consider that with respect to our state, the beauty of its customs and edification are not inferior [to any other country] ... (two pages missing).

大抵人君, 鑄錢立幣, 人度之遇施也. 伏觀海東, 自三韓未統已前, 其風朴略, 語

所謂先進於禮樂者也, 其國儉嗇, 語所謂陋如之何者也. 是故新羅大僧統慈藏, 上疏以本俗衣服鄙醜, 乞用唐儀. 國王許之, 遂去邊服, 尊尚衣冠, 儼然至今, 極爲盛美. 伏自我國家, 順天革命, 一統三韓, 增新禮儀, 彰明法度. 衣服有制, 車騎有常, 文物以紀之, 聲明以發之, 以臨百官, 以齊萬國, 莫不戒懼而肅然. 且以衣冠一更, 愈久而愈新, 則立錢之法, 豈不若是哉? 臣愚不敢追蹤於慈藏. 然前所謂惟聖難逢, 惟時難遇. 惜乎! 當更而不更, 是猶琴瑟不調而不改也. 恭惟主上, 德邁三王, 道侔二帝, 功高劉漢, 制紹李唐, 萬國向方, 百姓安堵. 當於斯時, 米弊不更, 後將孰待? 夫錢之爲物, 體一而義包四. 一曰錢, 質圓而孔方, 圓以法天, 方以象地, 言覆載輪轉而無已也. 二曰泉者, 通行流衍, 如泉之無窮也. 三曰布者, 布於民間, 上下周普, 永遠而不滯也. 四曰刀者, 行有美利, 分割貧富, 日用而不鈍也. 切謂方今, 擬諸往昔圓法之功, 實與相倍, 儻若决行, 利國有五, 敢略陳之.

夫米之爲貨, 遠近貿易, 提荷最難. 實用止銖兩之輕, 虛廢有千鈞之重. 或經數百里, 裝[307]米爲資, 一馬之駄, 不過二石, 動踰旬浹, 人馬之用, 已耗半矣. 或值大冬盛夏, 貧民無畜, 親自背負, 觸熱冒凍, 僵仆道途, 莫知其艱. 今用錢, 以免駄負之苦, 其利一也. 夫食者民之天也, 孤寡困窮, 獨頼田米, 今以爲貨, 無良狡猾之徒, 趣利機巧之輩, 雜以沙土, 加以塵腐無用之粒. 又有小升大升之僞, 輕量重量之姧, 良善無告之民, 僅獲升合, 簸揚淘擇, 其所亡者, 十四五焉, 雖處之嚴刑, 不能止也. 今用錢, 以絶姧狡, 而恤困窮, 其利二也. 國家均祿之制, 以米爲給, 左倉之儲, 止盈一歲. 兩班請受, 唯俟他州, 督責至嚴, 轉漕勞苦. 或風霜阻滯, 歲時凶荒, 薄官之家, 至夏未食, 權豪勢族, 則計程陪卸, 取利一倍, 細民益困, 貪吏益雄. 至於廉潔端士, 他無所獲, 仰事俯畜, 全仗俸祿. 復以百粳, 半易田糙, 負荷入市, 有同行商. 圓法果施, 准祿之半, 以錢給之, 則減督責, 而備凶荒, 抑權豪而優廉潔, 其利三也. 國家帑藏, 除珠玉龜貝之珍, 金銀犀象之寶, 其外積畜, 獨米與布. 夫布久則有彫爛之殘, 米久則有塵腐之壞, 繼之以蟲蛀霾濕, 雨漏火災. 切覩大盈新倉, 舊年貢布, 未經數霾, 擇破取完, 百無十好, 往年火災, 一堆被燃, 百堆俱發, 瞬息之際, 盡爲輕灰. 今若用錢, 非獨積蓄堅牢, 抑亦賜與大便, 其利四也. 伏以我國家, 風化之美, 不讓 (... 二張缺落 ...)

After Wang Mang[308] usurped [the throne] he made grinding-blade money

307 Correcting the text with *chang* 裝 following the woodblock edition.

308 Wang Mang 王莽 (45 b.c.e.–23 c.e.), courtesy name Jujun 巨君, was a Han dynasty official who

(*ch'akto*, Ch. *cuodao* 错刀) and round-head knife-handle money (kyedo, Ch. qidao 契刀). Furthermore, there were the classifications of small coins (*sojŏn*, Ch. *xiaojian* 小錢), tiny coins (*yojŏn*, Ch. *yaojian* 幺錢), baby coins (*yujŏn*, Ch. *youjian* 幼錢), mid-sized coins (*chungjŏn*, Ch. *zhongjian* 中錢), robust coins (*changjŏn*, Ch. *zhuangjŏn* 壯錢), and big coins (*taejŏn*, Ch. *dajian* 大錢). There were divided into coin weights of one *shu*, three *shu*, seven *shu*, nine *shu*, and twelve *shu*. Dong Zhuo[309] harbored the heart of a traitor and to the bitter end got rid of the five *shu* coin. He gathered together the copper statues,[310] posts in the framework for bells,[311] flying creatures,[312]

seized the throne from the Liu family and founded the Xin 新 (meaning "new") dynasty (r. 9–23 C.E.). The Han dynasty was restored after his overthrow and his rule marks the separation between the Western Han dynasty (before Xin) and Eastern Han dynasty (after Xin). Some historians have traditionally viewed Wang as a usurper, while others have portrayed him as a visionary and selfless social reformer. Alhough he was a learned Confucian scholar who sought to implement the harmonious society he saw in the classics, his efforts ended in chaos.

309 Dong Zhuo 董卓 (138–192) was a powerful warlord during the late Eastern Han dynasty. He seized control of Luoyang in 189 after the capital fell into chaos following the death of Emperor Ling (r. 168–188) and a bloody clash between the powerful eunuch faction and the court officials. Dong Zhuo subsequently deposed the rightful heir to the throne and instated the puppet Emperor Xian (r. 190–219). However, Dong Zhuo's tyrannical and cruel ways angered many, and warlords around the country formed a coalition against him, forcing him to move the capital west to Chang'an. Dong Zhuo was eventually assassinated by his adoptive son Lü Bu 呂布as part of a plot by Interior Minister Wang Yun.

310 Copper statues (*tongin*, Ch. *dongren* 銅人), the *Hou Han shu* reports, along with posts in the framework for bells, were found at the Jianzhang Palace 建章宮, Weiyang Palace 未央宮, and Changle Palace 長樂宮. They were an ornamentation in the palace that the records say had hair one inch or so in length. See *Hou Han shu* 後漢書8.353 (*Xiaolingdi ji*).

311 Framework for bells (*chonggŏ*, Ch. *zhongju* 鐘虡), or bells that could be rung from both sides. What I have translated as "framework" (*kŏ*, Ch. *ju* 虡) was often in the shape of a mythical beast with a deer's head on a dragon's body. Because bells were cast with a large amount of copper, they were always targets to be dismantled and melted down and recast into coinage or weapons when the need arose. See *Hou Han shu* 42.1423–1424 (*Guanwu shiwang*).

312 Flying creatures (*piryŏm*, Ch. *felian* 飛廉) refer to mythical birds of the sky. Their bodies are like deer and their heads are shaped like wine cups (*chak*, Ch. *jue* 爵). They have horns and snake-like tails. A mythical bird patterned like a leopard. See *Hou Han shu* 38B.988 (馮衍).

copper horses,[313] and so forth from Luoyang[314] and Chang'an[315] and made small coins.[316] Furthermore, Gongsun Shu[317] came on the scene and minted iron coins. Liu Bei[318] used one that was worth a h undred, and Sun

---

313 Copper horses (*tongma*, Ch. *dongma* 銅馬), or statues of horses made from copper, had been cast since the reign of Han emperor Wu and had been the target of maurauders. See *Han shu* 6.193 n. 2 (*Wudi ji*); *Hou Han shu* 1A.16 (*Guangwudi ji*).

314 Luoyang 洛陽 is a city located in the valley of the Luo River 洛河, a tributary of the Yellow River, in the western part of Henan Province 河南省. It was the ancient capital of China for seven generations. It flourished as the primary capital of the Eastern Zhou beginning in 770 B.C.E. Later it was the main capital of the Later Han dynasty, the Wei dynasty of the Three Kingdoms period, the Western Jin dynasty, and the Northern Wei dynasty. It was also the secondary capital of the Tang dynasty and the sacred capital during the reign of Empress Wu.

315 Chang'an 長安 is the present-day city Xi'an 西安 and provincial capital of Shaanxi Province 陝西省. Located in central part of the Guanzhong 關中 (land within the passes) region, it is bounded by the eastern reaches of the Wei River 渭河 are to the north and soaring Mt. Zhongnan 終南山 to the south. Its importance in Chinese history began when King Wu of Zhou selected it as his capital, Haojing 鎬京; later it was the capital of the Former Han dynasty and many other states in northern China along with the Sui and Tang dynasties. It was the primary capital of China with a few brief periods of respite for about a thousand years.

316 See *Hou Han shu* 72.2325–2326 (Dong Zhuo).

317 Gongsun Shu 公孫述 (d.u.) was a hero of the masses during the Former Han period of Chinese history. He initially served Wang Mang (45 B.C.E.–23 C.E.), but when the rebellion of Emperor Gengshi broke out at the end of the Former Han period he raised an army in Chengdu 成都. He subjugated Shu 蜀 and Ba 巴 and called himself the Son of Heaven for twenty-five years. The name of his country was Chengjia 成家. Although he acted on the foundation of enriching Shu and Ba, he was defeated by Emperor Guangwu of the Later Han in 36 C.E. and his state was destroyed and reincorporated into the Later Han empire.

318 Liu Bei 劉備 (161–223), courtesy name (*zi*) Xuande 玄德 (r. 221–223), was a general, warlord, and later the founding emperor of the Shu Han 蜀漢 state during the Three Kingdoms era of China. Despite having a later start than his rivals and lacking both the material resources and social status they commanded, Liu Bei overcame his many defeats to carve out his own realm, which at its peak spanned modern-day Sichuan, Guizhou, Hunan, part of Hubei, and part of Gansu. Culturally, because of the tremendously popular novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義) by Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (ca. 1330?–1400?), Liu Bei is widely known as the ideal benevolent, humane ruler who cared for his people and picked good advisors. His character was to advocate the Confucian set of moral values, such as loyalty and compassion.

Quan[319] used one that was worth a thousand. At the time of Emperor Yuan[320] of the Jin dynasty, they distinguished between smallness and largeness

[319] Sun Quan 孫權 (182–252), son of Sun Jian 孫堅, courtesy name (zi) Zhongmou 仲謀), formally Emperor Da 大帝of (Eastern) Wu 吳 was the founder of Eastern Wu, during the Three Kingdoms period. He ruled from 222 to 229 as Wu Wang 吳王 (King/Prince of Wu) and from 229 to 252 as Emperor of the Wu Dynasty. In his youth Sun Quan spent time in his home county of Fuchun, and after his father's death in the early 190s, at various cities on the Lower Yangzi River. His elder brother Sun Ce 孫策 carved out a warlord state in the region, based on his own followers and a number of local clan allegiances. When Sun Ce was assassinated by the retainers of Xu Gong, whom Sun Ce had killed in battle several years earlier, in 200, the eighteen-year-old Sun Quan inherited the lands southeast of the Yangzi River from his brother. His administration proved to be relatively stable in those early years. Sun Jian and Sun Ce's most senior officers, such as Zhou Yu 周瑜, Zhang Zhao, Zhang Hong, and Cheng Pu, remained loyal; in fact it was mentioned in Romance of the Three Kingdoms that Sun Ce had at his deathbed reminded Sun Quan that "in internal matters, consult Zhang Zhao, in external matters, consult Zhou Yu." Thus throughout the 200s Sun Quan under the tutelage of his able advisors continued to build up his strength along the Yangtze River. In early 207, his forces finally won complete victory over Huang Zu, a military leader under Liu Biao, who dominated the Middle Yangzi. In the winter of that year, the northern warlord Cao Cao led an army of some 200,000 to conquer the south and complete the reunification of China. Two distinct factions emerged at his court on how to handle the situation. One, led by Zhang Zhao, urged surrender whilst the other, led by Zhou Yu and the young diplomat Lu Su, opposed capitulation. Ultimately, Sun Quan decided to oppose Cao Cao in the Middle Yangzi with his superior riverine forces. Allied with the warlord Liu Bei and employing the combined strategies of Zhou Yu and Huang Gai, they defeated Cao Cao decisively at the Battle of Red Cliffs (Chibi 赤壁). In 220, Cao Pi, son of Cao Cao, seized the throne and proclaimed himself emperor of China, ending the nominal rule of the Later Han dynasty. At first Sun Quan nominally served as a Cao Wei vassal with the Cao-Wei–created title Prince of Wu, but after Cao Pi demanded that he send his son Sun Deng as a hostage to the Cao-Wei capital, Luoyang, and he refused, in 222, he declared himself independent by changing the era name. It was not until the year 229 that he formally declared himself to be emperor. Because of his skill in gathering important, honorable men to his cause, Sun Quan was able to delegate authority to capable figures. This primary strength served him well in gaining the support of the common people and surrounding himself with capable generals. Sun Quan died in 252 at the age of seventy. He enjoyed the longest reign among all the founders of the Three Kingdoms. He was succeeded as emperor of Eastern Wu by his son Sun Liang.

[320] Emperor Yuan of Jin (Jin Yuandi 晋元帝/晉元帝) (r. 317–322), personal name Sima Rui 司馬睿 (276–323), courtesy name (*zi*) Jingwen 景文, was an emperor of the Jin 晋 dynasty (265–420) and the first of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420). His reign saw the steady gradual loss of Jin territory in the north, but entrenchment of Jin authority south of the Huai River and east of the Three Gorges, and for generations Jin was not seriously threatened by Wu Hu kingdoms to the north.

and called them "wheel-like" (*piryun*, Ch. *bilun* 比輪) and "heavy man" (*simnang*, Ch. *chenlang* 沈郎). At the time of Emperor Gaozu[321] of the Liang dynasty,[322] they got rid of the fleshy outerpart (*yugwak*, Ch. *rouguo* 肉郭) and called them formulistic female coins (*kongsik yŏjŏn*, Ch. *gongshi nüjian* 公式女錢). Furthermore, there were delicate coins (*ch'ijŏn*, Ch. *zhijian* 稚錢), coins with parallel text (*taemunjŏn*, Ch. *duiwenjian* 對文錢), abundant coins (*pujŏn*, Ch. *fujian* 富錢), male coins (*namjŏn*, Ch. *nanjian* 男錢), east coins (*tongjŏn*, Ch. *dongjian* 東錢), west coins (*sŏjŏn*, Ch. *xijian* 西錢), long coins (*changjŏn*, Ch. *changjian* 長錢), and so forth. Furthermore, in Yezhong[323] at the end of

321 Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 502–549), personal name Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464–549) was born in Changzhou, Jiangsu Province and died in Jiankang (present-day Nanjing). His posthumous name (*shihao*) was Wudi 武帝, by which name he is more commonly known. He was the founder and first emperor of the Nan (Southern) Liang dynasty (502–557), which briefly held sway over South China. A great patron of Buddhism, he helped establish that religion in the south of China. Wudi was a relative of the emperor of the Nan Qi dynasty (479–502), one of the Six Dynasties that existed in south China during the Northern and Southern dynasties period. He led a successful revolt against the Nan Qi (479–502) after his elder brother was put to death by the emperor. He proclaimed himself first emperor of the Liang dynasty in 502, and his reign proved to be longer and more stable than that of any other southern emperor in this period. A devout believer in Buddhism, Wudi diligently promoted Buddhism, preparing the first Chinese Buddhist canon. In 527, in 529, and again in 547 he renounced the world and entered a monastery. He was persuaded to reassume office only with great difficulty and a great payment of money to the monastery. In 549 Jiankang, the Liang capital, was captured by a "barbarian" general, and Wudi died of starvation in a monastery.

322 Liang dynasty 梁 (502–557), also known as Southern Liang dynasty 南梁, was one of the Southern dynasties in China. Its capital was at Jiankang (present-day Nanjing). Buddhism flourished during this dynasty because of the piety of the founding emperor. The Liang was followed by the Chen 陳 dynasty (557–589). The Western Liang dynasty 西梁, with its capital established at Jiangling in 555 by Emperor Xuan, a grandson of the Liang founder Emperor Wu, claimed to be the legitimate successor of the Liang dynasty. The Western Liang was subservient to successive dynasties in the north, the Western Wei (535–556), the Northern Zhou (557–581), and the Sui (581–618), and was abolished by Emperor Wen of Sui in 587. The ending date for the Liang dynasty itself is a matter of controversy among historians. Many historians consider the end of Emperor Jing's reign in 556, when he was forced to yield the throne to Chen Baxian, who established Chen dynasty, to be Liang's end date. Others regard the abolition of Western Liang in 587 to be the true end of Liang.

323 Yezhong 業中 was the capital of the Wei 魏 state during the Three Kingdoms period of China. Presently it is in the vicinity of Yezhen 業鎮, in the southwest of Linzhang county 臨漳縣 in Hebei

the Northern Qi dynasty,[324] the circumference [of the coinage] was red and there were differences in the girth. In Henan[325] [the coins] were blue and thin and there were differences from minting them with lead and tin. When referring to their light weight, they had the nicknames fluttering in the breeze (*p'ungp'yo,* Ch. *fengpiao* 風飄) and floating on the water (*subu*, Ch. *shuifu* 水浮). When referring to their smallness, they had the nicknames goose eye (aan, Ch. eyan 鵝眼) and wire band (*sŏnhwan*, Ch. *xianhuan* 線鐶). When referring to the deceitful [way in which they were minted], they were said to be made of iron shavings (*ch'ŏlsŏp*, Ch. *tieye* 鐵鍱) and paper paste (*chiho*, Ch. *zhihu* 紙糊). When referring to their being made counterfeit, they had the nicknames vegetables (*ch'aeja*, Ch. *caizi* 菜子) and duckweed leaves (*hangyŏp*, Ch. *xingye* 荇葉). Since this was a sordid law that threw the whole world into chaos, is there any need for me to describe everything about that now?

If we use coinage now it will not be like that. If we consult systems

---

Province 河北省.

324 The Northern Qi dynasty 北齊 (550–577) was one of the Northern dynasties of Chinese history. It was the successor state of the Xianbei state of Eastern Wei (534–550), as Eastern Wei's paramount general Gao Huan was succeeded by his sons Gao Cheng and Gao Yang, who took the throne from Emperor Xiaojing of Eastern Wei in 550 and established Northern Qi with its Emperor Wenxuan. The Northern Qi was plagued by emperors who were violent or incompetent or both (Emperor Wenxuan, Emperor Wucheng, and Gao Wei), corrupt officials, and deteriorating armies. Although it was the strongest of the three main Chinese states (along with Northern Zhou and Chen dynasty) when it was established, it gradually declined and was destroyed by Northern Zhou in 577. Emperor Wenxuan's son Gao Shaoyi, the Prince of Fanyang, under protection by Tujue (Turks), later declared himself the emperor of Northern Qi in exile, but in 580 he was turned over by the Tujue to the Northern Zhou and exiled to modern Sichuan. It is a matter of controversy whether Gao Shaoyi should properly be considered a Northern Qi emperor, but in any case the 577 date is generally used by historians as the ending date for Northern Qi.

325 Henan 河南 is a geographic designation that literally refers to the the area "south of the Yellow River." In traditional literature it is often used interchangeably with Zhongyuan 中原 or Zhongzhou 中州, literally "central plains" or "midland," respectively. These names are also broadly applied to the entire North China Plain. Henan is traditionally regarded as the cradle of Chinese civilization. Its one-character abbreviation is Yu 豫, named after Yuzhou 豫州, a region (*zhou*) of the Han dynasty that included parts of present-day Henan Province.

already in practice that are certainly governing the world and consult the laws of China that are worth emulating, the classification of their advantages and disadvantages will be just as clear and distinct as the sun and the moon. I, your servant, previously read a section on currency from the *Essence of Versatile Policy of the Song Dynasty* (*Song xiance cui* 宋賢策粹). Therein the illustrious grand masters of the nobility and gentry, who debated on the most convenient revisions of policy generation after generation, describe in detail the facts informing the ruler of their rightness and wrongness. Since they decided that still only five shu coins were appropriate, that is the consensus. Nevertheless, in your servant's humble opinion, I think that we should take into consideration the relative weight since in the Wude reign period of the Tang dynasty five *shu* coins were discontinued and a two *shu* four *lei* coin was used and that it would be best to negotiate. Nowadays in China both five *shu* coins and two *shu* four *lei* coins are used. As the so-called five *shu* coin is the large coin of present-day China, one is worth two of the other small coins. As the so-called two *shu* four *lei* coin is the small coin of present-day China, one such coin is worth any other small coin. Nevertheless, what is said to be beneficial to the people is the circulation of the two *shu* four *lei* coin.

自王莽僭僞, 乃爲錯刀契刀, 又有小錢幺錢幼錢中錢壯錢大錢之別, 一銖三銖七銖九銖十二銖之分. 及董卓內懷賊心, 畢壞五銖, 取洛陽及長安銅人鐘虡飛廉銅馬之屬, 充鑄小錢. 至於公孫述, 又作鐵錢, 劉備以一當百, 孫權以一當千. 晋元帝時, 別其小大, 乃謂之比輪沈郎. 梁高祖時, 去其肉郭, 乃謂之公式女錢, 又有稚錢對文錢富錢男錢東錢西錢長錢. 北齊之季, 鄴中則有赤郭細眉之異, 河南則有青薄鉛錫之殊. 言其輕則有風飄水浮之名, 言其小則有鵝眼線鐶之號, 言其奸則有鐵鍱紙糊之造, 言其僞則有菜子荇葉之稱. 此皆區區亂世之法, 奚足以爲方今道哉? 今若用錢則不然, 必稽諸理世已行之制, 參於中朝可法之儀, 則利害之分, 皎如日月. 臣嘗覽宋賢策粹. 中有錢幣一篇, 具陳歷代更改便宜, 議士奏對是非, 獨以五銖爲當, 乃公論也. 然臣愚見, 切謂不若李唐虎德年閒, 廢五銖用二銖四絫, 輕重酌中. 比來中朝, 五銖二銖四絫, 並行於時, 五銖者, 今中朝謂之大錢, 以一當二, 二銖四絫者, 今中朝謂之小錢, 以一當一, 然民閒所利, 以二銖四絫爲通也.

I, your servant, humbly think that since Your Majesty has the disposition to be able to bring it about and, furthermore, we have encountered the time to bring it about, you should truly provide universal deliverance by means of coins (*chŏn*, Ch. *jian* 錢), archaic coins (*ch'ŏn*, Ch. *quan* 泉), spade money (*p'o*, Ch. *bu* 布), and knife money (*to*, Ch. *dao* 刀). Confucius[326] said: "As a result of benefiting the people, he benefits himself."[327] I, your servant, have heard that "if a wise person thinks a thousand times he will certainly make at least one mistake, and if a foolish person thinks a thousand times he will certainly get at least one thing right. And even the words of a crazy person are adapted by a sagely person."[328] The *Book of Songs* says: "A tightly wound rabbit trap was set up in the midst of the forest. A valiant and brave warrior is the most reliable of the dukes and marquis."[329] Furthermore, "The people of old would say: 'Ask even the woodcutters.'"[330] With respect to me, your servant, although my learning is shallow and my bowels are completely bare and hollow, how can I not be better than the rabbit trap or a woodcutter? In addition, with respect to the law-abiding career officials, their ears are considered to be noble and their eyes are considered to be base; the past is considered to be glorious, and the present is considered to be sordid. When I consider that if there are not a hundred benefits then the law is not revised and if there are not ten merits then the tools are not exchanged, it has me worried. This is just truly deplorable.

Previously, if I, your servant, possessed any residual strength aside from concentrating my mind on the Tripiṭaka, while reading broadly from the classics and histories, I observed the worthy and unworthy behavior of

326 The original text uses Confucius' courtesy name (*zi*) Zhongni 仲尼.

327 Cf. *Lunyu*, Yao yue pian 堯曰篇, "The Master said, 'If a man benefits the common people by taking advantage of the things around them that they find beneficial, is this not being generous without its costing him anything?'" *Lunyu* 20.2; Confucius, *Analects*, 159.

328 Cf. *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003) 92.2618 (Huai Yin hou 淮陰候).

329 *Shijing* 1 (Guofeng 國風, Zhounan pian 周南篇, Tujuzhang 兎罝章), in *Maoshi zhengyi* 1.95–97.

330 *Shijing* 17 (Daya 大雅, Banzhang 板章), in *Maoshi zhengyi* 6.1528–1536.

the people of old. Every time I read about when Cao Can[331] governed the country and did not revise anything and invariably pursued only the promises of Xiao He.[332] He did not do anything every day but drink good wine and recline in his rear garden, get drunk with colleagues and sing songs. When Emperor Xiaohui[333] heard his words he scolded him, but [Xiao He] replied: "Emperor Gaozu[334] clearly established the laws and regulations with Xiao He. Is it not good and right for us to conform to and not forget them?"[335] These words are quite an excessive exaggeration. Mencius[336] said,

---

331 Cao Can 曹參 (also called Cao Shen) was a prime minister during the Former Han dynasty. He was influenced by the Huang-Lao school, which used a mix of persuasion and coercion. He largely continued the work of Xiao He 蕭何 (d. 193 B.C.E.). His contemporary, the historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145 or 135–86 B.C.E.), implied that he often got drunk.

332 Xiao He 蕭何 (d. 193 B.C.E.), along with Han Xin 韓信, Cao Can, and Zhang Liang, was a key figure in Liu Bang's rise to power after the fall of the Qin dynasty. He remained loyal to Liu Bang throughout his life and later became prime minister of the Han dynasty. He was born in the same place, Pei county (in modern Xuzhou, Jiangsu) as Liu Bang. Based on his contributions during the Chu Han Contention and his administering of the empire, he is generally considered one of the greatest statesmen in Chinese history. He was instrumental in recommending the great general Han Xin to Liu; he was also instrumental in orchestrating Han Xin's death, along with that of Liu's empress, Lü Zhi 呂雉 (d. 180 B.C.E.). This gave rise to the proverb "His success was on account of Xiao He, and his defeat was on account of Xiao He" (成也蕭何, 敗也蕭何), which is used when a person's success and failure arose out of a single factor.

333 Emperor Xiaohui 孝惠帝 (r. 195–188 B.C.E.), Liu Ying 劉盈, was the second ruler of the Former Han dynasty. He was the second son of Han Gaozu, Liu Bang, and his mother was Gaozu's empress, Empress Lü Zhi (d.180 B.C.E.). Because he was the son of an enemy commander as a child and because he was overshadowed by his mother, he is known to have been unfortunate as emperor. He died suddenly at twenty-three *sui*.

334 With respect to Emperor Gaozu, the original text reads Emperor Gao 高帝. This is Han Gaozu 漢高祖 (r. 202–195 B.C.E.), Liu Bang 劉邦, the founder of the Han dynasty.

335 Cf. *Shiji* 54.2030 (Cao xiangguo shijia 曹相國世家).

336 Mencius (Mengzi, Kor. Maengja 孟子), here called by his given name Meng Ke 孟軻 (most accepted dates: 372–289 B.C.E.; other possible dates: 385–303/302 B.C.E.), was a Chinese philosopher who was arguably the most famous Confucian after Confucius himself. Mencius, also known by his birth name Meng Ke or Ko, was born in the state of Zou 鄒國, now forming the territory of the county-level city of Zoucheng 鄒城 (originally Zouxian), Shandong Province, only

"The gentlemen of the present not only take the opportunity to follow [conventions], they furthermore make the excuse of following them."[337] That is what was talked about by Cao Can. That is why the two Han dynasties did not flourish more than Zhou dynasty, truly: the reason is that they did not revise the things that needed revising.

I, your servant, would fervently explain that before Liu Bang[338] and Xiang Yu[339] split up, because Gaozu had fought hundreds and thousands of times and had pacified all under Heaven, since the warfare did not end and the wounds did not heal, in what leisure time could he talk about the rituals and

---

thirty kilometers (eighteen miles) south of Qufu, Confucius' birthplace. He was an itinerant Chinese philosopher and sage, and one of the principal interpreters of Confucianism. Traditionally he is believed to have been a pupil of Confucius' grandson, Zisi. Like Confucius, according to legend, he travelled China for forty years to offer advice to rulers for reform. He served as an official during the Warring States period (403–221 B.C.E.) in the state of Qi 齊 from 319 to 312 B.C.E. He expressed his filial devotion when he took an absence of three years from his official duties for Qi to mourn his mother's death. Disappointed at his failure to effect changes in his contemporary world, he retired from public life.

337 The wording and context of the original passage in the Mencius is somewhat different; *Mengzi* 2, Gongsun Chou zhang gouxia 公孫丑章句下, "The gentleman of today not only persists in his mistakes but tries to gloss over them." *Mengzi* 2A.9, *Mencius*, trans. D. C. Lau (London: Penguin, 1970), 92.

338 Liu Bang 劉邦 or Emperor Gao 高帝 (256 or 247–195 B.C.E., r. 202–195 B.C.E.), commonly known inside China by his temple name (*miaohao*) Gaozu 高祖, was the first emperor of the Chinese Han dynasty. He was one of only a few founders of Chinese dynasties who emerged from the peasant class (the other major example being Zhu Yuanzhang, founder of the Ming dynasty). Before becoming an emperor, he was also called Duke of Pei 沛公 after his birthplace. He was also created the Prince of Han by Xiang Yu, the Grand Prince of Western Chu, following the collapse of the Qin dynasty, and was known by this title before becoming emperor.

339 Xiang Yu 項羽 (232– 202 B.C.E.) was one of the most prominent generals in Chinese history. His given name was Ji 籍; his courtesy name (*zi*) was Yu. He was a descendant of Xiang Yan 項燕, a general of Chu nobility. He was a dominating military tactician, and it took him only a few years to overthrow the Qin dynasty, but he was poor at diplomacy and lacked management and administrative skills. Chinese historians traditionally view him as having an impetuous nature and that think that his inability to realize his shortcomings doomed him to failure during his struggle with Liu Bang over supremacy of China. He is commonly known by his self-styled title of Xichu Bawang 西楚霸王 (lit. "Hegemon-King of Western Chu").

music? Emperor Xiaohui was humane and merciful, and he brought peace far and near. At that time they did not renovate the governmental system. Instead they said, "We must conform to and not forget them," so how could they be without fault? Therefore, people possessing discernment in later generations were those who would grieve exceedingly. In the biographies [of the *Historical Record*] it says: "The [right] time is difficult to meet and very easy to lose" and "A good time does not come twice."[340]

I humbly wish that if Your Majesty makes the decision by yourself by means of your celebrated wisdom and decisively puts it into effect, not only will it be a boon to our country but it will be a blessing to the people for ten thousand generations. If there are those at court who are doubtful or concerned, I hope you will show them my, your servant's, argument in order to show the dukes, chief ministers, and grand masters whether it is appropriate or inappropriate, and whether it is right or not right. It is my, your servant's, fervent wish to resolve the twelve points of difficulty in your august presence following the pattern set by Ma Yuan. But I do not dare hope for it. Going out to serve in official positions and scheming in government is not what is permissible to Confucian scholar-officials. Nevertheless, I, your servant, think that you, our Lord Ruler, are an important relative of mine. How would I dare begrudge my body if it would sully the crown? I will never overcome and pass over the extremity of my fear.

I, your servant, the monk Ŭich'ŏn, though I may taste death, bow my head, and respectfully submit these words.

伏遇殿下, 以可致之資, 又逢可致之時. 錢泉布刀, 實爲博濟, 仲尼所謂, "因民之利而利之者." 也. 臣聞 "智者千慮, 必有一失, 愚者千慮, 必有一得, 狂夫之言, 聖人擇焉." 詩曰, "肅肅兎罝, 施于中林. 赳赳虎夫, 公侯腹心." 又曰, "先民有言, 詢于蒭蕘." 臣學雖淺近, 腹雖空虛, 詎兎罝蒭蕘之所不若也哉? 復恐居官守法之吏, 貴耳而賤目, 榮古而陋今, 以謂利不百不變法, 功不十不易器, 是又可吁也. 臣嘗潛心三藏之外, 行有餘力, 則獵涉經史, 以觀古人之賢不肖. 每見曹叅, 擧國無所變更, 遵蕭何約束, 日不事事, 惟飮醇酒, 張坐後園, 與吏醉歌. 孝惠聞而讓

340 Cf. *Shiji* 92.2625 (Huai Yin hou).

之, 乃對曰,“高帝與蕭何, 法令旣明, 叅等遵而勿失, 不亦可乎?” 甚矣, 其言之過也. 孟軻曰,“今之君子, 非徒順之, 又徒爲之辭.” 其曹叅之謂歟. 此兩漢所以卒乎不及成周之盛者, 良由當更而不更也. 臣切謂劉項未分之日, 高祖以叅戰數千, 始定天下, 兵革未息, 瘡痍未瘳, 奚暇道禮樂哉? 孝惠仁慈, 遠邇已寧. 於斯時也, 不新制作, 反言“遵而勿失.” 無乃謬乎? 是故後世有識之士, 深爲之痛惜也. 傳曰,“時者難得而易失, 時乎時不再來.” 伏願殿下, 至明獨斷, 果敢必行, 非獨國家之福, 萬世蒼生之福也. 儻或朝有疑慮, 亦乞下臣之議, 以示公卿大夫, 當與不當, 宜與非宜. 臣切效馬援, 解十二難於殿下之前, 是所願也, 非敢望也. 出位謀政, 在儒者所不許. 然臣念君親之重, 身何敢恪, 塵黷□冕旒? 不勝踰越恐懼之極. 臣僧某, 昧死頓首謹言.

22. Letter to the Palace Attendant[341] Mun Kwan[342] (*Yŏ naesi Mun Kwan sŏ* 與內侍文冠書)[343]

I, Ŭich'ŏn, begin [my letter to Mun Kwan].

---

[341] Palace attendant (*naesi* 內侍) was an official post during the Koryŏ period. His role was similar to that of a chamberlain as he was entrusted with protecting the palace. Because eunuchs (*hwan'gwan* 宦官) were entrusted with many of these responsibilities at the end of the Koryŏ period, *naesi* became a nickname for eunuchs.

[342] Mun Kwan 文冠 (1042–1112) was a Koryŏ general. His courtesy name (*cha*) was Minjang 民章 and he was of the Chŏngsŏn Mun 旌善文氏 descent group. He was the son of Mun Imgan 文林幹, junior mentor to the heir apparent. He passed the civil service examination during the reign of Munjong (1046–1083) and established merit for himself in fighting with the Jurchens as a vice commander of Chŏngbyŏn Garrison 靜邊鎭. He became Vice-director of the Ministry of Rites, Vice-director of the Ministry of War, and Right Grand Master of Remonstrance at the beginning of the reign of Sukchong (1095–1105); and with the ascension of Yejong (1105–1122) he became Right Policy Advisor. In 1107 he served in the campaign to subjugate the Jurchen of Yinguan 尹瓘 as Commander of the Right Army, and he became Minister of Personnel for his merits of taking Sŏk Fortress 石城 and constructing Pokchu Fortress 福州城. Later he went on another campaign against the Jurchen as a military commissioner following O Yŏnch'ong 吳延寵 (1055–1116). In 1111, he resigned from service as Acting Minister of Works and Participant in Determining Governmental Matters. His posthumous title was Changgyŏng 章敬.

[343] *Taegak kuksa munjip* 13, HPC 4.550b8–551a5.

Yesterday at the waning of the day I was given the will of the palace and his earnest instructions; and I am prepared to recognize the royal intentions. Because the humble virtue of his Sagely Highness has arrived at this [position], I am unable to say what the extremes of his impressions are. Nevertheless, in the space of an instant I did not have the leisure to earnestly describe my own humble thoughts. These days, the memorial presented by the Censorate[344] argues that, with respect to your servant, it would be inappropriate to entrust him with supervision over testing monks on a prose composition for the ritual announcement[345] stating, "If we allow the saṃgha overseer [Ŭich'ŏn] to take charge of the ritual announcement composition examination, then the rising generation of monastic students studying exegesis will put their minds to preparing for the ritual announcement composition exam and only apply themselves to learning set passages and phrases, with the result that they will not become intensively and thoroughly conversant in the scriptures and treatises of their traditions." I humbly think that this speech does not give all the reasons [for their reluctance]. Moreover, when elite Confucians put their minds to learning, will there rather just

344 The Censorate (ŏsada*e*, Ch. *yushitai* 御史臺), literally "terrace of royal scribes," was the standard name of an agency in the top echelon of the central government staffed by censors (*ŏsa* 御史) of various categories and headed by one or more censors in chief (*ŏsa taebu* 御史大夫). In the Koryŏ period, the responsibilities of the Censorate were remonstrance, debate over the installation of noblemen, and assessment of personnel recommended for office by the king and other government organizations. The Censorate inspected all the offices of government in order to make sure they followed appropriate customs and procedures in administering government. Censors enjoyed certain priviledges in office, such as immunity from arrest and implication in offenses. In the Koryŏ period, the official name was changed to Sahŏndae 司憲臺 (Pavilion of the Office of Fundamental Laws) in 995, and changed again to Kŭmodae 金吾臺 (Terrace of the Lord of the Royal Insignia) in 1014, and finally to Kamch'alsa 監察司 (Office of the Investigating Censor) in 1275.

345 The ritual annoucement (*p'yobaek*, Ch. *biaobai* 表白, also called *kyebaek*, Ch. *qibai* 啓白) is the name for the ritualized statement of hopes and goals before the Buddha—in front of the image of the Buddha enshrined in the main hall of a monastery—at times like dharma assemblies and supplicating the Three Jewels to illuminate the way. The procedure for starting a dharma assembly was called the invocation (*kaebaek*, Ch. *kaibai* 開白, also *kaegye*, Ch. *kaiqi* 開啓). Before Ŭich'ŏn's time, it had the same meaning as "leading the chanting" (*ch'angdo*, Ch. *changdao* 唱導).

be one person who puts his mind to preparing for the written examination by diligent study? The prerogative of making questions and passing formal examinations certainly resides in learning the Way of the sagely man, assisting in the world of the sagely man, going before the people toward the precincts of humaneness and longevity,[346] and in the end achieving great peace. These are the general features of it. If Confucianism is already like this, would not Buddhism be that way?

I am a human; and although my natural disposition is exceedingly foolish, at an early age I was fortunate to receive the favor of the late king and become a monk. Relying on karmic causes of past lives, ever since I was sixteen or seventeen se I have been engaged with the teachings of the sagely man of the Western region,[347] and this has now been twenty years. Nevertheless, with respect to the teachings of Śākyamuni having been in circulation in China, it has not been one or two in a hundred. The official texts of the Tripiṭaka presently being transmitted are barely six or seven thousand rolls, but outside of that, with respect to worthies and philosophers of the past and present and exegetes who annotated commentaries, for the last one thousand years there has been no generation lacking them. And furthermore, it is impossible to number them all. Although one may be possessing of outstanding capacities, he wanders for his whole life unable to complete his lessons. How much more so for someone of middling or low capacity?

I have always been dull-witted and yet I know how difficult it is to learn. For this reason, at this present moment I consider the Way to enlightenment as being important and consider my life to be of little consequence. With respect to my asking for guidance in this endeavor[348] in China: where do

---

346 The phrase "precincts of humaneness and longevity" (*insu chi yŏk* 仁壽之域) refers to the idea that one who is humane and virtuous will naturally be led to a place where they will enjoy a long and prosperous life.

347 The sagely man of the Western region (Sŏbang sŏngin, Ch. Xifang shengren 西方聖人) refers to the Buddha Śākyamuni.

348 I have translated the common Sinitic expression "inquire about the ford" (*munjin* 問津), often used to express the idea "How do I get started?" or "Asking for guidance in this endeavor."

my intentions and ambitions lie? It is to follow the sagely man's thought. Follwing the sagely man's thought is precisely vast and large and universally endowed. It has the vehicle of humans, the vehicle of the gods, the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the solitary buddhas, and the vehicle of the bodhisattvas in it. These five vehicles are the general summary of that in which those who learn the Buddhadharma should exhaust their minds. The ten wholesome actions and the five precepts are for the vehicle of humans. The four dhyānas and eight trances are for the vehicle of the gods. The dharmas of the four noble truths are for the vehicle of the disciples. The twelvefold chain of causation is for the vehicle of the solitary buddhas. And the six perfections and myriad practices are for the vehicle of the bodhisattva. When speaking of the vehicle of humans, it is like pursuing the path along with the Duke of Zhou[349] and Confucius. When speaking of the vehicle of the gods, it is being in accord with the learning of both Laozi[350] and

349 The Duke of Zhou 周公 was the brother of King Wu 武王 of Zhou in ancient China. Only three years after defeating the Shang dynasty, King Wu died, and the kingship—following Zhou custom—passed to his young son, King Cheng 成王 of Zhou. Because the son was too inexperienced to run the newly founded empire, the Duke of Zhou served as regent, taking care of him for seven years, until he was old enough to rule. The Duke of Zhou fought in a war against his two brothers, who were conspiring with the feudal rulers and the remnants of the Shang to oppose the Zhou. Within five years, he had managed to defeat all the rebellions that were taking place in the eastern regions and had one brother executed and the other banished. To counter the Shang's claims to divine right of rule because of their descent from the god Di 帝, the Duke of Zhou formulated the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming* 天命). According to this doctrine, the Shang had grossly offended Heaven: thus Heaven had commanded the reluctant Zhou to replace them and restore order. He is also credited with the creation of the enfeoffment system (*fengjian* 封建), a political ideology that used ranking methods and regional governors to keep control of the expanding Zhou dynasty. The Duke of Zhou is also credited with writing many of the poems collected in the *Shijing* 詩經 [Book of songs], the earliest surviving collection of Chinese poems. These poems were collected by Confucius, whose thought was influenced by the Duke of Zhou's conception of the ideal ruler. According to Chinese legend, he annotated the sixty-four hexagrams and completed the classic of *Yijing* 易經 [Book of changes] established the *Zhou li* 周禮 [Rites of Zhou] and created the *Yayue* 雅樂 [Elegant music] of Chinese classical music.

350 Laozi 老子 was a philosopher of ancient China and is a central figure in Taoism (also spelled Daoism). "Laozi" literally means "Old Master" and is generally considered an honorific. Laozi is

Zhuangzi.[351] When predecessors said that those who practice the teachings of Confucianism and Daoism will be able to not forfeit the reward of rebirth as a human or god, the worthies and farsighted people of the past and present have all regarded those as words of wisdom. Or, with respect to the three vehicles that come afterward, because they deal with supramundane dharmas, how can they be spoken of on equal terms with this worldly teaching? Generally speaking, because crooked elites are unable to speak of the Way they are shackled by those teachings. A summer bug does not know the winter, a frog from a well does not know great ocean—their ilk may know because they are limited to their own personal views. By this means we may observe that the establishment of the five vehicles is the obtaining of a great beginning. The heed of those who learn the Buddhadharma exhausts the limits of the future and should be placed here.

---

revered simply as a wise man in philosophical forms of Taoism, but revered as a god in religious forms of Taoism, much as the Buddha is regarded differently by the religious and philosophical traditions of Buddhism. Taishang Laojun 太上老君is a title for Laozi in the Taoist religion, which refers to him as "One of the Three Pure Ones." According to Chinese tradition, Laozi lived in the sixth century B.C.E. Historians variously contend that Laozi is a synthesis of multiple historical figures, that he is a mythical figure, or that he actually lived in the fourth century B.C.E., concurrent with the Hundred Schools of Thought and Warring States period. A central figure in Chinese culture, both nobility and common people claim Laozi in their lineage. Zhuangzi, widely considered the intellectual and spiritual successor of Laozi, had a notable impact on Chinese literature, culture, and spirituality. Throughout history, Laozi's work was embraced by various anti-authoritarian movements.

351 Zhuangzi 莊子(trad. 370 to 301 B.C.E.) allegedly lived during the reign of King Hui of Liang and King Xuan of Qi. Zhuangzi was from the town of Meng 蒙城 in the state of Song (now Shangqiu 商丘, Henan Province). His given name was Zhou 周. He was also known as Meng Official (Meng Li 蒙吏), Meng Zhuang 蒙莊, and Meng Elder (Meng sou 蒙叟). The validity of his existence has been questioned. According to Russell Kirkland, "According to modern understandings of Chinese tradition, the text known as the *Chuang-tzu* was the production of a 'Taoist' thinker of ancient China named Chuang Chou. In reality, it was nothing of the sort. The *Chuang-tzu* known to us today was the production of a thinker of the third century C.E. named Kuo Hsiang [Guo Xiang]. Though Kuo was long called merely a 'commentator,' he was in reality much more: he was the actual *creator* of the thirty-three-chapter text of *Chuang-tzu* ... Regarding the identity of the original person named Chuang, there is no reliable historical data at all." See Russell Kirland, *Taosim: The Enduring Tradition* (New York Routledge, 2004), 33–34.

Namely, speaking of recently, my determination lies in recompensing the favor of our late king for allowing me to become a monk, in assisting His Majesty's ambition to promote and protect the Buddhadharma, in requiting the virtue of our Buddha for his being my master, and in saving the minds of living beings from propounding heterodox views. I would cause the wheel of the dharma to turn once again in Jambudvīpa[352] and the glory of the Way to enlightenment to be repeatedly illuminated for a thousand years. The four graces[353] in the end ... (the rest of the text is missing).

與內侍文冠書

某啓. 昨晩再傳, 中旨曲諭, 宸衷備認. 聖上謙損之德, 以至於此, 感銘所極, 無以加焉. 然於倉卒之際, 未遑曲敍鄙懷, 比緣御史臺所奏, 論臣不合掌于試僧表白文字事云, "是若使僧統, 知于表白試選, 則後進義學, 志在求掌表白之試, 攻乎章句之學, 以致本宗經論, 未至精通者." 愚此語未悉其由. 且夫士儒志學之際,

352 Jambudvīpa (Yŏmbuje, Ch. Yanfouti 閻浮提; also Sŏmbuje, Ch. Shanfuti 贍部提) means "rose-apple land" or "the land where the rose-apple tree grows." *Jambu* is the name of the rose-apple tree and *dvīpa* means "land" or "continent." Jambudvīpa is the southern of four great continents that surround the cosmic mountain Mt. Sumeru. Jambudvīpa is home to 16 great states, 500 middle-sized states, and 100,000 small states. Buddhas only appear on Jambudvīpa. Although the term was first coined to describe India, in time it came to represent the human world. See *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (*Dīrghāgama*) 18, T 1.1.114b7–117c12.

353 "The four graces" (*saŭn*, Ch. *sien* 四恩) is a term with abundant meaning in Buddhist literature. There are three primary lists of the four graces: First, (1) the grace of mother (*moŭn* 母恩), (2) the grace of father (*puŭn* 父恩) for giving birth and raising someone, (3) the grace of the Tathāgata (*yŏrae ŭn* 如來恩) for showing the way to escape from saṃsāra as the master of the three realms, and (4) the grace of the Dharma master (*sŏlpŏp pŏpsa ŭn* 說法法師恩), who preaches the Dharma who preaches the Dharma to overcome pride. See *Zhengfa nianchu jing* 正法念處經 ([*Saddharma*] *smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra*) 61, T 721.17. 359b14–16. Second, (1) the grace of parents (*pumo ŭn* 父母恩); (2) the grace of living beings (*chungsaeng ŭn* 眾生恩) because while all living beings pass through many lifetimes in saṃsāra they serve as each other's parents; (3) the grace of the king of state (*kugwang ŭn* 國王恩), one who rules his country well, disseminates the correct teachings, removes the fears of ordinary people, and is ornamented with the ten virtues; and (4) the grace of the Three Jewels (*samboŭn* 三寶恩), the inconceivable grace of the Three Jewels. See *Dasheng bensheng xindi guanjing* 大乘本生心地觀經 2, T 159.3.297a12–13. Third, (1) the grace of masters and elders (*sajang ŭn* 師長恩), (2) the grace of parents (*pumo* ŭn), (3) the grace of the king of state (*kugwangŭ*), and (4) the grace of benefactors (*siju ŭn* 施主恩). See *Cibei daochang chanfa* 慈悲道場懺法 8, T 1909.45.955a–b; *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 2, T 2127.54.289c1–2.

頗有一人, 志在求掌考試之事, 以勤學問乎? 所謂拔策決科, 必在乎學聖人之道, 佐聖人之世, 駈民於仁壽之域, 終致大平, 此其大槩也. 儒旣如此, 釋不然乎? 予之爲人也, 雖禀性至愚, 早歲幸蒙先君恩度爲僧, 賴以宿因, 自十六七歲已來, 從事于西方聖人之敎, 二十載于玆矣. 然釋氏之敎, 流通中國者, 百不一二矣. 今所傳三藏正文, 僅六七千卷, 其他古今賢哲注疏之家, 一千年來, 無代無之, 此又不能悉數也. 雖有拔萃之器, 信乎終身不能究其業也, 況中下之人乎? 予固不敏, 而知學之難, 所以頃歲, 重道輕生, 問津中國者, 志在於何在乎? 效聖人之用心也. 聖人用心則廣大悉備, 有人乘焉, 有天乘焉, 有聲聞乘焉, 有緣覺乘焉, 有菩薩乘焉. 此之五乘, 是學佛者之所宜盡心之大慨槩也. 十善五戒, 人乘也, 四禪八定, 天乘也, 四聖諦法, 聲聞乘也, 十二因緣, 緣覺乘也, 六度萬行, 菩薩乘也. 以言乎人乘, 與周孔之道同歸, 以言乎天乘, 共老莊之學一致. 先民所謂修儒道之敎, 可以不失人天之報, 古今賢達, 皆以爲知言也. 其或後之三乘出世之法, 豈與夫域內之敎, 同日而言哉? 盖曲士不可以語道者, 束其敎也, 夏虫之於冬氷, 井蛙之於大海, 局於自見, 類可知也. 由是觀之, 五乘之設, 其得大端, 學佛者之用心, 窮未來際, 在乎此也. 就近而言, 予志在乎, 報先君許度之恩, 副殿下弘護之志, 答我佛爲師之德, 救衆生邪見之心. 使法輪再轉於閻浮, 道光重映於千載. 四恩終(...)

23. Oration on a Vow Made While Personally Participating in Worship at the Funerary Pagoda of Tiantai [Zhiyi] in the Great Song Empire (*Tae Song Ch'ŏnt'aet'apha chinch'am parwŏn so* 大宋天台塔下親叅發願疏)[354]

I kowtowed and paid homage, reporting to the Great Master Zhizhe,[355]

[354] *Taegak kuksa munjip* 14, HPC 4.551c14–552c8.

[355] Zhizhe 智者 is another name for Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗 (538–597). Zhiyi was a monk during the Sui dynasty, and he is regarded as the founder of the Tiantai school. His courtesy name (*zi*) was Dean 德安, and his family name was Chen 陳. He received the title (*hao*) Zhizhe from Yang Guang 楊廣 (Sui Yangdi), the Prince of Qin 秦王, in 591. When he was eighteen *sui*, he left home and became a monk under the vocation master Faxu 法緖. He studied the vinaya and the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism from Huiguang 惠曠. He received transmission in the "contemplation of the

the founder of the Tiantai school. Previously I heard that you, Great Master, classified and interpreted [the Buddhadharma] and caused it to flow to the east by means of the doctrine of the five periods and eight teachings.[356] In one generation your saintly words had ended but were never exhausted, and yet for those who learned Buddhism in later times, how is this not due to this? For this reason, my patriarch, the Huayan commentarial authority [Chengguan 澄觀],[357] said "Xianshou's [Fazang] five teachings[358]

mind" (*xin'guan* 心觀) from Huisi 慧思 in 560. When he was thirty-two *sui* he lectured on the *Lotus Sūtra* at Waguan Monastery 瓦官寺, and when he was thirty-eight *sui* he entered Mt. Tiantai, founded Xiuchan Monastery 修禪寺, and centered the core teaching of the Tiantai school on the *Lotus Sūtra*. He went to Jinling in 585 and lectured on the *Dazhidu lun* and *Lotus Sūtra* in the Taiji Palace 太極殿. In the waning years of his life he established Yuqian Monastery 玉泉寺 and lectured on his *Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義 and *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀. He passed away in 597 in a monastery on Mt. Tiantai. The most important of his many disciples was Zhang'an Guanding 章安灌頂 (561–632). His writings include such works as the three great commentaries of the Tiantai tradition: the *Fahua xuanyi*, *Fahua wengou* 法華文句, and *Mohe zhiguan*, as well as the *Guanyin xuanyi* 觀音玄義, *Guanyin yishu* 觀音義疏, *Jin'guangming xuanyi* 金光明玄義, *Jin'guangming wengou* 金光明文句, Guan *Wuliangshou jing shu* 觀無量壽經疏, and so forth. See Leon Hurvitz, *Chih-i (538–597); An Introduction to the Life and Ideas of a Chinese Buddhist Monk* (Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1962).

356 The doctrine of the five periods and the eight teachings (*osi p'algyo*, Ch. *wushi bajiao* 五時八教) refers to the Tiantai doctrine that the teachings given by the Buddha may be differentiated into eight different types of teachings given over five periods of time. The five periods are the (1) Huayan or Avataṃsaka period, (2) Deer Park or Āgama period, (3) Vaipulya period, (4) Prajñā [pāramitā] period, and (5) Lotus and Nirvāṇa period. The eight teachings refer to two different lists of four classifications of doctrine: (1) sudden, (2) gradual, (3) esoteric, and (4) indeterminate teachings, and (5) tripiṭaka (*sanzangjiao* 三藏教), (6) comprehensive (*tongjiao* 通教), (7) special (*biejiao* 別教), and (8) perfect teachings (*yuanjiao* 圓教).

357 The Huayan commentarial authority (*Hwaŏm soju* 華嚴疏主) refers to Chengguan 澄觀 (ca. 720/38–837/838), the fourth patriarch of the Chinese Huayan tradition. Chengguan is the Huayan thinker on whom Ŭich'ŏn relies the most. His most famous compositions include the *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏, in sixty rolls, and the *Suishu yanyi chao* 隨疏演義鈔 in ninety rolls. Because his interpretations formed the basis for understanding the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls, he was called the "Huayan commentarial authority." He was the Huayan thinker who most influenced Ŭich'ŏn.

358 The five teachings of Xuanshou (*Hyŏnsu ogyo*, Ch. *Xuanshou wujiao* 賢首五教) are the Hīnayāna (*sosŭng*, Ch. *xiaosheng* 小乘), the initial teaching of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng sigyo*, Ch. *dasheng shijiao* 大乘始教), the final teaching of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng chonggyo*, Ch. *dasheng zongjiao* 大乘終教), the

are very similar to those of Tiantai [Zhiyi]."[359] Thinking deeply about my own country, long ago there was a master whose name was Chegwan.[360] He lectured and discoursed on the teachings and insights of the Great Master [Zhiyi]. He circulated [Zhiyi's teachings] overseas [in China]. His transmission and practices have deteriorated so that now nothing remains [of Zhiyi's teachings in Koryŏ]. I, giving rise to indignation, have dedicated myself [to restoring the Tiantai school in Korea], and have searched for a master to inquire about the Way. Presently, I have listened to the lectures of the Great Master Cibian[361] of Qiantang 錢塘 [Hangzhou] and have inherited

---

sudden teaching (*ton'gyo*, Ch. *dunjiao* 頓教), and the perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo*, Ch. *yuanjiao* 圓教).

359 Cf. Chengguan, *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 2, T 1735.35.512b15–16.

360 Chegwan 諦觀 (d. 970) was a monk active during the reign of Koryŏ king Kwangjong 光宗 (r. 949–975). In 960, Qian Hongchu 錢弘俶, king of the Wu-Yue state in southern China, sent an emissary to Koryŏ requesting scriptures that had been lost in China. In 961 Kwangjong sent Chegwan along with the requested scriptures. Chegwan went in search of Yiji 義寂 (919–987) of Luoqi Monsatery 螺溪寺 and requested that he teach him. He studied the doctrinal learning of Tiantai for about ten years before passing away in 970. After his death, it was found that he had written the *Ch'ŏnt'ae sagyo ŭi* 天台四教儀 [Significance of the four teachings of Tiantai]. Later this text was recognized as one of the most important expositions of the doctrinal learning of the Tiantai tradition and was studied not only in Korea, but also in China and Japan.

361 Cibian 慈辯 (Congjian 從諫 or Zongjian 宗諫, 1035–1109) was nineteen *sui* when he attained the Way to enlightenment by means of the *Lotus Sūtra*. He sought out Biancai 辯才 (d.u.) at Shangzhu Monastery 上竺寺 and learned from him day and night. And again, he studied under Nanping Fanzhen 南屏梵臻 (fl. 1051–1072), a disciple of Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960–1028), of the Shanjia sect 山家派 of the Tiantai school. Because he responded to all his questions fluently, Fanzhen was moved with admiration toward him. He lectured at Mingqing Monastery 明慶寺, led many followers, and established Shousheng Monastery 壽聖寺 at the beginning of the Yuanfeng reign period 元豊 (1078–1085). In 1090, Biancai recommended him to the Prefect Pu Zongmeng 蒲宗孟. He was made the abbot of Shangzhu Monastery, and Pu Zongmeng had the throne bestow the title Cibian. As soon as Ŭich'ŏn arrived in China, he met Cibian through the kind offices of Pu Zongmeng, and they developed a friendship. The *Fozu tongji* says that when Zongjian (Cibian) heard that Ŭich'ŏn's mother requested that he return to Korea, he persuaded him to return home, gave him a incense burner and a whisk (*pulcha* 拂子), and transmitted the Dharma to him. Ŭich'ŏn went to Zhiyi's funerary pagoda and promised to circulate the doctrinal teachings and visualization practices he received from Zongjian. He returned to Shousheng Monastery in 1108, where he passed away. See *Fozu tongji* 13, T 2035.49.218c10–219a3.

and received [by transmission Zhiyi's] teachings and insight. I possess a rough comprehension of the general outline. Another day when I return to my homeland I will exhaust my life in promoting and spreading [these teachings]. In order to recompense you, Great Master [Zhiyi], I will establish your teaching by material means because of your virtue garnered as a result of your toils and labor [in spreading the Buddhadharma]. This is my vow.

大宋天台塔下親叅發願疏

右某, 稽首歸命, 白于天台教主智者大師曰. 嘗聞大師, 以五時八教, 判釋東流一代聖言, 罄無不盡. 而後世學佛者, 何莫由斯也? 故吾祖花嚴疏主云, "賢首五教, 大同天台." 竊念本國, 昔有人師, 厥名諦觀, 講演大師教觀, 流通海外, 傳習或墜, 今也卽無. 某發憤忘身, 尋師問道. 今已錢塘慈辯大師講下, 承禀教觀, 粗知大略. 他日還鄕, 盡命弘揚, 以報大師, 爲物設教, 劬勞之德, 此其誓也.

24. Oration Sent to All the Dharma Masters in the State of Japan Requesting Their Searching For and Collecting Together the Canon of Doctrinal Teachings (*Ki Ilbon'guk che pŏpsa kujip kyojang so* 寄日本諸法師求集教藏疏)[362]

I respectfully make this announcement [to my colleagues]. All of you spiritual mentors, it has already been a long time since by means of karmic connections my country revered and received the Buddhist teaching. The *Catalog of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled during the Kaiyuan Reign Period* (*Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄) was compiled by Zhisheng; and the *Further Catalog of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled during the Kaiyuan Reign Period and Addended during the Zhenyuan Reign Period* (*Zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 貞元續開元釋教錄) was compiled by Yuanzhao. In both of these books they record scriptures, monastic codes, treatises, and so forth, up to the newly translated scriptures and treatises by the Great Song, in total more than six thousand rolls; they have already been carved and engraved and their

362 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 14, HPC 4.552a8–14.

publication has been completed. From antiquity, the sages ... (the remainder of the text is lost).

寄日本國諸法師求集教藏疏
敬白. 諸善友, 緣本國崇奉佛教, 日已久矣. 其開元釋教錄, 智昇所撰, 貞元續開元釋教錄, 圓炤所撰, 兩本所收經律論等, 洎大宋新翻經論, 摠六千來卷, 並已彫鏤施行訖. 自古聖(...)

25. Oration on a Vow to Make a Compilation of the Canon of Teachings in Place of the Heir Apparent <written at age nineteen se> (*Tae seja chip kyojang parwŏn so <yŏn sipku se*> 代世子集教藏發願疏 <年十九作>)[363]

I, your humble disciple, with a reverent heart, take refuge in the original master, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni, as the head, [and in the Dharma, and in the Saṃgha]. I implore you to illuminate and comprehend the significance of my vow. I humbly think that what I want to know is in the teachings established by the Bhagavat.[364] The Bhagavat does not enjoy permanence alone because because he made images that are non-images gather like clouds; and with respect to great compassion, because it is impossible to not speak, by means of compassion, it was impossible for him not to speak. He just taught and transformed [beings] by means of language beyond language. Images are divided into the tenfold [world system][365] and the three kinds

363 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 14, HPC 4.552b20–553a12.

364 Bhagavat (*bagaba*, Ch. *boqiebo* 婆伽婆), "world-honored one," is one of the titles of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Along with the closely related *bhagavan* (*pakkabŏm*, Ch. *boqiefan* 博伽梵), it was translated into Chinese as "he who possessed virtue" (*yudŏk*, Ch. *youde* 有德), "he who possess great virtue" (*yu taedŏk*, Ch. *you dade* 有大德), and "world-honored one" (*sejon*, Ch. *shizun* 世尊).

365 The tenfold [world system] (*sipchung*, Ch. *shizhong* 十重), in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, refers to the description of the world system of bodhisattvas above the first stage aside from the great trichilocosm or a "thousand-cubed great-thousand world system" (*samch'ŏn taech'ŏn segye*, Ch. *santian datian shijie* 三千大千世界; Skt. *trisāhasramahāsāhasrolocadhātuḥ*). The tenfold world system is the (1) nature of

of objects.[366] Preaching, then, is manifested in the eight divisions of the canon[367] and the five vehicles. With great shaking and the sound of thunder, from a distance it moistens with the rain of the Dharma. He indicates

---

the world system (*segye sŏng* 世界性), (2) ocean of the world system (*segye hae* 世界海), (3) wheel of the world system (*segye ryun* 世界輪), (4) perfect fullness of the world system (*segye wŏnman* 世界圓滿), (5) differentiation of the world system (*segye punbyŏl* 世界分別), (6) revolution of the world system (*segye sŏn* 世界旋), (7) turning of the world system (*segye chŏn* 世界轉), (8) lotus flower of the world system (*segye yŏnhwa* 世界蓮華), (9) Mt. Sumeru of the world system (*segye sumi* 世界須彌), and (10) characteristics of the world system (*segye sang* 世界相).

366 The three kinds of objects (*samnyu*, Ch. *sanliu* 三類) are also called the three kinds of sense objects (*samnyu kyŏng* 三類境) or three sense objects (*samgyŏng* 三境). As a doctrinal tenet of the Dharma Characteristics school (Pŏpsangjong 法相宗), they were classified and distinguished into three in accordance with the nature or disposition of objects with which they are causally connected. The three are (1) sense objects of nature (*sŏnggyŏng* 性境), which as true objects maintain their original nature and do not follow the mind; (2) sense objects of solitary shadow (*togyŏnggyŏng* 獨影境), which as objects that the causally conditioned mind uses to produce false distinctions and differentiations, have no original essence or substance and are only like images and reflections; and (3) sense objects that bear substance (*taejilsŏng* 帶質性), which bring together some of the powers of the previous two in that although they possess original substance they do not obtain the self-nature (*chasŏng* 自性) of a true sense object.

367 "Eight divisions in the canon" (*p'alchang*, Ch. *bazang* 八藏) refers to eight differentiations in the manner in which the Buddha preached the Buddhadharma: (1) the canon of edification from the womb (*t'aehwa chang* 胎化藏), which refers to scriptures produced by the Buddha while in the womb; (2) the canon from the period of intermediate existence (*chungŭm chang* 中陰藏), which refers to scriptures taught during the forty-nine-day period or so from after Buddha's death in his previous life and his birth in his present life; (3) the Mahāyāna Vaipulya canon (*mahayŏn pangdŭng chang* 摩訶衍方等藏), the basic Mahāyāna scriptures; (4) the canon of the vinaya (*kyeyul chang* 戒律藏); (5) the canon of the bodhisattvas of the ten abodes (*sipchu posal chang* 十住菩薩藏), which are the Mahāyāna scriptures that describe how bodhisattvas should practice and show evidence of the fruit of Buddhahood; (6) the miscellaneous canon (*chapchang* 雜藏), which refers to Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna scriptures that describe how adherents of the three vehicles and men and gods should practice and show evidence of fruition rewards; (7) the adamantine canon (*kŭmgang chang* 金剛藏), which are the scriptures that describe how bodhisattvas who have reached the level of equal enlightenment (*tŭnggak posal* 等覺菩薩) should practice and show evidence of fruition rewards; and (8) the buddha canon (*pulchang* 佛藏), which refers to the Mahāyāna canon of scriptures that all the buddhas have preached, demonstrating supernatural powers and divine transformations (*sint'ong pyŏnhwa* 神通變化) to save living beings by means of the Dharma.

the road of bodhi, opening the approach to liberation. He motivates the capacities of the masses and leads them, and achieved the ultimate transformation. For this reason, with respect to those who recognize the mind, see the nature, and return to the origin, can they not be countless?

Once the Buddha hid his light in the Forest of Cranes,[368] his teachings were chanted in unison[369] in the Cave of Seven Palm Leaves.[370] Men of the

368 The Forest of Cranes (Hangnim, Ch. Helin 鶴林) refers to Kuśinagara, the place where under a *sara* tree (*sarasu* 沙羅樹) the Buddha Śākyamuni achieved complete and total nirvāṇa (*parinirvāṇa*). According to legend, as soon as the Buddha entered nirvāṇa, all of the *sara* trees in the east and west became one and all of the trees in the north and south became one; a bejeweled wooden bed descended and covered over the Buddha. Because the *sara* trees were sorrowful over the Buddha's passing, they turned white and became as a white crane. The branches, flowers, fruits, bark, and trunk all disintegrated and gradually completely disappeared so that nothing remained. See *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 1, T 374.12.369b18–19; *Daban niepan jing houfen* 大般涅槃經後分 1, T 377.12. 905a8–12. Here, because the text says that the forest became as white as a crane, other expressions Forest of White Cranes (Paekhangnim 白鶴林), White Forest (Paengnim 白林), and Swan Forest (Kongnim 鵠林) are also used. Therefore, the expression "Forest of Cranes" is really an allusion to the Buddha's nirvāṇa.

369 What I have translated as "chanted in unison" follows the Sanskrit *saṃgīti* rather than the Buddhist Chinese rendering of "fixed and collected" (*kyŏlchip*, Ch. *jieji* 結集). After the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, according to tradition, the Buddha's disciples gathered together and chanted in unison so as to memorize the Buddha's teachings so that they would not be lost. This action of chanting in unison seems to have served as a means of establishing something of an orthodox understanding of the Buddhadharma. Although the Buddha could have been asked to clarify points of doctrine or practice when he was alive, after his death, there was a need to systematize and organize the teaching. By meeting together, his disciples were able to compile the Dharma that had been preached. According to tradition, the first chanting in union occurred at Mt. Pippala under Ajātaśatru, the second at Vaiśāli, the third at Pāṭaliputra under Aśoka, the fourth in Kashmir under Kaniṣka; the fifth at Vulture Peak for the Mahāyāna, and the sixth for the esoteric canon.

370 The Cave of the Seven Palm Leaves (*ch'iryŏpkul*, Ch. *qiyeku* 七葉窟; Skt. *Sapta-paṇa-guhā*) is a cave located half way up Mt. Vebhara (Pipoluoshan 毘婆羅山), which is in the vicinity of Rājagṛha. It has its name from seven palm trees in front of the cave. Originally it was a place where the Buddha Śākyamuni preached the Dharma. It was also the place where Kāśyapa gathered together five hundred of the Buddha's most renowned disciples after the Buddha's parinirvāṇa and they recited, collected, and fixed (*saṃgīti*) the *sūtra-piṭaka* (*kyŏngjang*, Ch. *jingzang* 經藏), the *vinaya-piṭaka* (*yulchang*, Ch. *lüzang* 律藏), and the *abhidharma-piṭaka* (*kyŏlchip*, Ch. *jieji* 結集).

class of Aśvaghoṣa[371] and Nāgārjuna[372] wrote treatises and promoted the

371 Aśvaghoṣa (Maming 馬鳴, ca. 100–160 C.E.) was an Indian philosopher-poet born in Saketa in northern India. He is believed to have been the first Sanskrit dramatist, and is considered the greatest Indian poet prior to Kālidāsa. He was first a student of non-Buddhist teaching, but upon losing an argument with Pārśva converted to Buddhism. He became a religious advisor to the Kushan king Kaniṣka. He was not a proponent of the Mahāyāna and seems to have been ordained into a subsect of the Mahasanghikas. He is said to be the author of the influential Buddhist text *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 [Awakening of faith in the Mahāyāna, T 1666] although modern scholars agree that the text was composed in China. He also wrote an epic life of the Buddha called *Buddhacarita* (*Fosuo xingcan* 佛所行讚 [Acts of the Buddha], T 192) in Sanskrit and the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitkā* (*Dasheng zhuangyan jing* 大乘莊嚴經 [Book of glory], T 201). He also wrote *Saundaranandakavya*, a *kavya* poem with the theme of the conversion of Nanda, Buddha's half-brother, so that he might reach salvation. The first half of the work describes Nanda's life; the second half of the work describes Buddhist doctrines and ascetic practices.

372 Nāgārjuna (Longshu 龍樹, ca. 150–200) is traditionally considered to be the patriarch of the Madhyamaka school of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. He is traditionally believed to have been from a Brahmin family from southern India and to have left home to become a monk after having awakened to the truth that desires and pleasure are the basis of all suffering. He reportedly studied all the learning of the Hīnayāna tradition and found that it was insufficient. He went to the Himalayas and read the sūtras of the Mahāyāna tradition and systematized the Mahāyāna teachings. As he travelled around he sought after lost Mahāyāna sūtras. There is a great debate among modern scholars as to whether Nāgārjuna actually existed or whether he is a literary creation concocted by Mahāyāna writers. This modern scholarly debate is unimportant because he existed to the Indians and Chinese. Nāgārjuna is reputed to be the author of several seminal treatises associated with Mahāyāna Buddhism and also to have recovered several important sūtras from the lair of the dragon king, who had protected them for several hundred years. These texts include some of the Perfection of Wisdom sūtras. His writings include the *Mūla-madhyamaka-śāstra* [*Zhong lun* 中論, T 1564], *Vigrahavyāvartanī* (*Huizheng lun* 廻諍論, T 1631), and the *Bhavasaṅkranti-śāstra* (*Dasheng poyu lun* 大乘破有論, T 1574). Although works such as the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (T 1509) and *Dvādaśanikāya-śāstra* (*Shiermen lun* 十二門論, T 1568) are attributed to him, these texts show evidence of interpolations by later persons. For the problem of Nāgārjuna's existence and dating in Indian literature see Joseph Walser, "Nāgārjuna and the *Ratnāvalī*: New Ways to Date an Old Philosopher," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25, nos. 1–2 (2002): 209–262.

sūtra. Monks in the tradition of Asaṅga[373] and Vasubandhu[374] increased the splendor in continuing their work. After them, the Buddhist teaching prospered according to this fortune, and its capacity influences living beings in the right time. Although monks were cast into Qin prisons,[375] after the Han dynasty began [the Chinese people] welcomed the white horse [and established a monastery in its honor].[376] Since the time of Kāśyapa-mātaṇga

373 Asaṅga (Wuzhao 無着, ca. 310–390) transliterated as Asengga 阿僧伽 (Kor. Asŭngga). Asaṅga, a native of Gandhāra in northern India, was a great early formulator of Yogācāra Buddhism who lived primarily in Ayodhyā. Born as the son of a Brahman, he was originally a specialist in Abhidharma. He is said to have been the eldest brother of Vasubandhu (Shiqin 世親, Tianqin 天親), whom he converted to Mahāyāna. He is attributed with the composition of several fundamental texts on Yogācāra philosophy and practice, including the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (*She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論, T 1593) and *Prakaranāryavāca-śāstra* [*Xianyang shengjiao lun* 顯揚聖教論, T 1602]. In the Tibetan tradition, he is also attributed with the authorship of the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* [*Yuga shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論, T 1579]. According to legend he often visited Tuṣita Heaven to receive the teaching from Maitreya. His younger brother Vasubandhu further developed Yogācāra doctrine.

374 Vasubandhu (Shiqin 世親 or Tianqin 天親, ca. 320–400). Along with his (half-?) brother Asaṅga, he was one of the main patriarchs of the Indian Yogācāra school and one of the most influential figures in the entire history of Buddhism. Born in Puruṣapura of Gandhāra, in the fourth or fifth century (Takakusu suggests dates of 420–500, and Peri puts his death not later than 350), he was at first a specialist in Abhidharma literature and wrote the massive *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* [*Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論, T 1558], which is only one of his thirty-six works. He later converted to Mahāyāna and composed many other voluminous treatises. Most influential in the East Asian tradition was probably his *Triṃsikā* (*Yushi sanshi song* 唯識三十頌 [Thirty verses on consciousness-only], T 1590), but he also wrote a large number of other works, including a commentary to the *Mahāyāna-saṃgrāha-bhāṣya* (*She dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋, T 1595), the *Daśabhūmika-bhāṣya* (*Shidijing lun* 十地經論, T 1522), *Catuḥśataka-śāstra* (*Guangbai lun* 廣百論, T 1571), *Mahāyāna-śatadharmā-prakāśamukh-śāstra* (*Dasheng baifa mingmen lun* 大乘百法明門論, T 1614), and *Sukhāvatīvyuhopadeśa* (*Wuliangshou jing youbotishe yuansheng jie* 無量壽經優波提舍願生偈, T 565). He eventually became regarded as the twenty-first of the twenty-eight patriarchs of the Chan tradition.

375 This seems to be an allusion to the First August Emperor of Qin's burning of the classical books of philosophy and statecraft and burying the Confucian scholars (*punsŏ kaengyu*, Ch. *fenshu kengyu* 焚書坑儒).

376 This is an allusion to the most prevalent story on the beginning of the Buddhadharma in China: Han emperor Ming's 漢明帝 (r. 57–75) sending an emissary west after he dreamt of a golden man and the envoy returning with a white horse bearing Buddhist images and sūtras and the monks Kāśyapa-mātaṇga (Jiaye moteng 迦葉摩騰) and Zhu Falan 竺法蘭.

and Zhu Falan, Xuanzang[377] and Yijing[378] have returned from the Western

377 Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664) is often considered to have been the greatest translator of Buddhist sūtras in Chinese history. He went to the western regions by the land route in 629 and returned again by the land route in 645, having spent a total of seventeen years travelling all around the various regions and learning the Buddhadharma. His *Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Record of a pilgrimage to the western regions during the Great Tang, T 2087], the most enormous memoir of a pilgrimage in search of the Dharma, describes the Buddhist vestiges and local circumstances of 138 countries in the five regions of India and Central Asia. Xuanzang returned from India with Buddhist images, Buddhaśarīra (relics of the Buddha), and 657 titles of Sanskrit literature. As a result of the patronage of the Emperor Taizong (r. 627–649) he received the honorary title Dharma Master Sanzang (Tripiṭaka) 三藏法師 (it should technically be Trepiṭaka but Xuanzang has long been called Tripiṭaka in translated literature). Although originally an individual who possesses a comprehensive understanding of the sūtras, vinaya, and abhidharma (treatises) was called a Trepiṭaka Dharma Master, the name Dharma Master Sanzang has commonly been used to refer to Xuanzang. The Sutra-translation Bureau (Yijingyuan 譯經院) he established in Chang'an was organized initially at Hongfusi 弘福寺 and then at Ciensi 慈恩寺, lasted for nineteen years, and translated the original Sanskrit sūtras brought back by Xuanzang—in total 74 titles in 1,335 rolls. These works account for about one-fourth of the works translated during the Tang dynasty as reported in the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 [Catalog of Śākyamuni's teachings compiled during the Kaiyuan reign period, T 2154]. The important translations are the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā sūtra* (*Da bore jing* 大般若經, T 220), in six hundred rolls, the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (*Yuga shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論, T 1579), in one hundred rolls, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (*Da piposha lun* 大毘婆沙論, T 1545), in two hundred rolls, the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (*Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論, T 1558), the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* (*Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, T 1585), *Mahāyāna saṃgraha* (*She dasheng lun ben* 攝大乘論本, T 1594), and so forth. Because of his great labors, Xuanzang's translations are known as the "new translations" (*sinyŏk*, Ch. *xinyi* 新譯) as compared to the previously most representative translations by Kumārajīva, which were then known as the "old translations" (*kuyŏk*, Ch. *jiuyi* 舊譯). If the old translations conveyed the meaning of the sūtras and made this their priority, the new translations were faithful to the original Sanskrit texts, strictly adhered to word-by-word translations, and conveyed the exact meaning of Indian Buddhism as it was. In particular, by introducing retranslations of nineteen texts in 199 rolls in the Yogācāra lineage, Xuanzang presented a systematized understanding of Yogācāra thought that was extensively centered upon and made orthodox the theories of Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dharmapāla (Hufa 護法), and Śīlabhadra (Jiexian 戒賢).

378 Yijing 義淨 (635–713) was a translator-monk of the Tang period. He left home and became a monk at a young age and yearned to make a pilgrimage in search of the Dharma like Faxian 法顯 and Xuanzang. In 671 he left from Guangzhou (Canton) and went to India via the sea route passing through Malaysia (Foshiguo 佛逝國). After entering India he went on a pilgrimage to all the Buddhist vestiges. He studied at the great monastery of Nālandā for ten years and returned to China

Regions. Whether Indian guests have wandered east or Chinese monks have gone on long journeys to the West, following the guidance of stars and treading over snowy mountains and travelling on narrow paths, retranslating the core truths of the sūtras, they have gloriously proclaimed the renowned teachings of the Buddha. So their merits have been great and their benefits have been immense. Since then the True Dharma has fallen into decline, and the capacities of beings and causal connections have gradually become dull. [Eminent monks who have mastered] the four ways one relies on the Dharma[379] appear only at great intervals, composing commentaries, and by these means the teaching has become widely known. The Trepiṭaka masters towered above all the others in writing their commentaries. Their bequeathed writings have flourished and have been expanded upon so much that the whole world has received and practices them. In truth we can say they accomplished what had to be done at that time.

I humbly think that [the deceased heir apparent], from the first, as a result of ancient causes, fortunately cultivated a piece of wholesomeness and was entrusted to noble relatives and was born there in great peace. Having obtained a human body at great difficulty in imitation of the proverbial blind

with four hundred titles of Sanskrit texts and received the favor of Empress Wu. While residing at Foshoujisi he translated fifty-six titles in 230 rolls over a period of twelve years, culminating in 711. Although he translated sūtras associated with Consciousness-only and esoteric Buddhism, texts associated with the vinaya were particularly numerous. In 691, Yijing compiled a collection of biographies of monks who travelled to India titled *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 [Lives of eminent monks who went on pilgrimages in search of the Dharma in the western regions during the Great Tang Period, T 2066]. He is considered one of the four great translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese along with Kumārajīva, Paramārtha, and Xuanzang.

379 Eminent monks who have mastered the four ways one relies on the Dharma (*saŭi*, Ch. *siyi* 四依) are the four kinds of individuals whom living beings should believe and rely upon and who consider the world to be beneficial and who give peace and bliss to men and gods. These four kinds of individuals are (1) supramundane ordinary beings of the three worthies (*samhyŏn*, Ch. *sanxian* 三賢) and four wholesome roots (*sa sŏn'gŭn*, Ch. *si shan'gen* 四善根),(2) stream-enterers or *srota-āpanna* (*sudawŏn*, Ch. *xiuduoyuan* 須多洹), once-returners or *sakrdāgāmin* (*sadaham*, Ch. *situohan* 斯陀含), (3) non-returners or *anāgāmin* (*anaham*, Ch. *anahan* 阿那含), and (4) arhats (*arahan*, Ch. *aluohan* 阿羅漢).

turtle that sticks his head through the hole in a floating block of wood,[380] in diligence cultivate superior deeds, desire to be reborn so that you participate in the Buddha Maitreya's assemblies at the dragon flower (*nāgapuṣpa*) tree, and be early in audience with his merciful face. Or take up perfumed ink and silver paste and draw the sūtras preserved in the ocean treasury.[381] Or perhaps carve sandalwood or paint on fabric mountainlike dignity; how could you not do something satisfactory with these superior materials?

Nevertheless, in meeting with illness in this insignificant body, although the five constituents[382] can be forsaken, how could you abandon your life?

---

380 The parable of the blind turtle running into a block of wood (*maenggwi umok* 盲龜遇木) refers to a highly unlikely occurrence. The Buddha employed this parable in speaking to his disciples. In a scripture, he tells of a blind turtle that dwells in the depths of a vast ocean, coming up for air only once in a hundred years. On the surface of that ocean floats a block of wood with a hole in it. It is more common for that turtle to place its head through the hole in the block of wood when it takes its centennial breath, the sūtra says, than it is for a living being trapped in the cycle of rebirth and death to be born as a human with the good fortune to encounter the Buddhadharma. See *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (*Saṁyuktāgama-sūtra*) 15, T 99.2.108c7–19, and *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*) 2, T 12.372c22–23.

381 The ocean treasury (*haejang*, Ch. *haizang* 海藏) refers to the cache of sūtras preserved in the dragon palace (*yonggung*, Ch. *longgong* 龍宮), the residence of the dragon king (*yongwang* 龍王) or dragon spirit (*yongsin* 龍神). Located on the floor of the great ocean, the dragon palace was built by means of the dragon king's divine power. It is the place where the rolls of sūtras that are protected by the dragon king are preserved when the Buddhadharma is concealed from the present generation. In particular, in the Hwaŏm tradition, after the Buddha passed into nirvāṇa, the saints (bodhisattvas) hid the Mahāyāna teaching so they would not appear when followers of the Hīnayāna contended against it. When the capacity of the followers of the Mahāyāna was such that they found it difficult to comprehend the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, it was preserved for six hundred years in the dragon palace of the dragon of the ocean (*haeryong* 海龍) and was not transmitted in the world until the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna (Yongsu, Ch. Longshu 龍樹, ca. 50–150 C.E.) entered the dragon palace, found the text and memorized it, and spread it widely throughout the world. Thus, the ocean treasury refers to the dragon palace under the sea where the dragon king protects and preserves the sūtras of the Mahāyāna that humans are not yet prepared to accept and understand.

382 The five constituents (*oŭm*, Ch. *wuyin* 五陰), also more commonly called the five skandhas or five heaps (*oon,* Ch. *wuyun* 五蘊), are dharmas possessing some form of existence (*yuwi pŏp*, Ch. *youwei fa* 有爲法) and which extend from the material realm to the mental realm that in combination living beings usually mistake to be a self or soul (*a*, Ch. *wo* 我; Skt. *atman*). The five constituents are

Although transcendent medicines and numinous cinnabar are falsely said to be the Way to care for your health, the wind of compassion and the dew of wisdom are truly the methods of moderating your stinginess.

Being bound by profound karmic connections, should you not reverently pray for a wealth of blessings and certainly trust in the assistance and protection of the buddhas and gods, who will protect you and cause you to reach health and harmony in this physical body, wash and cleanse away the sprouts of misfortune and extend your lifespan? Now, if it is like this, how can going toward peacefulness be this satisfying? You must force yourself to continue your vows and practice continually.

Looking back on this precinct of mulberry trees [the Eastern Kingdom of Korea],[383] [we see that] up to the present we have usually looked up to the transformation of India. Although the treatises and sūtras are complete, I regard the commentaries and extracts to be incomplete. I vow to take the materials of the hundred schools held from ancient times to the present in the Great Liao and Great Song empires and collect them into a canon to be circulated for prosperity. I would that the Buddha-Sun increase in brightness, that evil and depraved nets loose their ties, that there may be a reflourishing of the semblance dharma,[384] and that it might universally

---

(1) *rūpa* (*saek*, Ch. *se* 色), form, physicality; (2) *vedanā* (*su*, Ch. *shou* 受), or sensations, feelings, not emotions; (3) *sañjña* (*sang*, Ch. *xiang* 想), perceptions, conceptions, processes, sensory and mental objects; (4) *samskhāra* (*haeng*, Ch. *xing* 行), formations, volitional impulses; and (5) *vijñāna* (*sik*, Ch. *shi* 識), consciousness, discriminative consciousness.

383 This precinct of mulberry trees (*pusangmok chi ku* 扶桑木之區) alludes to the famous Chinese legend that the sun rose underneath the mulberry tree and the tree's extremities soared and flourished high into the sky. Hence, the sun alludes to the eastern region, and the region where the sun rose symbolizes the Eastern Kingdom of Korea.

384 Semblance dharma (*sangbŏp*, Ch. *xiangfa* 像法) refers to the periodization developed to describe changes in the Buddhadharma in the periods of time after the quiescence of the Buddha. These periods were differentiated into a three-era scheme of the age of the True Dharma (*chŏngbŏp sidae*, Ch. *zhengfa shidai* 正法時代; Skt. *saddharma*), the age of the semblance dharma (*sangbŏp*, Ch. *xiangfa* 像法), and the age of the final dharma (*malpŏp*, Ch. *mofa* 末法). During the age of the semblance dharma, also rendered as "imitation dharma," although the teachings remain, they are not understood properly. The final dharma is also called the age of the decline of the dharma (*maltae* 末代, *malse* 末世).

benefit the state. Together with the flocks of living beings in the Saha world system, [I vow] to plant the wholesome vajra seed, experience and learn the way of Samantabhadra, and roam forever in the hometown of Vairocana.

代世子集教藏發願疏<年十九作>

右弟子, 虔心歸命, 本師釋迦如來爲首.(云云) 伏乞炤知願意者, 恭惟婆迦婆之設教也, 眞常不可以自樂, 故非像之像雲興, 大悲不可以無言, 故離說之說風警. 像則分乎十重三類, 說乃示其八藏五乘, 大振音雷, 遐沾法雨, 指菩提路, 開解脫門, 棨迪群機, 誕敷至化, 由是識心見性, 返本還源者, 可勝言哉? 及乎鶴樹韜光, 葉崑結集, 馬鳴龍猛之輩, 造論而弘經, 無着天親之流, 增華於踵事. 厥後教興應運, 機感待時, 秦獄雖械其利, 方漢庭肇, 迎其白馬. 自騰蘭之後, 奬淨已還, 或梵客東遊, 華僧西邁, 星言雪踐, 線去絲來. 重譯眞詮, 丕宣名教, 厥功大矣, 其利博哉. 旣而正法下衰, 機緣漸鈍, 四依間出, 製疏以發揚, 三藏挺生, 伸鈔以輔翼, 遺文蕃衍, 擧世奉行, 實可謂一代之能事畢矣. 伏念某, 肇自夙因, 幸修片善, 託于貴戚, 生遇大寧, 擬龜木之人身, 勤修勝業, 欲龍華之佛會, 早覲慈顔. 或香墨銀泥, 圖成於海藏, 或彫檀繪氎, 始辨於山儀, 何勝采而未圓, 乃眇躬而遘疾? 雖五陰而可厭, 奚一世以當抛? 仙藥靈丹, 空曰攝生之道, 慈風慧露, 實爲調嗇之方. 盍締妙緣, 虔祈茂祉, 儻賴佛天之扶衛, 獲臻身體之康和, 滌蕩災萌, 增延壽筭? 夫如是則豈唯往誓以斯滿, 抑亦續願而更修? 顧玆桑木之區, 素仰竺乾之化, 雖經論而具矣, 然疏鈔以闕如. 欲以于古于今, 大遼大宋, 凡有百家之科教, 集爲一藏以流通. 俾夫佛日增光, 邪網解紐, 重興像法, 普利國家, 共沙界之群生, 播金剛之善種, 僉學普賢之道, 長遊盧舍之鄕.

In this time the Buddhadharma declines; although the teachings still remain, the Buddhadharma is deprived of the practices that accompany the teachings and the attestation of enlightenment (*chŭng* 證) that is associated with the fruits (*kwa* 果) acquired by means of the causes (*in* 因) of those practices. There are many theories associated with this threefold periodization. The most prevalent has been that the age of the True Dharma lasted for the first five hundred years after Śākyamuni's parinirvāṇa, the period of the semblance dharma lasted for the next thousand years, and the age of the final dharma follows that for the next ten thousand years. See also Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline.*

26. Oration on Making a Vow to Burn My Arm[385] on the Day of the Ullambana Festival (*Ranbun il sobi parwŏn so* 蘭盆日燒臂發願疏)[386]

I humbly consider that the *Book of Brahmā's Net* bequeaths customs for considering the Dharma with respect and initially teaches burning one's arms.[387] The *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* talks of the standard of paying one's debt and earnestly promotes the practice of burning one's body.[388] Furthermore, considering the arduous labors of parents, how could it exhaust the heartbreaking and sincerity of one's essential spirit? I have fortunately encountered the Dharma that is difficult to encounter once in a thousand years, and my enterprise is willfully placed in the one vehicle, and the sublime Way to enlightenment resides in humans. Although I have carved up/cultivated my mind for a long time, since mysterious words sever the symptoms, how can one put his face to the wall and remain for a long time? Although I desired to study abroad [in Song China] several times, every time obstacles and hindrances were in my way. I lamented being deeply bound by my sins and faults and was depressed by the deterioration of the doctrinal teachings. If not for some mystical endowment (*myŏngga* 冥加), how would I be able to be in accord with my original vow? Daring to follow the pattern of merit and respect to corporeal giving, I secretly cover over resonance with respect to superior sincerity.

I humbly supplicate that the Original Master, the World-Honored One, be the head and that all of the throngs of saints and so forth might not forsake the compassion and receive us with tender pity. I vow to have my

385 Burning one's arm (*sobi,* Ch. *shaobi* 燒臂, more commonly *yŏnbi*, Ch. *yanbi* 燃臂) may refer to the ritual of burning one's arm associated with receiving the five precepts in Buddhism. The meaning of the ritual is the burning up and eradication of all karmic hindrances during the time one reaches the initial mind ground (*ch'o simji* 初心地).

386 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 15, HPC 4.553b2–15.

387 *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 2, T 1484.24.1006a18–20.

388 *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 8, T 945.19.945b3–5.

arm burn as one wick and trust to the good karmic cause of today. May my body pass through the hundred cities [of China] and subsequently consign myself to meet another year. The winds of the truth have been at rest, and yet it will be fanned [to rise] again. The rain of the Dharma had ceased, and yet it will pour once again. May I everlastingly sow the perfect tradition and in the end accomplish complete filial piety. I, Ŭich'ŏn, take refuge for my life in the extremes of fervor and earnestness.

蘭盆日燒臂發願疏

右伏以, 梵網垂重法之規, 先敎燒臂, 楞嚴談酬債之範, 曲示爇身, 矧惟父母之劬勞, 盍罄精神之哀懇? 某運逢千載, 業擅[389]一乘, 妙道在人, 雖剞心而斯久, 玄言絶朕, 奈墻面以居多? 屢欲遊叅, 每看障碍, 嘆罪愆之深結, 悲敎法之下衰. 若匪冥加, 豈諧素願? 敢効功於內施, 竊扣應於克誠. 伏乞本師世尊爲首, 多諸聖衆等, 不捨慈悲, 哀憐納受. 願使臂燒一炷, 賴今日之良因, 躬歷百城, 遂他年之寄遇. 眞風息而復扇, 法雨收而更霔, 永播圓宗, 終成全孝. 某歸命激切之至.

27. Oration regarding the Carving and Printing of the Canon of Doctrinal Teachings of All of the Schools on Behalf of Sŏnjong (*Tae Sŏnjong chejong kyojang choin so* 代宣宗諸宗敎藏彫印疏)[390]

I, Ŭich'ŏn, humbly think that with respect to the Trepiṭaka's proclaiming the composition, the hundred kings chose to believe it, and it was transmitted for a long, long time, and admiration and yearning for it deepened even more. Now, that which is spoken by the Buddha are sūtras, and that which derives from sūtras are śāstras (treatises). Sūtras are manifest through śāstras; śāstras are thoroughly understood depending on commentaries (*so*); commentaries make things clear by summarizing the meaning; and meaning is described by the masters. Since they are mutually connected in this way they may

---

389 Reading *tan* 擅 as *ch'ŏn* 擅 following the context.

390 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 15, HPC 4.553b16–c18.

be unwoven just like threads, and in each successive generation there have been such people. Therefore, Great Master Zhizhe (Zhiyi) established his words on Mt. Tiantai,[391] Master Huiyuan[392] handed down his instructions at

391 Mt. Tiantai 天台山 is the name of a mountain in Tiantai district 天台縣 in Zhejiang Province 浙江省 in China. Zhiyi entered the mountain in 575 and spread his doctrinal teachings. After Zhiyi passed into quiescence (passed away), Sui emperor Yangdi founded Guoqing Monastery 國清寺 on his behalf, and he became considered the patriarch of the Tiantai tradition. The high points of the mountain are eightfold; and if seen from below, like one canvas sail, it is 18,000 fathoms (*kil*) and soars prominently and is like the sharing of the stars of the Big Dipper and Altair (Ox-herder). Because it corresponds to the three terrace stars (*samt'aesŏng*, Ch. *santaixing* 三台星), from the top it is called the "heavenly terrace mountain" (Tiantaishan 天台山). Long known as a place where sages wander and stroll and transcendent beings and immortals dwell, it has many famous spots, and locations for spiritual practice have been established in many places.

392 Huiyuan 慧遠, usually referred to as Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠(523–592), was an eminent scholar-monk who lived at the end of the Northern and Southern dynasties period and through the beginning of the Sui dynasty. He left home and became a monk under Sengsi 僧思 at thirteen *sui*. At sixteen *sui* he followed Vinaya Master Zhan 湛, went to the capital city of Ye , and studied the sūtras of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. When he was twenty *sui* he received ordination into the full monastic precepts from Fashang 法上 (495–580). After becoming familiar with the *Four-Part Vinaya* under Dayin 大隱, he took Fashang as his primary mentor. When Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou dynasty persecuted Buddhism, only Huiyuan protested saying that if the Three Jewels were destroyed, Emperor Wu would fall into Avīcī Hell, and yet Emperor Wu carried out is suppression of Buddhism saying, "If the people are happy I would dare even hell." Huiyuan went into seclusion in these circumstances, and as soon as the Sui dynasty came to power he greatly promoted approaches to dharma in Luoyi 洛邑. Sui emperor Wendi considered him to be important and had him serve as head monk of Xingshan Monastery 興善寺. He established Jingying Monastery 淨影寺 again and lectured on Buddhist learning there, and he remained there. He is usually referred to as Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠to distinguish him from Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠. He is one of the important Buddhist scholiasts of the Northern and Southern dynasties period, being considered the great philosopher of the Southern capital branch 南都派 of the Dilun tradition 地論宗. In the later years of his life he heard the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* (*She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論) from Tanqian 曇遷. He composed more than twenty works in more than one hundred rolls, beginning with the *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章 [Encyclopedia of the Mahāyāna], the *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏 [Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], *Daban niepan jing yiji* 大般涅槃經義記 [Record of the meaning of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*], *Fahua jing shu* 法華經疏 [Commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*], and so forth.

Jingying Monastery,[393] Master Cien and Master An'guo[394] gathered several theories in the three time periods (*samsi*, Ch. *sanshi* 三時), and Great Master Xianshou and Great Master Qingliang assembled heterodox views in the five teachings. After the *Extracts of Practical Matters*[395] of the Nanshan school[396]

---

393 Jingying Monastery 淨影寺 was a monastery in Xi'an 西安 in Shaanxi Province 陝西省. Because Sui emperor Wendi, who unified the Chinese realm at the close of the Northern and Southern dynasties period, thought highly of Huiyuan, he gathered together more than two hundred scholarly monks and had them spread the Buddhadharma from Daxingshan Monastery 大興善寺. However, because Xingshan Monastery was too confined, in 587 he built Jingying Monastery and had Huiyuan be active there. Huiyuan lectured on the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika* (*Shidi lun* 十地論), and other sūtras and treatises and greatly flourished there. Later, Huiyuan's disciples became the core of the school centered on the study of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

394 Anguo 安國 (fl. mid-seventh–mid-eighth century) refers to the Tang monk Lishe 利涉 of Anguo Monastery 安國寺. He was a man of the western regions born to a Brahmin household who left home to become a monk upon meeting Xuanzang, and became a famous disciple. Emperor Zhongzong (r. 684–690, 705–709) considered him highly, and officials sought to be acquainted with him. During the Kaiyuan reign period (713–741) he lectured on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* at Anguo Monastery. It is said that the throngs that gathered there swelled to the size of a mountain. The Daoist Wei Ding 韋玎 thought this was not good and submitted a memorial to the emperor. Emperor Xuanzong held a great debate between representatives of Buddhism and Daoism, and Wei Ding yielded to Lishe. For this reason Lishe composed the *Rufatang lun* 立法幢論. Later he was exiled to Handong 漢東, and when he was released he spent time at Longxing Monastery 龍興寺. Although his birth and death dates are not known, during the Dali reign period (766–779) Yuanzhao 圓照 collected his words and deeds and composed the *Da Tang Anguosi Lishe fashi zhuan* 大唐安國寺利涉法師傳 [Life of Dharma Master Lishe of Anguo Monastery under the Great Tang], in ten rolls.

395 The *Extracts of Practical Matters* (*Xingshi chao* 行事鈔) refers to Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) *Sifenlü shanfanbu quexingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (T 1804), in twelve rolls, also known as the *Sifenlü chao* 四分律鈔 [Notes on the *Four-part Vinaya*] of the Nanshan school. This text, which is the basic text of the Vinaya school and the most important explication of the *Sifenlü* [Four-part vinaya] is divided into thirty sections and provides explanatory supplements to extracts from the vinaya text. It discourses on important passages and takes into consideration the theories of several vinaya masters. It also provides a detailed description of actual procedures for practicing the vinaya. It exerted a great influence on monastic cultural practices and rituals observances.

396 The Nanshan school (Namsanjong, Ch. Nanshanzong 南山宗) was one of the three Vinaya schools of the Tang period along with the Xiangbu school 相部宗 and the Dongta school 東塔宗 (East Pagoda). It is also variously called Nanshan Lü 南山律 (South Mountain Vinaya), Sifen school 四分宗 (Four-part [Vinaya]), and the Xingshi fangfei zhie zong 行事防非止惡宗 (School that teaches to

and the *Record of Founding the School*[397] of the East Pagoda school,[398] they descended into all the houses and almost reached the hundred schools. With

---

perform observances that obstruct the inappropriate and stop the unwholesome). It was founded by Daoxuan 道宣, who transmitted the meaning of the *Four-Part Vinaya* handed down from Huiguang 慧光 of the Northern Wei period. Daoxuan composed the five great works of the Nanshan school, which includes the *Sifenlü shanfanbu quexingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (T 1804) and *Sifenlü shipini yichao* 四分律拾毘尼義鈔, between 626 and 645. He founded and constructed the precepts platform on Mt. Zhongnan and established the ritual procedures for receiving the precepts. Daoxuan divided the precepts into two parts: *zhichi* 止持 (Kor. *chiji*), meaning not committing unwholesome actions, refers to the 250 regulations for bhikṣus and 348 regulations for bhikṣuṇīs; and *zuochi* 作持 (Kor. *chakchi*), meaning performing wholesome actions, refers to the regulations associated with receiving the precepts (*sugye*, Ch. *shoujie* 受戒), explaining the precepts (*sŏlgye*, Ch. *shuojie* 說戒), dwelling peacefully (*an'gŏ*, Ch. *anju* 安居), and clothing and food (*ŭisik*, Ch. *yishi* 衣食). By including all types of regulations, although from the standpoint of form it belongs to the Hīnayāna, its contents adhere to the Mahāyāna. In later generations the Xiangbu school and Dongta school declined, and only the Nanshan school flourished.

397 The *Record of Founding the School* (*Kaizong ji* 開宗記) refers to Huaisu's 懷素 (634–707) *Sifenlü kaizong ji* 四分律開宗記, in twenty rolls, which was the central text of the East Pagoda school. Although Huaisu studied Fali's commentary on the *Four-part Vinaya*, he considered Fali's theories to be incomplete. In 682, Huaisu completed in pointing out of sixteen mistakes in Fali's work, *New Commentary* (*Xinshu* 新疏) in order to distinguish it from Fali's *Old Commentary* (*Jiushu* 舊疏). In response to these criticisms, Dingbin of the Xiangbu school composed the *Sifenlü shu shizong yiji* 四分律疏飾宗義記, in twenty rolls, and *Pomiji ji* 破迷執記 [Record of breaking the grasp of delusion], in one roll.

398 The East Pagoda school (Dongtazong 東塔宗) was one of the three Vinaya schools of the Tang period along with the Xiangbu school 相部宗 and the Nanshan school 南山宗. Vinaya Master Huaisu 懷素 (634–707) synthesized the opinions of Fali 法礪 of the Xiangbu school and Daoxuan of the Nanshan school and his own views to complete the doctrines of the East Pagoda school. He left home and became a monk at twenty *sui* under Xuanzang. Huaisu, who acquired a knowledge of the sūtras and treatises, then familiarized himself with the *Sifenlü xingshi chao* 四分律行事鈔 from Daoxuan and then learned the *Sifenlü shu* 四分律疏 from Fali's disciple Daocheng道成. However, he lamented that the significant ideas of the ancients on the topic were not manifest, so he composed the *Sifenlü kaizong ji* 四分律開宗記 in twenty rolls. Because he pointed out sixteen mistakes in the older commentaries and developed his own doctrinal ideas in this commentary, people called it the *New Commentary* (*Xinshu* 新疏) in order to distinguish it from Fali's commentary. This was the beginning of the East Pagoda school.

respect to this, Mencius and Yang Xiong[399] both spoke of the Way (Dao) and became a group with Confucius. With respect to Master Gongyang,[400] and Master Guliang's[401] reception of the classics, it was just like their taking their place in line in the learning regarding the Spring and Autumn Annals (Chunqiu). Eventually they painted colorfully in the genealogy of the royal family, embellished the words of the sages, established patterns for departing from the world, and eternally composed codes that are not published.

I secretly think that in our country from the time of Master Wŏnhyo to that of my insignificant self there have been monks who have generously engaged in wholesome enterprises in order to protect the country. They have trusted themselves to utmost humaneness and cultivated all things. King Hyŏnjong[402] precisely carved the secret canon of five thousand rolls,

---

399 Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53–18 B.C.E.) was a scholar and literatus of the late Former Han period. He possessed representative views of the Han dynasty. During the time of Chengdi (r. 32–7 B.C.E.), as a member of the imperial court, he described the luxury and extravagance of Chengdi's imperial progresses in such rhapsodies as the "Ganquan fu" 甘泉賦 and "Hedong fu" 河東賦.

400 Master Gongyang 公羊氏 refers to Gongyang Gao 公羊高, who wrote the *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳, a commentary on the *Chunqiu* 春秋 [Spring and autumn annals], during the Warring States period (403–221 B.C.E.). The *Gongyang zhuan*, the *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 of Guliang Shu 穀梁俶 (also called Guliang Chi 穀梁赤), and the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo's tradition, also *Zuossi zhuan* 左氏傳) of Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, are called the "three commentaries on the *Chunqiu*" (*Ch'unch'u samjŏn*, Ch. *Chunqiu sanzhuan* 春秋三傳). It is said that the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries are centered on interpretations of the text of the classic and the Zuozhuan is centered on interpreting the historical proofs with respect to the historical facts recorded in the *Chunqiu*.

401 Master Guliang 穀梁氏 refers to Guliang Shu 穀梁俶 (also called Guliang Chi 穀梁赤), who wrote the *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳, a commentary on the *Chunqiu* 春秋 [Spring and autumn annals], during the Warring States period (403–221 B.C.E.). The *Gongyang zhuan*, the *Guliang zhuan*, and the *Zuozhuan* are called the "three commentaries on the *Chunqiu*."

402 Hyŏnjong 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031) was the eighth king of Koryŏ. His name was Wang Sun 王詢, and his courtesy name (*cha*) was Anse 安世. He was the son of Anjong 安宗, Wang Ok 王郁, the eighth son of Koryŏ king T'aejo, Wang Kŏn . He became a monk and resided at Sunggyo Monastery 崇教寺 and Sinhyŏl Monastery 神穴寺 and then doffed his monk robes to ascend the throne in the second month of 1009 with the deposition of Mokchong (r. 997–1009) following the Kangjo 康兆 coup. Because he reigned for a generation on the throne of Koryŏ, Hyŏnjong was instrumental in the securing of the Koryŏ rule by successfully pursuing a policy of direct control of the local strongmen

and King Munjong[403] then engraved the written scriptures of the tens of myriads of songs. Although the official text has been promulgated near and far, the essays and commentaries have almost been completely lost. Truly, the great protection and preservation of what remains is truly something [worth doing] ... (the remainder of the text is lost).

代宣王諸宗教藏彫印疏

右伏, 以三藏宣文, 百王取信, 暨流傳之綿久, 在景仰以增深. 且夫佛之說經, 由經者論, 經由論顯, 論待疏通, 疏摠義章, 義由師述, 繼相紬繹, 歷代有人. 故得智者立言於天台, 遠公垂訓於淨影, 慈恩安國, 該衆說於三時, 賢首清凉, 會異端於五教. 至若南山之行事, 東塔之開宗, 降及諸家, 殆盈百氏. 斯皆軻雄談道, 俱爲闕里之徒, 公穀受經, 並列春秋之學. 遂使丹青玉牒, 潤色金言, 垂爲出世之規, 永作不刊之典. 竊念國家, 自從元聖, 迨至眇躬, 敦衆善以保邦, 賴至仁而育物. 顯祖則彫五千軸之秘藏, 文考乃鏤十萬頌之契經. 正文雖布於邇遐, 章疏或幾乎墜失. 苟存弘護, 寔在(...)

28. Oration on the Ritual Convocation of the Perfection of Wisdom Scriptures (*Panya toryang so* 般若道場疏)[404]

I humbly think that because the Buddha's[405] virtue is liberal he has truly become the hero of the three world systems, and because the merit of his prajñā is high he has thereupon crafted an excellent pattern for the four

---

and a system of commanderies and districts (*kunhyŏnje* 郡縣制).

403 Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083) was the eleventh king of Koryŏ. His name was Wang Hwi 王徽, and his courtesy name (*cha*) was Ch'ogyu 燭幽. He was the sixth son of Hyŏnjong. He was the royal father of Ŭich'ŏn and his elder brothers Sunjong (r. 1083), Sŏnjong (r. 1083–1094), and Sukchong (r. 1095–1105). During the thirty-seven years of his reign Korean civilization was greatly improved, and this period is referred to as the "golden age of Koryŏ." Munjong's reign saw great developments in all fields of culture beginning with Buddhism and Confucianism and stretching down to the arts and crafts.

404 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 15, HPC 4.553c19–554a8.

405 Buddha, transliterated here as *palt'a* 勃陀, is a variant of the more common *pult'a* 佛陀.

groups of living beings.[406] I, Ŭich'ŏn, previously desired the sublime Way to enlightenment. I have been favored with and have aged in the True Class [of Monks]. I have researched and tasted of the Buddha vehicle (Buddhayāna), and I would imitate its re-glorification in the ages of the semblance dharma and final dharma. I would rectify and assist in the dawn of the saints, pledge to lengthen and help the humane quarter [of the east].[407] How does one deal with the vexing problem of the burning house?[408] Or how can one, having burned his head, flee from misfortune? Presently, daring to invite my black-robed colleagues, I respectfully open this pure enlightenment site, turning this

406 The four groups of living beings (*sasaeng*, Ch. *sisheng* 四生) refer to the four kinds of living beings born in the three world systems and six destinies (*samgye yukto*, Ch. *sanjie liudao* 三界六道): (1) womb-born (*t'aesaeng*, Ch. *taisheng* 胎生; Skt. *jarāyujā-yoni*), people and beasts born through their mother's womb from within the belly; (2) egg-born (*nansaeng*, Ch. *luansheng* 卵生; Skt. *aṇḍaja-yoni*), birds and fish born from eggs; (3) moisture-born (*sŭpsaeng*, Ch. *shisheng* 濕生; Skt. *saṃsvedajā-yoni*), things such as bugs and insects born as a result of humidity; the three foregoing are also called born by casual connections (*inyŏnsaeng*, Ch. *yinyuansheng* 因緣生) and born in accordance with cold and heat (*hanyŏl hwahap saeng*, Ch. *hanre huahe sheng* 寒熱和合生); and (4) transformation-born (*hwasaeng*, Ch. *huasheng* 化生; Skt. *upapādukā-yoni*), things made suddenly by transformation in accordance with their own karma and that do not rely on other things, but are living beings born in the heavens and the hells.

407 The humane quarter (*inbang*, Ch. *renfang* 仁方) refers to the eastern region (*tongbang*, Ch. *dongfang* 東方), and by extension to the country of Koryŏ.

408 The burning house (*hwat'aek*, Ch. *huozhe* 火宅) is a metaphor for the three world systems in which deluded living beings reside. Fire or burning is a metaphor for the evil world of the five impurities (*ot'ak akse*, Ch. *wuzhuo eshi* 五濁惡世), and the house is a metaphor for the three world systems. The Parable of the Burning House (*hwat'aek yu* 火宅喩) is one of the seven parables of the *Lotus Sūtra* in "Chapter Three, Parables" (*sam piyu p'um* 3 譬喩品). Although living beings in the three world systems receive all manner of pain and suffering, they do not realize it when they themselves are in the midst of suffering. This is analogized in the parable as a fire erupting in an old decrepit mansion house and the children playing in the midst of the house not knowing that they themselves are trapped by a burning fire. The compassionate father of the children, a symbol of the Buddha, calls for the children and warns them to come out of the house, but because they are so enthralled with their games they pay no attention to the burning house. The father must resort to expedient means and trick them out of the burning house. He offers them precious objects, goat carts (*yanggŏ* 羊車), deer carts (*nokkŏ* 鹿車), and ox carts (*ugŏ* 牛車), and by these means he entices them to escape from the house. See *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 2, T 262.9.12b13–16b6.

peculiarly superior truth, and would like to reveal the simplicity of the offering of burning incense and the enthusiasm of my sincere mind of practice. Hoping to rely on the majesty of the Three Jewels, I hope to avoid yielding to the four *māras*.[409] I humbly vow that several saints will let down their glory and that I will employ it to bring about a fruitful harvest of merit; that all the gods will descend to examine it; and completely dispel all manner of calamities.

般若道場疏

右伏, 以勃陀德厚, 寔爲三界之大雄, 般若功高, 乃作四生之懿範. 某早希妙道, 叨齒眞流, 研味佛乘, 擬再光於像季, 匡毗聖旦, 期永贊於仁方. 其奈火宅之煩籠, 或有燃頭之逃厄? 今者敢延緇侶, 恭啓淨場, 轉玆殊勝之詮, 表我焚勤之素. 庶憑威於三寶, 冀免撓於四魔. 伏願衆聖垂光, 用致穰穰之福, 諸天降鑑, 盡祛種種之災.

---

409 The four *māras* (*sama*, Ch. *simo* 四魔) are the four kinds of demons of illusion (*māra*) that snatch away and deprive a person of his life (*sinmyŏng*, Ch. *shenming* 神命) and wisdom (*hyemyŏng*, Ch. *huiming* 慧命): (1) the demon of the constituents (*onma*, Ch. *yunmo* 蘊魔; Skt. *skandha-māra*), the fear of saṃsāra (the cycle of rebirth and death) produced from the accumulation of the five constituents; (2) the demon of the defilements (*pŏnnoema*, Ch. *fannaoma* 煩惱魔; Skt. *kleśa-māra*), the 108 defilements that cause living beings' minds and bodies to be confused; effectively thwarting their ability to attain enlightenment; (3) the demon of death (*sama*, Ch. *simo* 死魔; Skt. *mṛtu-māra*), which scatters and kills the four greatnesses and causes practitioners to not inherit wisdom; and (4) the demon of the godlings (*ch'ŏnjama*, Ch. *tianzimo* 天子魔; Skt. *deva-putra-māra*), the demon kings of the heaven of the self-existence of others' transformations (*t'ahwajajaech'ŏn mawang*, Ch. *tahuazizaitian mowang* 他化自在天魔王) who hinder beings from obtaining the supramundane wholesome roots, which come as a result of practice because they obstruct them from performing wholesome actions and cause them to be envious and clamorous with respect to worldy dharmas. There are many antidotes to these four *māras*. For instance, if one clearly observes that all dharmas are just illusions, the demon of the constituents will be defeated. If one clearly and distinctly knows the emptiness of all dharmas, the demon of the defilements will be overcome. If one clearly and distinctly knows that all dharmas are neither produced nor destroyed, the demon of death will be conquered. If one overcomes one's prideful mind, the demon of the godlings will be vanquished.

29. Eulogy to State Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk (*Che Kyŏngdŏk kuksa mun* 祭景德國師文)[410]

Now, on a certain day, month, and year, I, Ŭich'ŏn, the Saṃgha Overseer Use, and disciple who transmits the teachings [of the Hwaŏm school] respectfully take these offerings of tea, fruits and nuts, and seasonal foods, and reverently offer them to the spirit of my deceased mentor State Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk.[411] The lament of the wind and trees[412] are the bequeathed words of the philosophers who have gone before. The sorrows of frost and mist[413] are the proverbial admonitions of the ancient worthies and scholars. Within our Śākya clan, how could it not be so as well? Only because our customs are superficial and popular sentiment has deteriorated, times have changed and the age has evolved; the meanings of master and disciple have become

410 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 16, HPC 4.554c5–19.

411 State Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk 景德國師 (999–1066) is the mid-Koryŏ Hwaŏm monk Nanwŏn 爛圓 (999–1066). A native of Ansan, he was the son of Kim Ŭnbu 金殷傅, the father-in-law (*kukku* 國舅) of Hyŏnjong (r. 1009–1031). He resided at Yŏngt'ong Monastery 靈通寺 in the Koryŏ capital Kaegyŏng 開京 (Kaesŏng), and was active as the chief saṃgha overseer (*tosŭngt'ong* 都僧統) for the Hwaŏm school. In 1058, by royal order, he assisted the fourth son of Munjong, Wang Hu's 王煦 leaving home and becoming a monk (Ŭich'ŏn) and taught him the doctrinal teachings and visualization practices of the Hwaŏm tradition. In the "Yŏngt'ongsa Taegak kuksa pimun" (Stele inscription of State Preceptor Taegak at Yŏngt'ong Monastery), several individuals who had originally been disciples of State Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk, such as Ch'angwŏn 昶元 and Nakchin 樂眞 (1045–1114) , are said to have in turn become disciples of Ŭich'ŏn. This seems to suggest that Ŭich'ŏn reorganized the Hwaŏm school in the Koryŏ capital so that his mentor Nanwŏn's disciples became his disciples.

412 The "lament of the wind and trees" (*p'ungsu chi t'an* 風樹之嘆) suggests that although the trees would like to be still, they cannot be because the wind will not cease. In the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, roll nine, by Han Yan 韓燕 of the Han dynasty, revised by Niao Zongcheng 烏宗成, there is a poetic couplet that reads "Although the trees would like to be quiet, the wind will not cease; although the children would like to provide for their parents, the parents do not wait for them" (樹欲靜而風不止, 子欲養而親不待也).

413 The sorrows of frost and mist (*sangno chi pi* 霜露之悲) refer to one's sorrowful heart concerning one's parents and forebears. Another similar expression is emotion of frost and mist (*sangno chi kam* 霜露之感), which refers to a mind that thinks about one's parents and ancestors.

superficial and the Way of favor and faith has degenerated. With respect to those who discourse on meaning and lecture on sūtras, although they are said to be master instructors of the Buddhadharma, when you examine their words and observe their actions, many are petty individuals. Because the world is like this, what can I say is the future? In the present we must consider filial piety with deliberate strength and hope to flee from perverse and un-filial practices. With respect to the stimulus of utmost sincerity, how could there not be a response?

祭景德國師文
維年月日, 傳教弟子祐世僧統某, 謹以茶菓時食之奠, 敬祭于先師景德國師之靈. 風樹之嘆, 往哲之遺言, 霜露之悲, 先儒之格訓. 在吾釋氏, 豈不然乎? 但以俗薄人衰, 時移代變, 師資義淺, 恩信道隳. 論義講經, 雖云法匠, 察言觀行, 多是小人. 世也如斯, 予將何言? 今者勉强孝思, 冀逃悖逆, 至誠之感, 寧無應乎?

30. Eulogy to the Saintly Master Wŏnhyo of Punhwang Monastery (*Che Punhwangsa Hyosŏng mun* 祭芬皇寺曉聖文)[414]

Now, on a certain day, month, and year, I, Ŭich'ŏn, a śramaṇa who has gone in search of the Dharma, respectfully take these offerings of tea, fruits and nuts, and seasonal foods to make offerings to the Bodhisattva Wŏnhyo, the master of doctrinal learning in Haedong (Korea).

I humbly thought that the principle is made manifest through doctrinal learning and the Way to enlightenment is promoted by means of the person. However, as customs become superficial, the times become perfidious; then people become incorrigible, and the Way to enlightenment will perish. Because the masters have already each sealed off the conventions of their own traditions, their disciples also mutually grasp what they have seen and

414 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 16, HPC 4.555a9–14. Cf. Buswell's translation in Lee, *Sourcebook*, 389–390.

heard. It will ultimately be like the hundreds of volumes[415] of exegeses by Cien, which only adhere rigidly to names and characteristics, or the ninety days[416] of preaching at Mt. Tiantai, which merely esteem visualization by means of principle.[417] Although their texts are said to adhere to the standards of Buddhism, their instructions were not said to be thoroughly comprehensive. Only our Korean bodhisattva interfused and illuminated both nature and characteristics, secretly merged the past and present, harmonized the extremes of difference and contention among the hundred schools, gaining the reputation of being the most accomplished master of his age. Furthermore, his spiritual penetrations were beyond comprehension and his sublime functioning was difficult to conceptualize. Although he softened the glare,[418] it did not alter his essence. It has caused his name, for these

---

415 The hundreds of volumes of exegeses (*paekpon*, Ch. *baiben* 百本) refer to those composed by Cien Kuiji 慈恩窺基 (632–682), who completed the founding of the Dharma-characteristics school (Pŏpsangjong, Ch. Faxiangzong 法相宗) of Sinitic Yogācāra continuing upon the work of Xuanzang (ca. 602–664), who left behind several commentaries on the sūtras and treatises; hence, he was called a commentarial authority of hundreds of volumes (*paekpon soju*, Ch. *baiben shuzhu* 百本疏主). The most important commentary in the Cien school (Kor. Chaŭnjong 慈恩宗), another name for the Dharma Characteristics school, the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* [*Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論, T 1585], is also said to be synthesis of a hundred theories.

416 The ninety days (*kusun*, Ch. *jiuxun* 九旬) of preaching alludes to Tiantai Zhiyi's preaching the Dharma on Mt. Tiantai for ninety days. See the preface to the Song-dynasty monk Congyi's 從義 *Tiantai sanda bubuzhu* 天台三大部補注, X 28.121a11–13.

417 Visualization by means of principle (*igwan*, Ch. *liguan* 理觀) is, like visualization of phenomena (*sagwan*, Ch. *shiguan* 事觀), a type of visualization referred to in the Tiantai tradition. Xingqi Zhanran 荊溪湛然 cited the *Zhancha jing* 占察經 [Book of divination] in his *Zhiguan yili* 止觀義例 [Ceremonies promoting calmness and insight] with respect to the visualization of consciousness-only (*yusik kwan*, Ch. *weishi guan* 唯識觀) and the visualization of true marks (*silsang kwan*, Ch. *shixiang guan* 實相觀). The visualization of consciousness-only is a visualization of phenomena that causes one to reach the principle of the true state of things by entrusting oneself to the three natures (*samsŏng* 三性). The visualization of true marks is said to be visualization by means of principle by which one visualizes and thoroughly comprehends the true state of things. The visualization of phenomena is a contemplation of reality that distinguishes between all things in nature. Visualization by means of principle is a meditation of universal principle that is devoid of production.

418 The phrase "soften the glare" is the first part of an expression from the *Laozi*: "Soften the glore;

reasons, to resound throughout China and India; and his merciful edification, for these reasons, spread to this world and the netherworld. It is very difficult to determine the extent of the praise and acclaim that are his.

I, his disciple, enjoying the fortune of Heaven, from an early age was fond of the Buddha vehicle. I successively scrutinized the learning of the preceding philosophers, but none of it outclassed that of our saintly master. I agonized over the errors in the subtle words [of the Buddhist scriptures], and he begrudged the decline of the utmost Way to enlightenment. I travelled far and wide among the famous mountain monasteries, distantly searching for neglected writings. Nowadays, it is fortunate that the old monasteries of Kyerim[419] look up to his form[420] as if he were still present: it was like meeting the first assembly on the ancient peak of Vulture Mountain.[421] Availing

let your wheels move only along old ruts" or more colloquially "endowed with light but mixed with the dust of the world" (*hwagwang tongjin*, Ch. *heguang tongchen* 和光同塵). It comes from the famous passage "One who knows does not speak; one who speaks does not know. Block the openings; shut the doors; blunt the sharpness; untangle the knots; soften the glare; let your wheels move only along old ruts. This is known as mysterious sameness." It suggests that such a person does not show off their superior talents and abilities but follows the world. See *Daode jing*, book 2, ch. 56.128–129a; Lao Tzu, *Tao Te Ching*, trans. D. C. Lau (London and New York: Penguin, 1963), 117.

419 The old monasteries of Kyerim (Kyerim kosa 鷄林古寺) refer to the old monasteries of Kyŏngju 慶州, in North Kyŏngsang Province 慶尙北道. Because Silla was called Kyerim, it often serves as the poetic name of Kyŏngju, the old capital of Silla.

420 The *Samguk yusa* [Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms] preserves an anecdote regarding Wŏnhyo's son Sŏl Ch'ong 薛聰 (ca. 660–730). Sŏl gathered together Wŏnhyo's remains, had a clay image of his father made incorporating these ashes, and enshrined it in Punhwang Monastery 芬皇寺, where he worshipped it. Here, Ŭich'ŏn seems to be referring to this cast image when he says that the old monasteries in Kyŏngju "look up to his form." See *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 4, T 2039.49.1006b24–26.

421 Vulture Mountain (Yŏngch'wisan, Ch. Lingjiushan 靈鷲山; Skt. Gṛdhrakūṭa), more commonly translated into English as "Vulture Peak," is also transliterated as Kisagulsan (Ch. Qidujueshan 耆闍崛山). It is a mountain in the northeastern region of the city of Rājagṛha (Wangsasŏng, Ch. Wangshecheng 王舍城) in the old kingdom of Magadha (Magadaguk, Ch. Magatuoguo 摩伽陀國). It has its name because the shape of the mountain resembles the head of a vulture. According to tradition, the Buddha is said to have taught many Mahāyāna sūtras on this mountain. Hence, it is counted among the sacred sites of Buddhism. Here, Ŭich'ŏn likens seeing the image of Wŏnhyo to being present when the Buddha preached a sūtra on Vulture Peak.

myself of these paltry offerings, I presumptuously describe this insignificant display of sincerity and wholeheartedly supplicate that his generous mercy might deign to hand down the bright mirror of the Buddhadharma.

祭芬皇寺曉聖文

維年月日, 求法沙門某, 謹以茶菓時食之尊, 致供于海東教主元曉菩薩. 伏以理由教現, 道藉人弘. 逮俗薄而時澆, 乃人離而道喪. 師旣各封其宗習, 資亦互執其見聞. 至如慈恩百本之談, 唯拘名相, 台嶺九旬之說, 但尙理觀. 雖云取則之文, 未曰通方之訓. 唯我海東菩薩, 融明性相, 隱括古今, 和百家異諍之端, 得一代至公之論. 而況神通不測, 妙用難思. 塵雖同而不汚其眞, 光雖和而不渝其體. 令名所以振華梵, 慈化所以被幽明, 其在贊揚, 固難擬議. 某資天幸, 早慕佛乘, 歷觀先哲之閒, 無出聖師之右. 痛微言之紕繆, 惜至道之陵夷, 遠訪名山, 遐求墜典. 今者雞林古寺, 幸瞻如在之容, 鷲嶺舊峯, 似値當初之會. 聊憑薄供, 敢敍微誠, 仰冀厚慈, 俯垂明鑑.

31. Eulogy to Great Master Usang of Yongdu Monastery[422] (*Che Yongdusa Usang taesa mun* 祭龍頭寺祐詳大師文)[423]

Now, on a certain day, month, and year, I, the Saṃgha Overseer Use, abbot of Hŭngwang Monastery and transmitter of the doctrinal teachings and visualization techniques of Xianshou, respectfully dispatch my attendant So-and-so to prepare offerings of tea and foods in order that I might offer sacrifice to the spirit of the late master lecturer of Yogācāra[424] of Yongdu Monastery.

422 Yongdu Monastery 龍頭寺 is a monastery that existed on Nammunno 南門路 in Ch'ŏngju 淸州 in North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province 忠淸北道. At present, all that remains are its iron banner support poles (*ch'ŏltanggan* 鐵幢竿), National Treasure no. 41, that were erected in 962. The monastery was founded before 962, and in 1011 Hyŏnjong went to this place to hold the lantern festival (*yŏndŭnghoe* 燃燈會). It is said that a dharma bell (*pŏmjong* 梵鐘) was enshrined in 1090. It is believed that the monastery was destroyed during the successive waves of Mongol invasions.

423 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 16, HPC 4.555b12–21.

424 Yogācāra (*yuga*, Ch. *yuga* 瑜伽; Skt. yoga), was translated as "response to characteristics" (*sangŭng*, Ch. *xiangying* 相應) in Chinese and refers to the actual practice and training that leads to awakening

When I humbly consider your talents and name were made known [throughout the land] early on; your virtuous practices were formerly imitated; you lectured on the texts of the succeeding bodhisattva;[425] and you thoroughly and exhaustively studied principle and nature. You transmitted the doctrinal teachings of Cien and manifested the subtle [meaning] and unlocked the profound [mysteries]. You were straightforwardly diligent in the merit of instructing and leading [students to the truth], and you assisted in an exemplary manner in the edification and circulation of the Buddhadharma. Since you were not of an advanced age, why did you pass away so suddently? Although we refer to the shores of birth and death as subject to the principle of karmic causes and conditions, sound and form seem to persist, so why should I be exhausted with thoughts of pity and sorrow? Observing commemoration services once will serve to describe a separation of a thousand years.[426] O undeluded cloud-dwelling spirit, may you not know this sorrow in my breast.

---

and enlightenment and is analyzed as the unification of mental energies. In Indian Buddhist Yogācāra, practices of yoga were systematized in accordance with Consciousness-only thought. The doctrines of mainstream Indian Yogācāra and Consciousness-only were transmitted to China through the new translations of scriptures and treatises introduced to China as a result of Xuanzang's pilgrimage to India and the Dharma Characteristics school (Pŏpsangjong, Ch. Faxiang school 法相宗), founded by Xuanzang's disciple Guiji 窺基 (632–682). The Dharma Characteristics school is also called the Yogācāra school (*yugajong* 瑜伽宗), the Consciousness-only school (*yusikchong* 唯識宗), and so forth. During the Koryŏ period, the designations specialist in Yogācāra (*yugaŏp* 瑜伽業), the Cien school (Kor. Chaŭnjong 慈恩宗), and Characteristics school (*sangjong* 相宗) also appear.

425 A succeeding bodhisattva (*poch'ŏ posal*, Ch. *buchu pusa* 補處菩薩) refers to a person bound to this world of delusion for only this one lifetime. In his next life such a person will cast off delusion and will attain Buddhahood. It is also a reference to "equal enlightenment" (*tŭnggak*, Ch. *dengjue* 等覺), the highest level attainable by a bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva Maitreya, who presently resides in meditation in Tuṣita Heaven and who will descend to the human world in the future when his life there ends and attain Buddhahood, is commonly held as an example of this kind of bodhisattva who assists individuals to reach the level of Buddhahood. Succeeding bodhisattvas are also called bodhisattvas who will succeed [to buddhahood] in one lifetime (*ilsaeng poch'ŏ posal*, Ch. *yisheng buchu pusa* 一生補處菩薩). See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 4, T 278.9.418b1, and roll 41, T 278.9.759c18.

426 The phrase "separation of a thousand years" (*ch'ŏnnyŏng chi kyŏl* 千齡之訣) refers to the eternal separation that comes with death.

祭龍頭寺祐詳大師文

維年月日, 興王寺住持傳賢首敎觀祐世僧統, 謹遣侍者某, 備茶食之奠, 致祭于故龍頭寺瑜伽講主之靈. 惟靈, 才名早著, 德行夙彰, 講補處之文, 窮理盡性, 傳慈恩之敎, 現微闡幽. 方勤訓導之功, 式助流通之化. 何年齡之未永, 奈奄忽以云歸? 生滅有涯, 雖曰因緣之理, 音容如在, 詎殫惻愴之心? 俾陳一祭之儀, 用叙千齡之訣. 魂兮不昧, 知此悲懷.

32. Instruction to the New Disciple Ch'isu (*Si sinch'am hakto Ch'isu* 示新參學徒緇秀)[427]

The sūtras say, "If you possess an unsurpassed mind you will most certainly take pleasure in great events. In order to display the body of the Buddha you will preach the inexhaustible Buddhadharma."[428] What is the inexhaustible Buddhadharma? This is precisely the dharma approach of the dharma realm. In truth, this dharma is a myriad of delusions to living beings, a myriad of practices to bodhisattvas, and a myriad of virtues to tathāgatas (buddhas). Therefore, when it is obtained by the Buddha Vairocana it is called the distinction of results.[429] When it is obtained by bodhisattvas it is called the distinction of causes.[430] Living beings employ it daily, but because they do

[427] *Taegak kuksa munjip* 16, HPC 4.555c5–556c12.

[428] Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 26, T 278.9.567c19–20. Although this quotation is a direct quotation from Zhiyan's *Dafangguang fo huayan jing souxuan fenqi tongzhi fanggui* 大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌 (*Souxuan ji* 搜玄記)1, T 1732.35.14b16–17, it is also cited in Fazang's *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi benqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 (*Wujiao zhang* 五教章) 1, T 1866.45.478b11–12, and Ŭisang's *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 一乘法界圖, HPC 2.8a7, as a reference to "preaching on the inexhaustible Buddhadharma" (*sŏl mujin pulpŏp*, Ch. *shuo wujin fofa* 說無盡佛法).

[429] With respect to the distinction of results (*kwabun*, Ch. *guofen* 果分), see the following note on the distinction of causes (*inbun*, Ch. *yinfen* 因分).

[430] With respect to the distinction of causes (*inbun*, Ch. *yinfen* 因分), "distinction" (*pun*, Ch. *fen* 分) means uniformity of distinctions (*punje*, Ch. *fenqi* 分齊). Causes (*in*, Ch. *yin* 因) suggests the sphere of causes. With respect to this, the sphere of results is called "distinction of results" (*kwabun*, Ch. *guofen* 果分). With respect to the world of true thusness (*chinyŏ*, Ch. *zhenru* 眞如), which is the

not know it, the Way of the dharma realm is seldom [understood properly]. If you speak of it purposefully, it may be summarized in three parts. If you are awakened and dispose of it, it is not the imitation of there being one, waxing or waning, self or other: to me it is non-action (*muwi*, Ch. *wuwei* 無爲). The quotation is as follows: "If the views of ordinary beings are broken, the dharma realm will be perfectly manifest and all living beings will without exception attain buddhahood."[431] How sincerely true are these words! How could they be false?

Therefore, since Master Qingliang lamented, "Associate and illuminate the thousand approaches [to dharma], interfuse and temper together the myriad things [in the world], the techniques for exhausting the dharma realm are merely the Great Flower Garland,"[432] the sublime resides in here. Nevertheless, although the text of this sūtra is for practice in this world, rare are those who are capable of thoroughly comprehending it. Long ago, our patriarch, the Reverend Dushun also lamented, "O how great is the sūtra on the dharma realm! If you are not [a bodhisattva who] ascends the [ten] stages, who is able to take upon himself its words and see its dharma?"[433]

---

content of the Buddha's enlightenment, if one is not someone who comprehends or awakens to the "fruit of Buddhahood" (*pulgwa*, Ch. *foguo* 佛果), that person is unable to know or understand it. The distinction of results cannot be explained to living beings (*kwabun pulgasŏl* 果分不可說). For the sake of living beings who are at the level of causes for becoming buddhas, the teachings are preached according to their individual fates, to the extent that they can understand (*inbun kasŏl* 因分可說). That which is explained in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* (*Shidi jing lun* 十地經論) is explained in the *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi benqi zhang* (*Wujiao zhang*) 4, T 1866.45.503a24–29.

431 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 16, T 1733.35.413c13–14.

432 The Yuan-dynasty monk Purui 普瑞 reported that this quote is from the funerary stele inscription for Chengguan, the "Miaojue taji" 妙覺塔記 [Pagoda record of sublime enlightenment], which was composed by the Tang official and Buddhist layman Pei Xiu 裵休 (797–870). Reportedly this is what Chengguan said when he sought out Great Master Wuming to study the Buddhadharma. See *Huayan xuantanhui xuanji* 華嚴玄談會玄記 1, X 8.93b10–12.

433 This quote comes from Pei Xiu's preface to Zongmi's *Zhu huayan fajie guanmen* 注華嚴法界觀門. The quote discussed in the previous note is also found in the preface; see "Zhu huayan fajie guanmen xumen" 注華嚴法界觀門序, T 1884.45.683b19–22.

Thereupon, he composed the "threefold ten approaches" of the *Approaches to Visualizing the Dharma Realm*[434] and the three "Songs on Whirling and Swirling."[435] He transmitted them to his eminent disciple the Reverend Zhiyan, and Zhiyan transmitted them to the State Preceptor Fazang. As they all spoke face-to-face when they were conferred by means of the mind, for three generations there was rising fragrance. Subsequently, all the masters of this one tradition without exception took the three visualizations as their mirror or paradigm when they composed their exegetical writings. Therefore,Shenxiu[436] of Jiaxiang

434 *Approaches to Visualizing the Dharma Realm* (*Fajie guanmen* 法界觀門), which is short for *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門 [Approaches to visualizing the dharma realm of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], clearly describes the three methods of visualizing the dharma realm of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*: (1) the visualization of true emptiness (*chin'gong kwan*, Ch. *zhenkong guan* 眞空觀), (2) the visualization of the unimpededness between principle and phenomena (*isa muae kwan* , Ch. *lishi wuai guan* 理事無碍觀), and (3) the visualization of universal containment (*chup'yŏn hamyong kwan* , Ch. *zhoubian hanrong guan* 周遍含容觀). Although it is traditionally attributed to Dushun, there is also the intellectual position that it is a extract summary of Fazang's *Fa puti xin zhang* 發菩提心章 [Composition on arousing the *bodhicitta*, T 1878]. It is also preserved in Chengguan's *Fajie xuanjing* 法界玄鏡 [Mysterious mirror of the dharma realm, T 1883] and Zongmi's *Zhu huayan fajie guanmen* 注華嚴法界觀門 [Annotation to the approaches to visualizing the dharma realm, T 1884].

435 "Songs on Whirling and Swirling" (*Sŏnbok song*, Ch. *Xuanfu song* 漩澓頌) are writings traditionally held to have been composed by Dushun 杜順, the first patriarch of the Huayan tradition. Although lost, there are portions cited in two books: the Song-dynasty monk Yanshou's 延壽 *Zhu xin fu* 注心賦 3, X 63.138b11–12, and the Jian Qianyi 錢謙益 of the Ming's *Bore xin jing lüeshu chao* 般若心經略疏鈔 1, X 26.763c1–3. Although the beginning parts of the two foregoing passages are similar, the endings are different. In a Kegon catalog compiled and preserved in Japan, a work with a similar title, *Huayan xuanfu zhang* 華嚴旋復章, is attributed to Huiyuan 慧苑; see *Kegonshū shōso hei inmyō roku* 華嚴宗章疏并因明錄, T 2174.55.1133b23.

436 Shenxiu 神秀 here is not the Shenxiu (606–706) of the Northern school (Pukchong, Ch. Beizong 北宗) of Chan 禪 Buddhism, but rather a patriarch of the Huayan tradition. See Kim Yŏngt'ae 金煐泰, "Kyunyŏ sŏ e poil Myori wŏnsŏng kwan ŭi chŏja: Pukchong Sinsu ka anida" 均如書에 보인 妙理圓成觀의 著者: 北宗神秀가 아니다 [The author of the *Miaoli yuancheng guan* appearing in the writings of Kyunyŏ: Is not Shenxiu of the Northern school], *Han'guk Pulgyohak* 韓國佛教學 11 (1986): 15–35. He was listed as the author of a *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏, in thirty rolls, and the *Miaoli yuancheng guan* 妙理圓成觀, in three rolls, in Ŭich'ŏn's *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 1, T 2184.55.1166a22, c20. If one adheres to the order used by Ŭich'ŏn as a guide,

Monastery[437] in Huiji cited the "Song of Whirling and Swirling" in his *Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, saying, "The Dhyāna Master Dushun says, 'Within one sphere is all wisdom; within all wisdom are all dharma realms.' This is verily the whirling and swirling of the great teaching [of the Huayan tradition]. Furthermore, the sublime principle behind the [*Record of*] *Exploring the Mysteries of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the ten approaches of Master Zhixiang 至相 [=Zhiyan] are all endowments stemming from that basis. Righteousness is not something that transcends by itself. I will now describe it all in order to clarify the meaning of the core teaching." <The foregoing are his words.>

Furthermore, State Preceptor Qingliang, in his *Mysterious Mirror of the Dharma Realm*,[438] deciphered the "visualization of universal containment,"

---

he probably lived in between Huiyuan 慧苑 and Chengguan. The *Miaoli yuancheng guan* was cited twice in the *Pŏpkye to ki ch'ongsurok* 法界圖記叢髓錄 [Comprehensive variorum on the *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm*, T 1887B] and once in the *Kwanŭm chisik p'um pyŏrhaeng so* 觀音知識品別行疏 (in HPC vol. 6). This attests to the probability that Shenxiu's Huayan doctrinal learning continued to be transmitted in the Hwaŏm intellectual field in Silla and Koryŏ times.

437 Jiaxiang Monastery 嘉祥寺 is a monastery that existed in Huiji 會稽, in Zhejiang Province 浙江省. During the Taiyuan reign period of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 of the Eastern Jin 東晉 (376–396), the commandery governor, Prince of Langye 瑯琊王 Huiyin 薈因, built the monastery because he esteemed Zhu Daoyi 竺道壹. Because Zhu Daoyi was thoroughly conversant in sūtras and scriptural material both inside and outside of Buddhism and because his practice of the vinaya was thoroughgoing, monks from all over relied on him, and he was called the chief monk of the nine provinces (*jiuzhou duweina* 九州都維那). During the Sui period, because Jizang 吉藏 (549–623) lectured on the sūtras there for eight years, the name of the monastery was famous throughout China insomuch that the eminent monk was called Jizang of Jiaxiang Monastery.

438 The *Mysterious Mirror of the Dharma Realm* (*Fajie xuanjing* 法界玄鏡, T 1883) is short for the *Huayan fajie xuanjing* 華嚴法界玄鏡 [Mysterious mirror of the dharma realm of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]. It is an annotated commentary by Chengguan on the *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門 [Approaches to visualizing the dharma realm of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], which is held to have been composed by Dushun, the founding patriarch of the Huayan tradition. It describes three methods of visualizing the dharma realm of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*: (1) the visualization of true emptiness (*chin'gong kwan*, Ch. *zhenkong guan* 眞空觀), (2) the visualization of the unimpededness between principle and phenomena (*isa muae kwan*, Ch. *lishi wuai guan* 理事無碍觀), and (3) the visualization of universal containment (*chup'yŏn hamyong kwan*, Ch. *zhoubian hanrong guan* 周遍含容觀). Zongmi's

proceeded to take command of the ten mysteries and pair them with and analyze them in terms of the ten approaches. His conclusion says, "Therefore, the ten mysteries emerge from these."[439] Conjecturing from this, I used to point out to my disciples the beginning and end of doctrinal teachings and visualization techniques saying: "Master Zhixiang obtained this and discoursed on this as the ten mysteries, and they were transformed into the five teachings." These words have not been fabricated.

For outstanding doctrinal students who are similarly intent upon the one vehicle, who practice together the myriad practices of the bodhisattva, whose great minds intent upon Buddhahood are undeviating, who have made extensive vows for themselves, who hold in the palms of their hands Samantabhadra's vehicle of expedient means, and who roam leisurely in the sphere of Vairocana, there is nothing better than initially to investigate the meaning of dharmas exhaustively by means of the three visualizations and the five teachings[440] and to use this as the eye for entering the Way to enlightenment.

Zhu huayan fajie guanmen 注華嚴法界觀門 [Annotation to the *Approaches to Visualizing the Dharma Realm*, T 1884] accedes to Chengguan's work. These two commentaries contributed greatly to the popularization of the *Huayan fajie guanmen*.

439 *Huayan fajien xuanjing* 2, T 1883.45.683a11–12.

440 The three visualizations and the five teachings (*samgwan ogyo*, Ch. *sanguan wujiao* 三觀五敎) are the specific contents of Ŭich'ŏn's primary intellectual thought on the dual cultivation of doctrinal learning and visualization practices (*kyogwan kyŏmsu* 敎觀兼修). The three visualizations refer to three kinds of visualization methods that are practiced in order to attest to the truth of the conditioned arising of the dharma realm (*pŏpkye samgwan*, Ch. *fajie sanguan* 法界三觀): (1) the visualization of true emptiness (*chin'gong kwan* 眞空觀), as something that falls under the dharma realm of principle (*i pŏpkye*, *li fajie* 理法界) within the four kinds of dharma realms, refers to distinguishing wrong passions and sentiments, returning to the universal nature of emptiness (*kongsŏng*, Ch. *kongxing* 空性), and manifesting the sublime essence of true emptiness; (2) the visualization of the unimpededness between principle and phenomena (*isa muae kwan* 理事無碍觀), as something that falls under the dharma realm of the unimpededness of principle and phenomena (*isa muae pŏpkye*, Ch. *lishi wuai fajie* 理事無礙法界), refers to visualizing dharmas of principle (*ibŏp* 理法) that are universally impossible to discriminate and dharmas of phenomena (*sabŏp* 事法) that are possible to discriminate with respect to everything in nature (*samna mansang* 森羅萬象) and their unimpeded harmony and their free and unrestricted nature; (3) and the visualization of universal containment (*chup'yŏn hamyong kwan* 周遍含容觀), as something

For good reason, apart from this universal dharma there is no other road by which you may attain buddhadhood. Hence, at the climax of the provisional teachings (*kwŏn'gyo* 權教) there are no realities. For this reason my patriarch used to say, "I recollect that even in the age of the True Dharma the clear light was still hidden. How fortunate it is that in this time of the semblance and final dharma you can still encounter this mysterious transformation."[441] He would go on to say, "Now we dwell at the end of the stūpa and monastery period[442] and are on the verge of the period of

---

that falls under the dharma realm of the unimpededness of all phenomena (*sasa muae pŏpkye*, Ch. *shishi wuai fajie* 事事無礙法界), refers to the single flavor of the universality of original nature of true thusness, visualizing the universal comprehension of the whole dharma realm in each and every characteristic of phenomena (*sasang* 事相), the mutual unimpededness and inexhaustibility (*chungjung mujin* 重重無盡) of the one (*il* 一) and all (*ta* 多). The five teachings refer to the Huayan theory on doctrinal classification formulated by Fazang 法藏 (643–712): Hīnayāna (*sosŭng* 小乘), the initial teaching of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng sigyo* 大乘始教), the final teaching of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng chonggyo* 大乘終教), the sudden teaching (*ton'gyo* 頓教), and the perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo* 圓教). Ŭich'ŏn emphasized and insisted on the dual cultivation of these doctrines and visualizations.

441 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 1, T 1735.35.503b13–15.

442 The stūpa and monastery period (*t'apsa kyŏn'go*, Ch. *tasi jiangu* 塔寺堅固) is one of the five-hundred-year periods or literally "block" phases (*kyŏn'go*, Ch. *jiangu* 堅固) of the Buddhadharma; it is also called the period of constructing monasteries (*chosa kyŏn'go*, Ch. *zaosi jiangu* 造寺堅固). These five-hundred-year periods manifest the trends in the rise and fall of the Buddhadharma in five-hundred-year blocks for 2,500 years after the passing of the Buddha into quiescence. The first five-hundred-year block is the period of liberation (*haet'al kyŏn'go*, Ch. *jietuo jiangu* 解脫堅固) or the period of learning wisdom (*hakhye kyŏn'go*, Ch. *xuehui jiangu* 學慧堅固). This is the period in which those who obtained liberation and awakened to the Way to enlightenment by means of wisdom were many. The second five-hundred-year block is the period of meditative trance (*sŏnjŏng kyŏn'go*, Ch. *chanding jiangu* 禪定堅固). This is the period in which those who obtain meditative trance are many. The third five-hundred-year block is the period of many disciples (*tamun kyŏn'go*, Ch. *duowen jiangu* 多聞堅固). This is the period in which those who diligently listen to the Buddha's approaches to dharma are many. The fourth five-hundred-year block is the period of constructing monasteries (*chosa kyŏn'go*, Ch. *zaosi jiangu* 造寺堅固). This is the period in which those who diligently establish monasteries are many. The fifth five-hundred-year block is the period contention (*t'ujaeng kyŏn'go*, Ch. *douzheng jiangu* 鬪諍堅固). This is the period in which an atmosphere of disputation will prevail. People will contend with each other, holding to the position that their own views are correct and those of others are wrong. The first and second periods of liberation and meditative trance are known collectively as the age of the True

contention.[443] Even if you were to repeatedly hear sūtras that are difficult to conceptualize and although you may smash your body, you would not be able to repay your good fortune.[444] It is comparable to coming across a boat when you are drowning in the vast sea, or riding a numinous crane when you are falling through the vastness of space. How can my frame bounding with euphoria ever reach this level of rapture? Only the saints and the worthies can know how much I am moved and ecstatic."[445]

Alas, although it was still in the stūpa and monastery period of the semblance dharma age when this patriarch lived, he still uttered such earnest exclamations as these. Moreover, now in this world of impurities,[446] which

---

Dharma (*chŏngbŏp*, Ch. *zhengfa* 正法; Skt. *saddharma*). The third and fourth periods of many disciples and constructing monasteries are known collectively as the age of the semblance dharma (*sangbŏp*, Ch. *xiangfa* 像法). Although many will practice, few will show evidence of their attainment of the Way to enlightenment. The fifth period of contention is also known as the age of the final dharma (*malpŏp*, Ch. *mofa* 末法) or decline of the Buddhadharma because it will be characterized by disputes and contentions, and few will practice or attest to the fruits of the Way to enlightenment.

443 The period of contention (*t'ujaeng kyŏn'go*, Ch. *douzheng jiangu* 鬪諍堅固); see the previous note on the stūpa and monastery period.

444 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 2, T 1736.36.14a15–17.

445 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 2, T 1736.36.14b7–9.

446 The world of impurities (*t'akse*, Ch. *zhuoshi*濁世) is an abbreviated form of the phrase "evil world of the five impurities" (*ot'ak akse*, Ch. *wuzhuo eshi* 五濁惡世), which refers to the evils that fill the mundane world. The five impurities are (1) the impurity of life span (*sut'ak*, Ch. *shouzhuo* 壽濁, *myŏngt'ak*, Ch. *mingzhuo* 命濁; Skt. *āyu-kaṣāya*), because life spans are cut short; (2) the impurity of kalpas (*kŏpt'ak*, Ch. *jiezhuo* 劫濁; Skt. *kalpa-kaṣāya*), because calamities arise during the period of the decline of the kalpa (*kamgŏp* 減劫) and living beings are suffer injuries and harm; (3) the impurity of defilements (*pŏnnoet'ak*, Ch. *fannaozhuo* 煩惱濁; Skt. *kleśa-kaṣāya*), because appetites and passions abound and therefore people accept unwholesome and heterodox dharmas and confuse their minds and bodies; (4) the impurity of views (*kyŏnt'ak*, Ch. *jianzhuo* 見濁; Skt. *dṛṣṭi-kaṣāya*), because people's personal opinions abound and therefore they do not practice the Way to wholesomeness; and (5) the impurity of those with feelings or living beings (*yuch'ŏngta'k*, Ch. *youqingzhuo* 有情濁, or *chungsaengt'ak*, Ch. *zhongshengzhuo* 衆生濁; Skt. *sattva-kaṣāya*), because there is much corruption and depravity and therefore people do not show filial piety and respect, they are not afraid of the recompense of their deeds, "fruition rewards" (*kwabo* 果報) and do not observe the prohibitions and precepts (*kŭmgye* 禁戒, vis. vinaya). *Apidamo jushelun* (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*) 12, T 1558.29.64a21–22.

is right in the middle of the time of contention in the age of the decline of the final dharma, how is it that one is able to hear the perfect and sudden teachings and not be moved to despair? Nevertheless, we gradually become ever more removed from the saints; and in addition, we are in the remote borderlands of Buddhism. Our generation preserves little of the orthodox Way to enlightenment, and those who learn follow the heterodox. After all, our religion seems about to expire. I constantly regret that, among the extant records that have been circulated concerning all the masters of the previous generations in Haedong (Korea), their learning is neither detailed nor extensive, and their speculative theories are particularly numerous. Not one book in a hundred is an appropriate guide for future students with inferior spiritual capacities. Because they do not use the holy teaching as a bright mirror to reflect and observe the student's own mind, they would spend their whole life on trifling matters merely counting on the treasures of others. This is what the world means by the unsound writings of such masters as Kyunyŏ 均如, Pŏmun 梵雲, Chinp'a 眞派, and Yŏngyun 靈潤. Their language is uncultured and their meaning lacks versatility. They make a desolate waste of the Way of the patriarchs: for bedazzling and seducing future generations there are no writings worse than these.[447]

Although I am insignificant and simpleminded, my sincere determination is to expose them through my words. Moreover, when I was young I studied the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and thoroughly examined Sudhana's determination to search for the Dharma! Mañjuśrī instructed him: "O son of a good family, draw near to and make offerings to all spiritual mentors. This is the first causal condition for being endowed with all knowledge.[448] For this reason, do not become

447 In this passage Ŭich'ŏn criticizes the Hwaŏm thought of Kyunyŏ, who lived in the early Koryŏ period. Ŭich'ŏn's thought became the foundation of a new trend centered on Chengguan's Huayan thought. Ŭich'ŏn clearly indicates the problematic points he sees in Kyunyŏ's Hwaŏm thought.

448 All knowledge (*ilch'e chi,* Ch. *yiqie zhi* 一切智; Skt. *sarvajna*) refers to the wisdom of knowing all characteristics of dharmas. It is the wisdom of summarily knowing all things with regard to existence: all world systems, all living beings, saṃsāra (*yuwi* 有爲) and nirvāṇa (*muwi* 無爲), the distinction of causes and effects, the three realms of the past, present, and future, all things.

lax or become weary in this endeavor."[449] The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* also says:

If all the bodhisattvas
Do not become weary in the sufferings of life and death,
Then they will complete the Way of Samantabhadra
And nothing will be able to destroy them.[450]

Furthermore, Guishan[451] said: "Those seeking the Way to enlightenment must nurture the eye of wisdom (dharma eye). The eye of wisdom cannot open by itself. You must seek a master in order to scratch open its lid."[452] Whenever I reached this passage, I would close the volume and utter a long sigh, and think to myself: "The doctrinal teachings established by the saints esteemed the development of practice. It should not merely be proclaimed by the mouth, but should, in fact, we practiced by the body. How can practice be considered something as useless as a bitter gourd that is hung to one side and never consumed?"[453] Forgetting my body, I inquired after the Way to enlightenment and set my determination in this endeavor. Fortunately, because of past causes, I successively met and practiced with spiritual mentors and, thereupon, I received basic instruction in the doctrinal teachings and visualization techniques from the lectures of the Dharma Master Jinshui. In

449 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 62, T 279.10.333c1–2.

450 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 62, T 279.10.333c14–15.

451 Guishan 圭山 (Kor. Kyusan) is Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), the fifth patriarch of the Chinese Huayan tradition. A native of Guazhou 果州 in Sichuan Province 四川省, Zongmi's secular surname was He 何. He is also called Chan Master Guifeng 圭峰禪師 and Great Master Guishan圭山大師. This designation derives from his residing at the Guifeng Araṇya [Hermitage] 圭峰蘭若 on the southern side of Caotang Monastery 草堂寺 on Mt. Zhongnan 終南山 in Shanxi Province.

452 This passage is from Pei Xiu's preface to Zongmi's *Zhu huayan fajie guangmen,* see "Zhu huayan fajie guanmen xu," T 1884.45.683b7.

453 The "gourd that is hung" (*p'ogye* 匏繫) is a metaphor for a worthless or valueless person or thing. This is an allusion to *Lunyu* 17.7; Confucius, *Analects,* 144. (I would like to thank Robert Buswell for this citation; see Lee, *Sourcebook*, 682, n. 13.)

[that master's] spare time from lectures and lessons he used to instruct [his disciples]: Although one who does not learn visualization techniques and only teaches the sūtras might hear of the five pervasive causes and effects,[454] he does not thoroughly comprehend the three levels of the virtues of the nature.[455]

---

454 The five pervasive causes and effects (*oju in'gwa*, Ch. *wuzhou yinguo* 五周因果) is a hermeneutical device for explication and illumination of all the doctrinal principles of the eighty-roll edition of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in five issues described in Chengguan's *Huayan jing shu* (T 1735). The five pervasive causes and effects are as follows: (1) The causes and effects of one's belief (*sosin in'gwa*, Ch. *suoxin yinguo* 所信因果), or producing belief, refer to the dharma approaches of fruition rewards of the Tathāgata described in the first assembly, the Enlightenment Site of Bodhi; the six chapters covering rolls one through eleven of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (T 279), the dharma approach that elucidates the fundamental causes of buddhahood and the fruits and virtues of the Buddha Vairocana and encourages people to produce a believing mind or aspiration of faith (*sinsim*, Ch. *xinxin* 信心) and to accept it joyfully. It prompts people to believe in the fundamental cause of Buddhahood. (2) The causes and effects of differentiation (*ch'abyŏl in'gwa*, Ch. *chabie yinguo* 差別因果), which distinguishes cause from fruition, allowing the aspirant to understand the law of cause and effect, refer to the teachings described in the second through seventh assemblies; the twenty-nine chapters covering rolls twelve through forty-eight, or a description of the fifty-one stages of the ten faiths, the ten abodes, the ten practices, the ten transferences, and equal enlightenment, which clearly distinguish between causes and results. (3) The causes and results of universality or equanimity (*p'yŏngdŭng in'gwa*, Ch. *pingdeng yinguo* 平等因果), in which the aspirant looks equally upon cause and effect, refers to the teaching described in the seventh assembly, the two chapters covering rolls forty-nine through fifty-two, the dharma approach elucidating the indivisibility or nonduality of the universal causes of Samantabhadra and the universal results of Vairocana. (4) The causes and results of the completion of practices (*sŏnghaeng in'gwa*, Ch. *chengxing yinguo* 成行因果), or the completion of spiritual practice, refers to the teaching described in the eighth assembly, the one chapter covering rolls fifty-three through fifty-nine, the dharma approach that displays the reward of becoming a buddha by means of the eight aspects of a buddha's life (*p'alsang* 八相) and five levels of causes. (5) The causes and effects of attesting to penetration or acces to realization (*chŭngip in'gwa*, Ch. *zhengru yinguo* 證入因果), in which the aspirant has simultaneous insight into both cause and effect, refers to the teaching described in the ninth assembly, the one chapter covering rolls sixty through eighty, the dharma approach describing the causes and effects of manifesting the great functioning of the fruit of buddhahood and the causes for cultivating bodhisattvahood along with attesting to their interpenetration. See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 3, T 1735.35.522b9–12; and roll 4, T 1735.35.527b21–c2. (I would like to thank Robert Buswell for assistance in developing this note; see Lee, *Sourcebook*, 682, n. 14.)

455 Three levels of the virtues of the nature (*samjung sŏngdŏk* 三重性德) refer to the threefold approaches to visualization (*samjung kwanmun* 三重觀門), the three visualizations of the dharma

Although one who does not learn the sūtras and merely learns visualization techniques might awaken to the three levels of the virtues of the nature, he cannot differentiate between the five pervasive causes and effects. Now, this being the case, visualization cannot but be learned and the sūtras cannot but be learned.

The reason that my mind is consumed by both doctrinal practices and visualization techniques is that I have my deep commitment to these words. Hence, Qingliang said, "If you do not mirror the square inch [of mind], you vainly turn your back on the numinousness of the nature"[456]— which is the same idea. You should know that although one who transmits the Avataṃsaka-sūtra but who does not learn approaches to visualization might be called a "master lecturer," I am not convinced by it.

Recently, while travelling among the hundred cities [of China], I fulfilled my previous determination [to search for the Dharma, and now] I sit and immerse myself in an assortment of books right at this time. I observed those doctrinal students of the present generation who study all day long and do not know why—and such students are many: some are lost in prejudiced heterodoxies, others are lost in pursuit of fame and fortune; some are prideful, others are lazy. Because some were of two minds about their study,[457] even by the end of their lives they will be unable to enter the Way to enlightenment.

示新衆學徒緇秀

經云, "若有無上心, 決定樂大事, 爲示於佛身, 設無盡佛法." 無盡佛法是何? 卽是

---

realm, the visualization methods that actually are put into practice in the Hwaŏm/Huayan tradition: (1) the visualization of true emptiness (*chin'gong kwan* 眞空觀), (2) the visualization of the unimpededness between principle and phenomena (*isa muae kwan* 理事無碍觀), (3) and the visualization of universal containment (*chup'yŏn hamyong kwan* 周遍含容觀).

456 *Huayan fajie xuanjing* 2, T 1883.45.683a21.

457 Cf. *Daode jing* 41:90: "When the best student hears about the way he practices it assiduously; when the average students hears about the way it seems to him one moment there and gone the next; when the worst student hears about the way he laughs out loud. If he did not laugh it would be unworthy of being the way." See Lau Tzu, *Tao Te Ching*, 102. (I would like to thank Robert Buswell for this allusion, see Lee, *Sourcebook*, 682, n. 15.)

法界法門. 良以此法, 在衆生爲萬惑, 在菩薩爲萬行, 在如來爲萬德. 故使毗盧得之, 謂之果分, 普賢得之, 謂之因分. 衆生日用而不知, 故法界之道鮮矣. 皆强而言之, 其略爲三. 若悟而遣之, 未始有一, 虧盈自彼, 於我無爲. 所謂“情見苦破, 法界圓現, 一切衆生無不成佛” 者, 誠哉, 是言! 豈徒然也? 所以清凉嘆曰,“交映千門, 融冶萬有, 盡法界術, 唯大花嚴,” 妙在玆焉. 然此經文, 雖行於世, 罕能通之. 在昔吾祖杜順尊者, 嘆曰,“大哉, 法界之經也! 自非登地, 何能披其文, 見其法哉?” 於是著法界觀三重三十門, 并漩澓頌三首, 傳于高弟儼尊者, 儼傳藏國師, 皆面言心授, 三葉騰芳. 厥後一宗諸師, 凡有著撰, 未嘗不以三觀爲龜鏡. 故會稽嘉祥寺神秀法師, 花嚴疏中, 引漩澓頌云,“順禪師曰,‘於一境中一切智, 一切智中諸法界.’ 斯乃大教之漩澓也. 且如探玄妙賾, 至相十門, 皆禀有所從, 義非孤超, 今具述之, 以明宗意也.”<已上彼文> 又清凉國師玄鏡中, 解周遍含容觀, 却將十玄, 配釋十門, 其後結云,“是故十玄, 亦自此出.” 以此而推, 予嘗謂學徒, 示教觀本末云,“至相得之, 演之爲十玄, 變之爲五教.” 其言不誣也. 其有義學君子, 同志一乘, 同修萬行, 大心不變, 弘誓在躬, 掌握普賢之乘, 優遊盧舍之境者, 莫若先以三觀五教, 硏窮法義, 用爲入道之眼目也. 良由離此普法, 更無異路得成佛, 故權教極果, 無實事. 故吾祖嘗有言曰,“顧惟正法之代, 尙匿清光, 幸哉像季之時, 遇斯玄化.” 乃至云,“今居塔寺之末, 將隣鬪諍之時, 翻聞難思之經, 碎身莫酬其慶. 猶溺巨海而遇方舟, 墜長空而乘靈鶴, 慶躍之至手舞何階, 感之慶之, 唯聖賢之知我也.”

噫, 祖師之世, 猶在像法塔寺之中, 而亦發嘆若斯之切, 況今濁世, 正在末法鬪諍之時, 而有得聞圓頓教者, 豈不感傷哉? 然爲去聖漸遙, 加之邊地, 世寡正道, 學則隨邪, 遂使吾道, 或幾乎息矣. 予常恨海東先代諸師, 所流遺記, 學非精博, 臆說尤多, 方軌來蒙, 百無一本, 不能以聖教爲明鏡, 炤見自心, 一生區區, 但數他寶. 世所謂均如梵雲眞派靈潤諸師謬書, 語不成文, 義無通變, 荒蕪祖道, 熒惑後生者, 莫甚於斯矣. 予雖末陋, 辭而闢之, 實有志焉, 況吾幼學大經, 備見善財求法之志! 而文殊教示曰,“善男子, 親近供養諸善知識, 是具一切智最初因緣, 是故於此, 勿生疲厭.” 又云,“若有諸菩薩, 不厭生死苦, 則具普賢道, 一切無能壞.” 又圭山云,“夫求道者, 必資於慧目. 慧目不能自開, 必求師以抉其膜也.” 每至斯文, 掩卷長嘆. 竊謂聖人設教, 貴在起行, 非但宣之於口, 實欲行之於身, 豈可以匏繫一方, 無用於義? 亡軀問道, 立志於斯, 幸以宿因, 歷叅知識, 而於晋水大法師講下, 粗承教觀. 講訓之暇, 嘗示誨曰,“不學觀唯授經, 雖聞五周因果, 而不達三重性德, 不授經唯學觀, 雖悟三重性德, 則不辨五周因果. 夫然則觀不得不學, 經不得不授也.” 吾之所以盡心於教觀者, 佩服斯言故也. 故清凉云,“不鏡方寸, 虛負性

靈”者, 亦斯意也. 是知傳大經而不學觀門者, 雖曰講主, 吾不信也. 今者行詣百城, 已酬曩志, 坐探群藉, 正在此時. 吾觀世之義學之流, 終日學而不知所以學者多矣. 或失於偏邪, 或失於聲利, 或慢或怠, 若存若亡, 故終其身, 而不能入其道.

33. Instruction to the New Disciple Chiung (*Si sinch'am hakto Chiung* 示新參學徒智雄)[458]

Now, the Way of masters and disciples is a great causal connection. For this reason the *Excerpts of Nanshan*[459] says: "The augmentation and expansion of the Buddhadharma is truly because of the mutual cooperation of masters and disciples."[460] If we liken it to the slow death of the mysterious teaching and the stifling of the wind of wisdom, it is because masters lack the mind to lead and guide and disciples are deficient in the determination to receive and practice. If both forsake each other and fall in with absurd company in dirty spheres, no matter how much they desire to glorify the Way to enlightenment how would it be possible?

Excerpts on Arousing the Truth[461] says: "After leaving home to become

458 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 16, HPC 4.556c14–557a23.

459 The *Excerpts of Nanshan* (*Nanshan chao* 南山鈔) refers to Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) *Sifenlü shanfanbu quexingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (T 1804), in twelve rolls, also known as the *Sifenlü chao* 四分律鈔 [Notes on the *Four-part Vinaya*] of the Nanshan school. This text, which is the basic text of the Vinaya school and the most important explication of the *Sifenlü* [Four-part vinaya] is divided into thirty sections and provides explanatory supplements to extracts from the vinaya text. It discourses on important passages and takes into consideration the theories of several vinaya masters. It also provides a detailed description of actual procedures for practicing the vinaya. It exerted a great influence on monastic cultural practices and rituals observances.

460 *Sifenlü shanfanbu quexingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 1, T 1804.40.30c21.

461 *Excerpts on Arousing the Truth* (*Fazhen chao* 發眞鈔), short for *Jingxin jieguanfa zhenchao* 淨心誡觀發真鈔, is an annotated commentary composed by the Song-dynasty monk Yunkan 允堪 (1005–1061) on the Tang-dynasty monk Daoxuan's *Jingxin jieguanfa* 淨心誡觀法 [Methods for visualization and admonishing the pure mind, T 1893]. Yunkan was a famous vinaya monk during the Song period who was thoroughly knowledgeable in Buddhist and non-Buddhist literature. He learned the approach to

monks, the inferior rely on the superior; ordinary people rely on the saints, and by so doing they attain Buddhahood. This is exactly what is meant by the expression "There are no masters."[462] Furthermore, the *Record of Strokes and Shavings*[463] says: "Spiritual mentors and practitioners meeting each other face-to-face is really difficult. Although one may have aroused the mind, he may not ever encounter a true spiritual mentor. Although there may be a true spiritual mentor, he may never meet someone who has aroused the mind. Stimulus and response with respect to encountering the Way to enlightenment is in fact not easy."[464] If we observe it from this perspective, from the standpoint of those who possess the Way to enlightenment, distinguishing delusion is what is difficult in the world. Some, although they live at the same time, do not become close to each other; and others, although they live in different ages, do not come into contact with each other. The past and the present distinctly and clearly exist. So by oneself one would absolutely never realize one's attainment of bodhi (enlightenment) and vow to transcend life and death (saṃsāra). Thoroughly comprehending the Way to enlightenment that is vast

---

the vinaya of the Nanshan school from Renhe 仁和, and awakened to its deep meaning. He established precepts platforms and promoted the Nanshan Vinaya school at Dazhaoqing Monastery 大昭慶寺 in Hangzhou, Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺 in Suzhou 蘇州, Jingyan Monastery 精嚴寺 in Xiuzhou 秀州, and so forth. Yunkan wrote a commentaries on ten works of Daoxuan, so he was called master of ten commentaries (*shibenji zhu* 十本記主). Because his views are different from those of Vinaya Master Yuanzhao 元照 of Lingzhi Monastery's 靈芝寺 *Sifenlü xingshi chao zichi ji* 四分律行事鈔資持記 with respect to whether one should circumambulate to the right or the left when worshipping an image of the Buddha and the length of monastic robes, a mong other topics, scholars differentiate between them by calling Yunkan the Huizheng school 會正宗 and Yuanzhao the Zichi school 資持宗.

462 *Jingxin jieguanfa zhenchao* 淨心誡觀發真鈔 2, X 59.578a17–18.

463 The *Record of Strokes and Shavings* (*Pixue ji* 筆削記) is short for *Dasheng qixin lun pixue ji* 大乘起信論筆削記 [Record of strokes and shavings on the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*, T 1848], which was composed by the Song-dynasty Huayan monk Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 (964–1038). The work is a detailed explanation of Zongmi's *Qixin lun zhushu* 起信論注疏 [Annontated commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*]. It was criticized in later times because it allotted the *Qixin lun* to the single vehicle of the perfect teaching (*yuanjiao yisheng* 圓教一乘) in the five teachings, giving the same interpretation as the perfect teaching of Tiantai (Kor. Ch'ŏnt'ae).

464 *Dasheng qixin lun pixue ji* 大乘起信論筆削記 14, T 1848.44.371a15–17.

and extensive, cherishing in one's heart a determination that is great and far-reaching, being able to take the doctrinal teachings and visualization techniques and make them your own responsibility, and in the end recompensing the favor and virtue of the buddhas and patriarchs, will such a one hold to and be able to bear a book chest and lateral sūtras, forget the distance, and seek for benefits?

Nevertheless, nowadays it is, after the passing of the Tathāgata, the latter five hundred years: the final age of the decline of the Dharma, a time when people are impure and confused. Although those who study generally are a crowd, those who hold fast to their determination are few. It is not that they do not begin [well]; it is just that few are those who end well. For this reason, the *Methods for Visualization and Admonishing the Pure Mind*[465] says: "Now is the time of the final dharma, when the minds of living beings are barren. People turn their backs to favor and cut off the principles of righteousness. They take pleasure in loneliness, solitude, and leisure. They have suited their feelings to self-existence, and they fear not being as good as the Dharma and falling into the unwholesome paths to rebirth."[466] As Guifeng says, "The difficulty in entering the gate to Buddhahood arises because of the fault of pursuing wrong views."[467] This is what he says.

You doctrinal scholars who solely focus on your sincerity to seek the Dharma have come forthwith from faraway; although I do not seem to, do I not also take pleasure in it?[468] Perhaps some will cultivate together the myriad practices [of the bodhisattvas] and share the determination [to attain] the one vehicle. If you ramble about in the approach to the dharma

---

465 *Methods for Visualization and Admonishing the Pure Mind* (*Jingxin jieguanfa* 淨心誡觀法, T 1893), in two rolls, as the way Daoxuan instructed and edified his disciples to practice by themselves, was a book divided into thirty sections (*pian* 篇), the contents of which explain how to purify the mind, leave behind mistakes and errors, and visualize the truth.

466 *Jingxin jieguanfa* 淨心誡觀法 2, T 1893.45.833b20–22.

467 This passage is from Zongmi's preface to Pei Xiu's *Jin quan sengsu fa puti xin wen* 晉勸僧俗發菩提心文; see "Guan fa puti xin wen xu" 勸僧俗發菩提心文序, X 58.485c12.

468 This passage is a paraphrase of the famous opening statement by Confucius recorded in the *Analects*: "Is is not a joy to have friends come from afar?" See *Lunyu* 1.1; Confucius, *Analects*, 59.

realm and wander freely in the regions of non-action, then whenever you are reborn you will always make good friends, and wherever you are you will mutually be spiritual mentors. If you follow my words and harmonize your minds together with mine, you will always be training in Samantabhadra's practices, you will always open the sūtras of the perfect and sudden [teaching], each and every particle of dust will be a dharma approach for entering into the realm of liberation, and each and every passage of scripture will be an ocean of the nature for understanding Vairocana. Broadly ferrying the ferry that is not ferried, in the end you attain the attainment that is not attained. There you practice in this way and teach others in the same way, and you will vow with all living beings to ascend together to the unsurpassed sublime enlightenment:[469] this is what you vow.

示新叅學徒智雄

夫師資之道, 是大因緣. 所以南山钞云, "佛法增益廣大, 寔由師資相攝." 比玄教凌遲, 慧風掩扇, 并由師無率誘之心, 資闕奉行之志. 二彼相捨, 妄流鄙境, 欲令光道, 其可得乎? 發眞钞云, "出家之後, 劣依於優, 凡依於聖, 乃至成佛, 方曰無師." 又筆削記云, "善友與行人, 相値誠難. 有發心者, 不遇眞善知識, 有眞善知識, 不見發心之人, 感應道交, 實爲不易." 以此觀之, 就有道以辨惑, 世所難也. 或同時而不相親, 或異代而不相接, 今之與古, 歷歷而有, 自非決證菩提, 誓超生死. 達恢廓之道, 懷遠大之志, 能以教觀爲己任, 終報佛祖之恩德者, 其孰能負笈横經, 忘遐求益者哉? 然今如來沒後, 後五百歲, 法衰末世, 人濁亂時. 泛學者衆, 秉志者小, 靡不有初, 鮮克有終. 故淨心誡觀云, "今時末法, 衆生心薄, 背恩絶義, 樂獨幽閑, 適情自在, 恐不如法, 墮於惡道." 圭峯所謂, "佛門難入, 失在偏

469 Sublime or profound enlightenment (*myogak*, Ch. *miaojue* 妙覺, or *myogakcha musangji*, Ch. *miaojuezhe wushangdi* 妙覺者無上地) is the highest and last of the fifty-two stages of the Hwaŏm path, and the final stage of the forty-one-stage path of bodhisattva practice. In this stage, by severing the one final bit of ignorance (*mumyŏng*, Ch. *wuming* 無明) from the fifty-first stage of equal enlightenment (*tŭnggak*, Ch. *dengjue* 等覺), the practitioner severs all defilements, and is endowed with all wisdom and all the wondrous characteristics of a buddha. It is another name for the inconceivable and incomprehensible unsurpassed enlightenment (*musang chŏnggak*, Ch. *wushang zhengjue* 無上正覺) of the Buddha, the fruit of Buddhahood, the buddhafruit of perfect ultimate reality. See *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經1, T 1485.24.1010b26–27, 1011b8–24.

邪" 者, 此之謂也. 汝曹義學, 求法誠專, 自遠方來, 吾雖無似, 不亦樂乎? 脫或同修萬行, 同志一乘, 逍遙法界之門, 放曠無爲之域, 則生生常作良朋, 處處互爲善友. 我語汝之相從, 汝心我之同契, 常習普賢之行, 常披圓頓之經, 塵塵入解脫法門, 句句了遮那性海. 廣度無度之度, 終成無成之成, 自力如是, 敎他亦然, 誓與一切含生, 咸登無上妙覺, 是所願也.

34. Instruction to the New Disciple Hyesu (*Si sinch'am hakto Hyesu* 示新參學徒慧修)[470]

Now, a scholar who has left home to become a monk cherishes that which is far-reaching and great in his mind. He makes benefiting things in the world of foremost importance. He guides and edifies the capacities of flocks of beings, and in fact his responsibilities are heavy. Some are embraced by all manner of expedient means, and others are instructed by means of the universal equality of the one taste. Some strive by means of rising from or sinking into suffering and pleasure. Others lead by means of cause and effect and response rewards. On the exterior then they go through myriad transformations according to their capacities, and on the interior then they return together to the dharma realm. Nevertheless, with respect to the dharma realm's becoming the Way to enlightenment, it is great and spacious and fully prepared [with all needful things]. Although it thoroughly exposes principle and exhausts phenomena, it is impossible to conceive and conceptualize.

Although I am not clever, fortunately I was able to receive transmission in the Dharma and was caused to understand a bit of its general outline under the direction of Master Jinshui[471] and Master Jueyuan.[472] There has not been

---

470 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 16, HPC 4.557b1–15.

471 Jinshui 晉水 refers to the eminent monk Jingyuan of the Song dynasty under whom Ŭich'ŏn studied Huayan.

472 Jueyan 覺嚴 here refers either to the name of a monastery in Luoyang or to Youcheng 有誠, who was the chief monk there. When Ŭich'ŏn went to Song China, he wrote a memorial to the Song emperor informing him that he wanted to study Huayan Buddhism. He requested that a

anything in my whole life greater than my encounter with those men. O you doctrinal students, or those who have entrusted your bodies to the Way to enlightenment, if in the end you engage this great enterprise then how could I dare refuse and avoid you? Nevertheless, this Way of the perfect and sudden one vehicle is a sphere (condition?) that should be known by all practitioners. If you do not learn it and [instead] waste your whole life in vain pursuits, you would return empty-handed from a mountain of treasures and never quench your regret. If, however, you dive into and concentrate your energies on the doctrinal teachings and visualization techniques and are careful that your ending is just like your beginning, then will the Way to enlightenment be far away? If you desire humaneness, then humaneness will be acquired![473]

示新叅學徒慧修
夫出家之士, 心懷遠大, 利物爲先, 誘化群機, 實爲任重. 或攝之以種種方便, 或示之以一味平等, 或勉之以苦樂昇沈, 或導之以因果報應, 外則隨機萬變, 內則法界同歸. 然法界之爲道也, 廣大悉備, 窮理盡事, 不可得而思議矣. 予雖不敏, 幸於晋水覺嚴門下, 得蒙傳授, 微領大綱, 平生所遇, 更無過此. 汝等義學, 其或以身許道, 終期大事, 則吾豈敢辭避也? 然此圓頓一乘之道, 盡是行人所應知境. 如其不學, 虛度一生, 空返寶山, 未足爲痛. 若也潛神敎觀, 愼終如始, 則道遠乎哉? 欲仁, 仁至矣.

35. Instruction to the New Disciple Tŏkch'ing (*Si sinch'am hakto Tŏkch'ing* 示新參學徒德稱)[474]

---

commissioner of merit and virtue (*gongdeshi* 功德使), a supervisor in the Two Streets (*liangjie* 兩街, a euphemism for the Central Buddhist Registry [*senglusi* 僧錄司]) recommend someone who could transmit the Dharma to him. He was recommended Dharma Master Youcheng of Jueyansi, who was highly rated among students and who had been lecturing on the Huayan for a long time. Youcheng in turn recommended Jingyuan of Huiyinsi in Hangzhou to him in his place. Thereupon, by imperial order, Yang Jie 楊傑 accompanied Ŭich'ŏn to Huiyinsi and received the Dharma with him. See *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 14, T 2035.49.223b28–c5.

473 *Lunyu* 7.30; Confucius, *Analects*, 90.

474 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 16, HPC 4.557b16–c6.

Now, the Way of masters and disciples is in fact not easy. Do you know it? I will try you with the words of it.

He who becomes a master obtains the Way to enlightenment and is placed in his position. He is true and not presumptuous. He who loses the Way to enlightenment and steals its name is presumptuous and not true. He who becomes a disciple receives his admonitions and practices his works. He is righteous and does not flatter. He who snatches up the dharma and turns his back to the favor he has received is a flatterer and is not righteous.

Presumption and flattery are a disgrace to the true gentleman. If I were to guide you by means of presumption I would be deceiving you. If you were to seek me by means of flattery you would be deceiving me. People of the world only recognize the names of master and disciple and more often than not do not know the truth about master and disciples. In truth, if some masters and disciples do not take the Way to enlightenment, then the teachings of the buddhas and patriarchs will be practiced relying on what? And those who become masters in later times will establish their [their positions] following what? The Way to enlightenment's not being practiced is particularly the cause of this. Oh-oh, whether I or you are presumptuous or are flatterers, we must all wait for it to be settled by a group of people. You will discern it.

示新叅學徒德稱

夫師資之道, 實爲不易, 汝知之乎? 甞試言之. 其爲師也, 得其道而處其位, 實而非濫也, 失其道而竊其名, 濫而非實也. 其爲資也, 禀其訓而行其事, 義而非諂也, 取其法而背其恩, 諂而非義也. 濫而又諂, 君子恥之, 吾若誘汝以濫, 則吾誑汝也, 汝若求吾以諂, 則汝誑吾也. 世人但識師資之名, 而不知師資之實者, 往往有之. 苟或師資, 不以其道, 則佛祖之敎, 依何而行, 後之爲師者, 從何而立? 道之不行, 職由斯也. 嗚呼, 吾也汝也, 濫乎諂乎, 盡俟衆人訂之, 汝其識之.

36. Worshipping at the Portrait of State Preceptor Hyeso[475] at Ch'ilchang Monastery[476]

The meritorious karma of the approach of emptiness [Mahāyāna Buddhism] allows who to be the same?
Tucking up one's clothes to receive the king
He tasted the breeze of the Way to enlightenment.
Since works and people are to blame
Why should one lament?
Since a steward official composed the stele [inscription]
Its luster will be inexhaustible.
<The steward minister Master Kim Hyŏn 金現 wrote the stele inscription and the steward minister Ch'oe Yusŏn 崔惟善 composed the eulogy for his portrait.>

475 State Preceptor Hyeso 慧炤 is the posthumous title and rank of the eminent monk Chŏnghyŏn 鼎賢 (972–1054), a state preceptor of the Yogācāra tradition (Yugajong 瑜伽宗) in the early Koryŏ period. His secular surname was Yi 李. He left home and became a monk at a young age and became a disciple of Ch'unghoe 忠會 at Kwanggyo Monastery 光教寺. After learning Yogācāra practices (*yugahaeng* 瑜伽行) from Yungch'ŏl 融哲 of Ch'ilchang Monastery 柒長寺, he was active in such monasteries as Pŏpch'ŏnsa 法泉寺 and Hyŏnhwasa 玄化寺. He founded Hongje Cloister 弘濟院 on Mt. Samgak 三角山, and the adherents of the five houses of Sŏn (*oga* 五家) established facilities to provide accommodations for him. When Munjong (r. 1046–1083) ascended the throne, he received the favor of the king and did such things as lecture on the scriptures in the palace. He became a royal preceptor for Munjong in 1049 and a state preceptor in 1054. His stele remains at Ch'ilchang Monastery.

476 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 17, HPC 4.559a4–7. Ch'ilchang Monastery 柒長寺, also written Ch'ilchangsa 七長寺, is a monastery on Mt. Ch'irhyŏn 七賢山, Ch'ilchang village, Chuksan township, Ansŏng city, in Kyŏnggi Province. Although according to tradition it was founded by Chajang (d. ca. 650–655) in the Silla period, in fact it was probably founded by State Preceptor Hyeso in the early Koryŏ period. When the state preceptor was practicing the Way to enlightenment on this mountain, he converted seven evil men who had come looking for him. Because all seven of these men practiced the Way to enlightenment and became "seven worthies" (*ch'irhyŏn* 七賢), the mountain was reportedly called "the mountain of the seven worthies" (Ch'irhyŏnsan 七賢山). By royal order, the eminent monk State Preceptor Hyeso of the Yogācāra tradition restored this monastery grandly in 1014. At present the body of the stele is broken into three pieces; the turtle base (*kwibu* 龜趺) and the coiled hornless dragon headstone (*isu* 螭首) have been preserved separately.

柒長寺, 禮慧炤國師影
空門功業許誰同 千乘摳衣味道風
事與人非何足嘆 宰官碑賛耀無窮 <宰臣金公現撰碑 宰臣崔公惟善述影賛>

37. Worshipping at the Portrait of the Saintly Master Podŏk[477] in the Flying Abbot's Chambers of Kyŏngbok Monastery[478] on Mt. Kodae[479]

The teachings of the Nirvāṇa and Vaipulya sūtras

---

[477] Podŏk 普德, a Koguryŏ monk during the time of King Pojang 寶藏 (r. 642–668), was famous for his knowledge of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. However, after Yŏn Kaesomun 淵蓋蘇文 (fl. 642– 666) seized power upon murdering the king, placed his son King Pojang on the throne, and promoted Daoism and suppressed Buddhism, Podŏk fled for his life and took refuge in Kyŏngbok Monastery on Mt. Kodae in Chŏnju in Paekche territory. According to tradition, the Silla monks Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang are believed to have studied the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* with Podŏk after their first failed attempt to study abroad in China (ca. 650). See *Samguk yusa* 3, T 2039.49.988b19–989a15.

[478] Kyŏngbok Monastery 景福寺 was a monastery on present-day Mt. Kodal 高達山, P'yŏngch'on village, Kui township, Wanju county, North Chŏlla Province. The monastery was founded in 659 when the eminent monk Podŏk from Koguryŏ moved the whole of Yŏnbok Monastery 延福寺 on Mt. Pallyong 盤龍山 to this location. According to Buddhist legend, the monastery flew there in the sky, so it was called the "flying abbot's chambers" (*pirae pangjang* 飛來方丈). Aside from Ŭich'ŏn, Yi Illo 李仁老 (1152–1220), Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241), and other literati visited this monastery, worshipped the true likeness of Podŏk, and composed commemorative poems. When the numbers of monastery sites were reduced in 1424, this monastery came under the jurisdiction of the Doctrinal tradition (*kyojong* 敎宗); seventy monks lived there, and it was allotted fifty plots (*kyŏl* 結) of total land. Although from this information it is apparent that until this time it was a major monastery, at present only part of the foundations remain.

[479] *Taegak kuksa munjip* 17, HPC 4.559a11–19. Mt. Kodae 高大山 was called Mt. Kodal 高達山 by Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241), who visited the site more than a generation after Ŭich'ŏn. See *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip* 東國李相國集 10:3a–4b, esp. 4a4–5; see also *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan* 韓國文集叢刊 1:394b. During the Chosŏn period, the mountain was called Mt. Kodŏk 高德山 and Mt. Kodal; see *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 [Augmented survey of Korean geography], fifty-five rolls, originally *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 [Survey of Korean geography], fifty rolls, comp. No Sasin 盧思愼 (1427–98) et al., between 1445 and 1481; revised by Kim Chongjik 金宗直 et al., in 1530–1531 (Seoul: Tongguk Munhwasa, 1957), 33:5a4–5 (Chŏnjubu 全州府).

I received by transmission from my master.
The days when the two saints [Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang] unrolled these sūtras <Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang used to participate when he lectured and from him received training in the *Nirvāṇa, Prajñā* [*pāramitā*], *Vimalakīrti* [*nirdeśa*], and other sūtras.>
Was the time the eminent monk walked alone [in Koguryŏ].
Following causal connections he engaged himself in the north and south;
Residing in the Way to enlightenment, he is severed from [the responsibilities] of greeting and accompanying [guests]
What a pity! After the abbot's chamber flew away,
The ancient state of Tongmyŏng [Koguryŏ] fell into danger. <The master was originally a śramaṇa of Pallyong Monastery in Koguryŏ. When King Pojang[480] was bewitched by Daoism and denounced the Buddhadharma, the master then flew his abbot's quarters south, arriving on Paekche's Mt. Kodae. Later a god appeared on Koguryŏ's Horse Pass (Maryŏng) and announced to the people, "Your country will collapse in the near future." It is described in detail in the *History of the Three Kingdoms of Haedong*

---

480 King Pojang 寶藏 (r. 642–668) was the twenty-eighth and last king of Koguryŏ. His name was Chang 藏 or Pojang 寶藏. Although most of the kings of Koguryŏ had posthumous titles, because Pojang lost the country he was not awarded such a title. He was the son of T'aeyang 太陽 (r. 590–618), the younger brother of King Yŏngnyu 榮留 (r. 618–642). Because Pojang was placed on the throne as a result of a coup executed by Yŏn Kaesomun 淵蓋蘇文 (fl. 642–666), although he was king, real political power was in the hands of Yŏn. Natural calamities attended the time when he ascended the throne, and in 643 he announced a policy of promoting Daoism following the instructions of Yŏn Kaesomun. In response to this there were severe repercussions to the power and influence of Buddhism in Koguryŏ. The eminent monk Podŏk fled to Paekche in 650. Eventually, an alliance of Silla and Tang China brought the destruction of the kingdom of Koguryŏ in the ninth month of 668. After the destruction of Koguryŏ, King Pojang was captured and taken to Tang China. He was nominated Commander in chief of Liaodong, King of the Chosŏn Commandery (*Liaodong dudu Chaoxian junwang* 遼東都督朝鮮郡王) by the Tang in 677. Many people from Koguryŏ who had been taken to China returned to Liaodong. King Pojang rallied the remnants of Koguryŏ, pursued secret communications with their Malgal (Ch. Mohe) allies, and plotted to restore Koguryŏ; but the plot was discovered and he was exiled to Jiongzhou 絅州 in Sichuan Province 四川省, where he passed away in 682.

(*Haedong samguksa* 海東三國史).[481]>

孤大山景福寺飛來方丈, 禮普德聖師影
涅槃方等教
傳授自吾師
兩聖橫經日<元曉義想, 甞參講下, 親稟涅槃維摩等經>
高僧獨步時
從緣任南北
在道絶迎隨
可惜飛房後
東明故國危<師元是句高麗盤龍寺沙門, 臧王惑於道教, 廢棄佛法, 師乃飛房, 南至於百濟孤大山. 後有神人, 見於高麗馬嶺, 告人曰, "汝國敗亡無日." 具如海東三國史>

38. Composed at Hwaŏm Monastery[482] on Mt. Chiri[483]

---

[481] Although *Haedong samguksa* is now lost, a brief description of this event is described in the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 [History of the Three Kingdoms], fifty rolls, by Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075–1151), completed between 1136 and 1145; critical apparatus by Chŏng Kubok 鄭求福, Noh Choong-kook (No Chungguk) 盧重國, Sin Tongha 申東河, Kim T'aesik 金泰植, and Kwŏn Tŏgyŏng 權悳永. Kuksa Ch'ongsŏ 國史叢書 [National History Series] 96–1 (Seoul: Han'guk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, 1996), 22.217 (Pojang 9/6).

[482] Hwaŏm Monastery 華嚴寺 is a monastery on Mt. Chiri, Hwangjŏn village, Masan township, Kurye county, in South Chŏlla Province. The monastery was greatly restored by the monk Yŏn'gi 緣起 (fl. 742–765) in the middle of the eighth century. Yŏn'gi commissioned an illustrated edition (*sagyŏng* 寫經) of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls in 755, portions of which were rediscovered in the twentieth century. The monastery preserves fragments of lithographic edition the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls (*Hwaŏm sŏkkyŏng* 華嚴石徑) in the Hall of the Thearch of Awakening (Kakhwangjŏn 覺皇殿, formerly the Changyukchŏn 丈六殿). Although they have been damaged, more than ten thousand pieces remain. Behind the Hall of the Thearch of Awakening, the exceptional stone pagoda adorned with lions (*saja sŏkt'ap* 獅子石塔) remains that was commissioned in the time of the monastery's renovation in the mid-eighth century.

[483] *Taegak kuksa munjip* 17, HPC 4.559b6–8.

In front of the Hall of Quiescence there
is much spectacular scenery;
The top of Kilsang Peak
is completely devoid of fine dust.
Wasting the day in indecision—
thinking of past events;
Marking the coming of evening, a sad wind
rises from the Terrace of Filial Piety.[484]

留題智異山華嚴寺
寂滅堂前多勝景 吉祥峯上絶纖埃
彷徨盡日思前事 薄暮悲風起孝臺

39. Worshipping before the Portrait of Patriarch Yŏn'gi 緣起 at Hwaŏm Monastery[485]

The extraordinary treatise and the ambitious scripture,
there is nothing he does not thoroughly comprehend.
<The master usually lectured on the *Awakening of Faith* and the

484 The Terrace of Filial Piety (Hyodae 孝臺) is the name of the three-story stone pagoda adorned with four lions (*sasaja samch'ŭng sŏkt'ap* 四獅子三層石塔) that was erected on the hill behind the Hall of the Thearch of Awakening (Kakhwangjŏn 覺皇殿) at Hwaŏm Monastery. This three-story stone pagoda, which was erected in the middle of the eighth century, is one of the finest examples of its kind. The four crouching lions, along with the central humanoid image, serve as the foundation and are used to balance the body of the pagoda. There is a stone lantern in front of it, and the base of the stone lantern is a kneeling human image carrying an offerings dish (*kongyanggu* 供養具) that forms a triangular pillar shape. Although this image has been interpreted as being a representation of disciples making offerings to their mentor, from early on it has been considered a symbolic representation of the filial action of a son or descendant making offerings to his father. For this reason, the hill upon which the pagoda and stone lantern stand has been called the Terrace of Filial Piety. That Ŭich'ŏn also held the later interpretation of this place is self-evident from his word choice.

485 Taegak kuksa munjip 17, HPC 4.559b9–12.

Avataṃsaka-sūtra.>[486]
For a lifetime of promoting and protecting [the Dharma],
he has profound merit.
After sharing the flame
with three thousand righteous students
The customs of the tradition of the Perfect Teaching
fill Haedong.
<His main biography says: "He transmitted the teaching to doctrinal students numbering three thousand.>

華嚴寺, 禮緣起祖師影
偉論雄經罔不通<師平昔講演起信花嚴>
一生弘護有深功
三千義學分燈後
圓教宗風滿海東<本傳云, "傳教義學數三千.">

[486] Great Master Yŏn'gi was a monk of Silla and the authority who supervised the renovation (*chungch'angju* 重創主) of Hwaŏm Monastery 華嚴寺 making it into the large-scale Hwaŏm monastery. The postscript (*parmun* 跋文) to the illustrated edition (*sagyŏng* 寫經) of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* that Yŏn'gi commissioned informs that this historical figure hailed from Hŭngdŏk district 興德縣 (present-day Koch'ang in North Chŏlla Province). The illustrated manuscript was commissioned in the eighth month of 754 and was completed in the second month of 755. According to catalogs, Yŏn'gi composed five works: *Taesŭng kisillon chumang so* 大乘起信論珠網疏, in three rolls (or four rolls); *Taesŭng kisillon sapŏnch'wimyo* 大乘起信論捨繁取妙, in one roll; *Hwaŏm-gyŏng kaejong kyŏrŭi* 華嚴經開宗決疑, thirty rolls; *Hwaŏm-gyŏng yogyŏl* 華嚴經要訣, in thirteen rolls (or six rolls); and *Hwaŏm chillyu hwanwŏllak to* 華嚴眞流還源樂圖, in one roll. Yŏn'gi did not belong to Ŭisang's lineage; rather, we can know that he participated in the exegetical discourse that held the *Qixin lun* [Awakening of faith] to be important.

40. Instruction to Those Who Received the Rank of *Bhadanta*[487] in the Recent Monastic Examinations[488]

You have been engaged in studies for many years;
How bitter has been your suffering.
On this day when your karma has come to fruition
you have all passed.
Do not forget to transmit the flame and determination
[of the Buddhadharma] to all beings.
The source of extensively spreading the Way to enlightenment
is consigned to humankind.

示新授大選大德
務學多年幾苦辛 業成今日盡超倫
諸生莫忘傳燈志 弘道由來寄在人

487 *Bhadanta* (*taedŏk*, Ch. *daode* 大德) is an honorific title given to monks of great virtue. The practice of bestowing such titles on monks began in the Buddhist world of Tang China, and it influenced the practices of Silla. In the Koryŏ period, the title *bhadanta* was the monastic rank first given to monks who passed the regular course (*ponkwa* 本科) of the monastic examinations (*taesŏn* 大選).

488 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 17, HPC 4.559c6–8. The monastic examinations (*taesŏn* 大選) during the Koryŏ period were divided by intellectual and practical affiliation, the doctrinal school (*kyojong* 教宗) or the meditation school (*sŏnjong* 禪宗). Monks first took an examination administered by their school (*chongsŏn* 宗選); those who passed these examinations took the regular course (*ponkwa* 本科) of the monastic examinations (*taesŏn* 大選). Those who passed the examination were given the dharma rank of *bhadanta* (*taedŏk*, Ch. *daode* 道德). After this, the list of monastic ranks was as follows: *taedŏk, taesa* 大師 (great master), *chung taesa* 重大師 (twofold great master), and *samjung taesa* 三重大師 (threefold great master). After that, in the doctrinal school, the two highest positions were *sujwa* 首座 (dean) and saṃgha overseer (*sŭngt'ong* 僧統); and in the meditation school, the two highest positions were *sŏnsa* 禪師 (Sŏn master) and *taesŏnsa* 大禪師 (great Sŏn master).

41. After lecturing on the *Excerpts* of the Vinaya Master of Nanshan,[489] I casually completed this quatrain:[490]

My knowledge is not so bright; my learning is not so skilled.
How do I dare to expound to people?
I cannot merely spread the words of the saints' teaching.
By means of chanting I just plan to make good [karmic] connections.

講南山律鈔次, 偶成一絶
識非明敏學非研 予是何人輒講宣
只爲聖言無振發 且圖先唱作良緣

42. Worshipping at the Sacred Image of Mañjuśrī at Insu Monastery 仁壽寺 on Mt. Samgak[491]

489 "The *Excerpts* of the Vinaya Master of Nanshan" (Namsan Yulsa ch'o 南山律師鈔) refers to Daoxuan's 大宣 (596–667) *Sifenlü shanfanbu quexingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (T 1804), in twelve rolls, also known as the *Sifenlü chao* 四分律鈔 [Notes on the *Four-part Vinaya*] of the Nanshan school. This text, which is the basic text of the Vinaya school and the most important explication of the *Sifenlü* [Four-part vinaya] is divided into thirty sections and provides explanatory supplements to extracts from the vinaya text. It discourses on important passages and takes into consideration the theories of several vinaya masters. It also provides a detailed description of actual procedures for practicing the vinaya. It exerted a great influence on monastic cultural practices and rituals observances.

490 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 18, HPC 4.559b8–10

491 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.562a19–22. Mt. Samgak 三角山 is a mountain bordering on Tobong ward, Chongno ward, and Ŭnp'yŏng ward in Seoul, and Koyang city in Kyŏnggi Province. The mountain is 837 meters high. The highest peak is Paegun terrace 白雲臺 (White Cloud Terrace); Paegun terrace, Insu peak 仁壽峰 in the north, and Man'gyŏng terrace 萬景臺 in the south comprise the three peaks that give the mountain its name. In recent times it has been called Mt. Pukhan 北漢山. In Silla times it was also called Pua Peak 負兒嶽. There are many temples and monasteries on the mountain and in the vicinity of the mountain because it functioned as the protective mountain of Seoul.

The appearance of transformation bodies on Mt. Odae[492]
is not meaningless.
An incarnation of the bodhisattva on Mt. Samgak—
How fortuitous!
The emperors of the Tang circumambulated nine times
and called for their imperial phoenix carriage.
Our lords have also successively done this
and already left behind compositions.

<Nine emperors of the Tang dynasty quested on Mt. Wutai nine times, and in [our country of Koryŏ] ever since King Tŏkchong[493] all kings have made royal processions here generation after generation; and even King Munjong wrote a lyric poem.>

三角山仁壽寺, 禮文殊聖像
五臺現化非徒爾 三角分身豈偶然
唐帝九廻鳴鳳輦 吾君累此早留篇<有唐九帝尋九五臺山, 在□□□朝, 自德王而下, 代代行幸, 文王有詩一首.>

492 Mt. Odae 五臺山 (Ch. Wutai shan) is believed by Buddhists to be the dwelling place of Mañjuśrī, the bodhisattva who embodies wisdom. See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 29, T 278.9.590a3–5; *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 45, T 279.10.241b20–23.

493 King Tŏkchong 德宗 (r. 1031–1034) was the ninth monarch of the Koryŏ dynasty. His name was Wang Hŭm 王欽; his courtesy name (*cha*) was Wŏllyang 元良. He was the first son of Hyŏnjong (r. 1009–1031). When he first ascended the throne he instituted activities for the protection of the state because relations with the Khitan were not favorable. In preparation against an invasion he erected a connective fortress wall (*kwansŏng* 關城) by connecting thirteen fortresses in the northwest and three fortresses in the northeast.

43. I saw that the poetic offering of Minister Duke Yun Kwan[494] imitated the compact of the Reverend Sang 常上人, described the sundry aspects of the meaning, and did not overcome my sense of gratitude and fortune; for this reason I composed a poetic response.[495]

That year when I paid a visit for the Way to enlightenment
and passed through Suzhou and Hangzhou
I personally sought out Zhaoqing Monastery[496]
because of the fame of its community compact.
I planted lotus roots and many times I pondered
the sumptuousness of the fragrance.

---

494 Yun Kwan 尹瓘 (d. 1111) was a civil minister during the mid-Koryŏ period. He passed the civil service examination during the reign of Munjong (r. 1046–1083) and served in several official positions. In 1103 he served as minister of the Ministry of Personnel (*ibu sangsŏ* 吏部尚書) and associate administrator of the Security Council (*tongji ch'umirwŏnsa* 同知樞密院事). In 1104 he became the campaign commander of the Northeastern Mobile Brigade (*tongbungmyŏn haengyŏng tot'ong* 東北面行營都統) as a commissioner of the Security Council, when he was entrusted with an expedition against the Jurchen (Yŏjin 女眞). He was successful and constructed nine fortresses. Although he later was offered the position of Director of the Chancellery (*munha sijung* 門下侍中), he turned it down. Yun Kwan and Ŭich'ŏn corresponded with each other as this poem attests. Although Yun Kwan originally composed the inscription for the Ŭich'ŏn's stele at Yŏngt'ong Monastery after Ŭich'ŏn's death, the stele inscription that exists today was rewritten by Kim Pusik.

495 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.562b7–12.

496 Zhaoqing Monastery 昭慶寺 was a monastery on the shore of West Lake 西湖 in Hangzhou 杭州 in Zhejiang province 浙江省 in China. The monastery was first erected by Quan Yuanguan 錢元瓘 (r. 932–940), king of the state of Wuyue 吳越, during the Five Dynasties period (907–978), and was called Puti Cloister 菩提院. Vinaya Master Yongzhi 永智 rebuilt the monastery in 964, during the early Song period, and erected a precepts platform on the site in 978. Buddhist assemblies celebrating ordination to the full monastic precepts were held there yearly. The emperor bestowed a wooden plaque renaming the cloister Great Zhaoqing Monastery 大昭慶寺 in 982. Shengchang 省常 organized a "society cultivating the pure practices of the *Avataṃsaka*" (Huayan jingxing she 華嚴淨行社) in this monastery and promoted the dharma approach of recitation of the name of the Buddha Amitābha (*nianfo famen* 念佛法門). Zunshi 遵式 (960–1032) and Renyue 仁岳 (992–1064) promoted Tiantai from this place, and Yunkan 允堪 rebuilt the precepts platform.

Purchasing a mountain, emptying my thoughts,
the jade-green was steep and rugged.
In relations in the dusty world who awakens
to the trying affairs of the body?
By means of pure practices I only pledge
my life of pleasures.
Precious and refined essays
first see my determination.
When merit is attained I will quickly
recompense the illumination of the season.

竊見尹相公瓘, 擬常上人結社, 叙意之什, 不勝感幸, 因而和酬
當年訪道歷蘇杭 昭慶親尋結杜名
種藕幾思香菡萏 買山空憶碧崢嶸
塵緣誰覺勞身事 淨行唯期樂我生
珍重雅章先見志 功成應急報時明

44. Presented to the Saṃgha Overseer Tosaeng[497] on His Return to Songni Monastery[498]

---

497 Tosaeng 道生, also written Tosaeng 導生, was an intellectual monk of the Pŏpsang school in the mid-Koryŏ period. He was the fifth son of Munjong (r. 1046–1083). His name was Wang Chŏng 王竀, and he was the younger brother of Ŭich'ŏn, the fourth son of Munjong. In 1070, he left home and became a monk at Hyŏnhwa Monastery 玄化寺 in Kaesŏng, with Sohyŏn 韶顯 (1038–1096) acting as his vocation master. While he was serving as abbot of Popchu Monastehry on Mt. Songni, he received the title of saṃgha overseer. Having received much influence from Sohyŏn of the Pŏpsang school, Tosaeng was also active as a monk of the Pŏpsang school. After Sohyŏn passed away in 1095, Tosaeng was also concurrently active as abbot of Kŭmsan Monastery 金山寺. During the early and mid-Koryŏ periods, many of the scions of the royal family, nobility, and emerging literati families left home and became monks associated with the Hwaŏm and Pŏpsang schools. Because two Koryŏ princes left home and became monks in two distinct scholastic traditions, we are able to observe the religious affiliations of the Koryŏ royal family.

498 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.562b13–15. Songni Monastery 俗離寺 is present-day Pŏpchu Monastery 法住寺 on Mt. Songni 俗離山, located in Sanae village, Naesok township, Poŭn county,

Although our horses have been halted all day,
I am not worn out
Grabbing your sleeve at the impending fork [in the road]
my regret was unrelenting.
What event in our wanderings long ago
makes you partially suspend your thoughts?
Beneath Mt. Sujŏng 水精山 [Essence of Water]
the white clouds are deep.

送道生僧統, 歸俗離寺
停驂竟日情無倦 摻袂臨岐恨莫任
何事舊遊偏掛意 水精山下白雲深

---

in North Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. In the records of the Koryŏ period, the place is frequently called Songni Monastery. According to tradition, in Silla times, the monk Chinp'yo 眞表 (fl. eighth century) and his disciples founded an enlightenment site centered on the cult of Maitreya. Chinp'yo founded Kŭmsan Monastery 金山寺, and his disciple Yŏngsim 永深 and others entered Mt. Songni and built a saṃghārāma and spread the teachings of the Dharma. The monastery first founded by Yŏngsim and so forth on Mt. Songni was called Kilsang Monastery 吉祥寺. During the Koryŏ period, it was an important site for the Pŏpsang school, and many eminent monks were active there.

45. Presented to My Disciple the Great Master Nakchin[499] on His Return to Pongsŏn Monastery[500]

Listlessly searching again
rivers and mountains of Wuyue 吳越;
Returning to hide in our old roost,
the white clouds are deep.
Gloriously promoting our Way to Enlightenment
I know lies within you,
Do not forget to prop up your failings
in your aspiration to protect the Dharma.

---

499 Nakchin 樂眞 (1045–1114) was a monk of the Hwaŏm tradition in the Koryŏ period. His pen name (*ho*) was Ogong T'onghye 悟空通慧. He left home and became a monk at a young age and became a disciple of State Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk 景德 at Yŏngt'ong Monastery 靈通寺 and followed in the tradition of his intellectual learning. He received the ordination to the full precepts in 1056. He passed the monastic examination at nineteen se, and later followed Ŭich'ŏn and went to Song China. He met Dharma Master Jingyuan in Huiyin Cloister 惠因寺 in Hangzhou and kept the fire of his dharma alive. He became a saṃgha overseer during the reign of Sukchong (1095–1105). He assisted Ŭich'ŏn in the compilation of the *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok sŏ* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 [New catalog of the teachings of all the schools] and *Wŏnjong mullyu sŏ* 圓宗文類 [Literature of the perfect tradition]. He was also entrusted with the responsibility to oversee the editing and correction of texts when the canon of doctrinal teachings (*kyojang* 教藏) was published at Hŭngwang Monastery 興王寺. He became at royal preceptor in 1114, and after that he read and lectured on the five thousand rolls of the Buddhist canon and instructed new students in the Dharma. He served as abbot of Kwibŏp Monastery and Pŏpsu Monastery. His posthumous title was Wŏn'gyŏng 元景. His commemorative stele, the *Wŏn'gyŏng wangsa pi* 元景王師碑, had been erected at Panya Monastery originally, but it was moved to Haein Monastery. Although Ŭich'ŏn's "Yongt'ongsa pi" reports that Nakchin was originally a disciple of State Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk, there is a line that says that he became a disciple of Ŭich'ŏn.

500 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.562c2–4. Pongsŏn Monastery 奉先寺 was a monastery on Mt. Yuam 由巖山, in Manwŏl village, in Kaesŏng city. See *Gaoli tu jing* 高麗圖經 [Illustrated account of Koryŏ], 17 (*sau* 祠宇). Although the *Gaoli tu jing*, which was written in 1123, comes from a time immediately following the time of Ŭich'ŏn, it contains the most brief information of any monastery recorded. However, scholars suggest that it was probably a site associated with Buddhist observances performed by and for the royal family and that it was probably founded in the early Koryŏ period. King Kongmin 恭愍 (r. 1351–1374) frequently made royal visits to the monastery at the end of the Koryŏ period, according to extant records.

送門人樂眞大師, 歸奉先寺
吳越江山懶重尋 舊栖酒歸隱白雲深
光揚吾道知君在 莫忘扶顚護法心

46. Bestowed upon My Disciple the Great Master Hyesŏn 慧宣 on Account of His Announcing Our Separation on His Becoming an Abbot[501]

In the eminent assemblies of Jiantang[502]
my disciples inherited [the Dharma] long ago.
Of the saṃghārāma on Mt. Chiri
his being made abbot is timely
Obtaining someone to transmit the teaching
is truly not an easy thing
Our school fortunately
holds to and maintains him.

門人慧宣大師, 以住持告別, 因以贈之
錢唐高會資承久 智異精藍主領時
傳教得人誠不易 吾門多幸賴扶持

---

501 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.562c8–10.

502 Jiantang 錢塘, also written Jiantang 錢唐, is one of the older names for the region surrounding Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province. Ŭich'ŏn is referring to their both receiving transmission in the Dharma when they studied Huayan from Jingyuan at Huiyin Monastery in Hangzhou.

47. Presented to the Venerable I of Pŏbwang Monastery,[503] the Master Lecturer on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, Two Poems[504]

(1)
The noble teaching of the Dharma is like the sound of waves
cheering the throngs of listeners.
When heavenly flowers fall,
fragrant are the eaves of the lecture hall.
Rarely did they come into human hands
in the past and present;
It is only you
who grasps the profundities.

(2)
Since I didn't see your crane-like form I will wait leisurely
One day is longer than several years
I also ask the rocks of my hometown
When night comes will you slip secretly into my dreams?

贈法王寺華嚴講主利上人 二首
高騁潮音快衆聞 天花時落講軒芬
古今罕入餘人手 攬得玄微獨有君

503 Pŏbwang Monastery was in the Yŏn'gyŏng Palace 延慶宮 in Kaesŏng. It was one of ten monasteries founded in 919 in Kaesŏng, the Koryŏ capital, by Koryŏ king Taejo (r. 918–943). Kyŏngjong made a royal procession there in 976, Mokchong made a royal procession there in 1009, and Chŏngjong made a royal procession there in 1035. Munjong made royal processions to the monastery four times when the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions (*p'algwanhoe* 八關會) was held, beginning in 1047. Sŏnjong also made a royal procession to the monastery in 1084 when the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions was held. Given these facts, it is apparent that Pŏbwang Monastery was closely connected with the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions during the early Koryŏ period. Because the king rarely ventured to the monastery to burn incense aside from times when the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions was held, the monastery held a special place to the royal family. From this poem we can also surmise that lectures on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* were held here.

504 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.563a22–b23.

未看鶴態空留 一日長於數秌
且問故山水石 夜來潛入夢不

48. Written occasionally in the seminary[505]

Divining a place to dwell
in a sacred and quiet monastery,
Shutting the door
I avoid the clamor and chatter of the world.
Although possessing of the determination
I pity the collapse of my prospects;
What kind of mind
would regret the fallen flower?
Karmic connections of the dust of the world—
how are they satisfying to look back on?
Our Way to enlightenment—
I admire its ability to prosper.
Stillness and quiescence—
there is no one who recognizes it.
In my window of pine
the sun also sets.

學院書事
卜居幽靜寺 掩戶避諠譁
有意憐頹景 何心惜落花
塵緣那足顧 吾道可興嗟
寂寂無人識 松窓日又斜

505 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.563b4–8.

49. Composed While in Residence at Hyŏnhwa Monastery 玄化寺[506]

Bejeweled with awe-inspiring solemnity
the scenery is completely clear;
The empty altars of Nālandā[507]
are famous in the past and present.
Jade green is indistinguishable
from the thousands of points in the mountain.
Skillfully recompensing my solitary seclusion
are the multiple sounds of birds.
The pavilions shine and
Eminent monks enter absorption in the moonlight.
Wandering wayfarers who are deluded on the road
travel treading on clouds.
For what reason does the Lord of the East[508]
bring about beauty?
When spring is spent, the light of spring
will incline itself this way.

---

506 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.563b9–13.

507 Nālandā (Naranda, Ch. Nalantuo 那蘭陀) is the name of a great monastery of ancient times in the northern part of Rājagṛha, the capital of Maghada; now in Bihar, India, about fifty-five miles south east of Patna. It is one of the first great universities in recorded history. Some parts of Nālandā University were constructed by the Mauryan emperor Aśoka the Great (e.g., the Sariputta Stūpa) and by Tamil emperor Rajaraja Chola. The Gupta dynasty also patronized some monasteries. According to historians, Nālandā flourished between 427 C.E. and 1197 C.E., mainly because of the patronage of Buddhist emperors, such as Harshavardhana, Pandyas of the Pandyan Dynasty, and the Pala kings of the Pala dynasty. The ruins of Nālandā University occupy an area of fourteen hectares. This university was completely built with red bricks. At its peak, Nālandā University attracted scholars and students from many parts of the globe. The most famous international student at Nālandā was the Chinese monk-pilgrim Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664), who described the monastic environs in his *Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Record of the western regions compiled under the Great Tang].

508 The Lord of the East (*tonggun*, Ch. *dongjun* 東君) has two definitions: (1) a reference to the sun, another name for the "god of grand yang/the sun" (*t'aeyangsin*, Ch. *taiyangshen* 太陽神), or (2) the god entrusted with springtime. The second definition is referred to here.

留題玄化寺
寶構森嚴景槩清 爛陁空檀古今名
碧無分別山千點 巧報幽閑鳥數聲
閣逈高僧臨月定 路迷遊客躡雲行
東君何事將佳致 春盡春光向此傾

50. Presented to the Householder Yi Chahyŏn[509]

The Ocean Seal, a place that embraces everything,
Is a great enlightenment site[510] in the mundane world.

509 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.563b14–18. Yi Chahyŏn 李資玄 (1061–1125) was a scholar of the mid-Koryŏ period and a scion of the first noble family of the Koryŏ period, the Inju Yi lineage 仁州李氏. His courtesy name (*cha*) was Chinjŏng 眞靖, and his pen names (*ho*) were Sigam 息庵, the Householder Ch'ŏngp'yŏng 清平居士, and Hŭiija 希夷子. He was the grandson of Yi Chayŏn 李子淵 (d. 1086), the organizer of the lineage. He passed the civil service examination in 1089. Although he became assistant director of the Royal Music Office (*taeaksŏ sŭng* 大樂署承), he resigned from his position and entered Mt. Ch'ŏngp'yŏng 清平山 in Ch'unch'ŏn, renovated the Pohyŏn Cloister 普賢院 that had been established by his father and renamed it the Munsu Cloister 文殊院, and practiced meditation. Although King Yejong (r. 1105–1122) called him back to court several times, he always declined. When Yejong made a royal procession to the southern capital in 1117, he met the king briefly and then returned to Munsu Cloister and devoted himself wholeheartedly to practicing the Way to enlightenment. His posthumous title was Chillak 眞樂. A scholarly evaluation of Yi Chahyŏn is that he played an important intermediary role in the renovation of the Sŏn school in the mid-Koryŏ period.

510 "Enlightenment site" (*toryang*, Ch. *daochang* 道場) was a common term for monastery during the seventh century. It was originally a translation of *bodhimaṇḍa*, the place under the bodhi tree where Śākyamuni became enlightened. During the Northern Wei period (386–535) it came to mean a place where Buddhist rituals and ceremonies, such as ordinations and special assemblies, were performed. Sui Emperor Yang (r. 604–617) then changed the name for all monasteries in China to "enlightenment site" in 613. It is also likely that during the period of Empress Wu's influence and reign (ca. 660–705) the term was again substituted for the ordinary term for monastery (*si*) given that the imperial temples in the eastern and western palaces bore the designation interior enlightenment site (*neidaochang* 內道場). By the Koryŏ period, the term had eventually evolved into a term referring to a site for Buddhist rituals, although in this context, Ŭich'ŏn employs it in its original meaning as a more Chinese-style expression for a great monastery.

I, verily, am urgent in transmitting the [Buddha's Perfect] Teaching
You, moreover, are busily engaged in seated meditation
If you obtain their [true] meaning then both are beautiful [but]
If you follow your emotions then both [practices] are impeded
With respect to perfect interfusion what is there to accept or refuse?
The dharma realm is my hometown.

寄玄居士
海印森羅處 塵塵大道場
我方傳敎急 君且坐禪忙
得意應雙美 隨情卽兩傷
圓融何取捨 法界是吾鄉

51. Great Master Iksŭng 翼乘 of Pongsŏn Monastery enjoys learning and is not negligent. I consider his intentions as wonderful and give him Chengguan's *Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* to circulate:[511]

A complete explanation of the hundred million songs,
the mainspring of the myriad dharmas,
Master Qingliang understood interfusion
and obtained that approach [to the Dharma].
If you are not one who considers the Way to enlightenment as important
and do not regard your own life lightly;
Who will consent to produce glory
and recompense [the Buddha's] great grace?

奉先寺翼乘大師, 好學不倦, 予佳其志, 以花嚴大經淸凉大疏, 捨與流通.
億頌圓詮萬法源 淸凉融識得其門
自非重道輕生者 誰肯光揚報大恩

511 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.563b23–c3.

52. Sent to the Religious Man Hyŏn 玄道人 of Mt. Samgak [on the occasion of the] Great Penance Ritual of Perfect Enlightenment (*wŏn'gak taech'am* 圓覺大懺)[512]

The dhyāna and visualization techniques of Mt. Zhongnan
are completely profound and sublime,
But since three hundred years have passed
rare are those who know them.
If the enlightenment site does not remain in the mind
with respect to the perfect and sudden core teaching,
Who will have the capacity to train and scrutinize
and put defilements to rest?

以圓覺大懺, 寄三角山玄道人
終南禪觀盡幽微 三百年來識者稀
局匪留心圓頓旨 有誰研味息煩機

53. Personal Feelings Made Known to a Follower, Two Poems[513]

(1)
The sun of wisdom breaks a thousands years [of darkness]
as the brightness approaches.
Being able to encounter the remains of the teaching
is a felicity more profound.
Heavens! The classes [of beings] who study the scriptures
across the world
Learn the Dharma but completely
disregard the heart of the Dharma.

---

512 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.563c4–6.

513 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.563c7–11.

(2)
Masters are unable to be masters
disciples are not disciples.
Although I desire to glorify the Way to enlightenment,
it is admittedly difficult to expect.
Far and vast, who comprehends the aspiration
to transmit the lamp [of the Dharma].
The folk born right at this time
are pitiable!

感懷示徒
慧日千齡罷炤臨 獲逢遺教慶彌深
堪嗟此世横經輩 學法都無敬法心
師不能師資不資 欲令光道固難期
悠悠誰識傳燈志 生値斯時足可悲

54. Arriving in the Western Capital for the State Funeral of the Queen and Ascending the Floating Jade-Green Hut at Yŏngmyŏng Monastery[514]

I have heard it said that Yŏngmyŏng Monastery

514 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.563c13–15. Yŏngmyŏng Monastery 永明寺 was a monastery on Mt. Kŭmsu 錦繡山 in P'yŏngyang. The Floating Jade-Green Hut (Pubyŏngnyo 浮碧寮) was situated to the west. During the Koryŏ period, several kings beginning with Sŏnjong and Sukchong would float down the Taedong River in dragon boats and saunter along to this monastery, where they would donate incense. In particular, after Yejong established a *mudrā bodhimaṇḍa* (*munduru toryang* 文豆婁道場) there in 1109 and renovated it, the monastery became famous. The monastery was located in a prime location in P'yŏngyang, the western capital of the Koryŏ dynasty. Because the scenery was beautiful, kings frequently sought out the monastery when on royal processions. Ŭich'ŏn also went to the western capital and sought out this monastery for the state funeral of his mother, the queen. The monastery was repaired in recent times and became the main monastery (*ponsan* 本山) of the western circuit (*sŏdo* 西道) in 1911; and in 1931 it became one of the thirty-one main monasteries of Korean Buddhism under Japanese colonial administration.

has much good scenery;
Having thought deeply about this for several years
Now I have come searching for it.
This morning I am sad there has been a change
in the colors of the rivers and mountains;
I initially believed that the scenery
was coming from my mind.

因母后喪, 到西都, 登永明寺浮碧寮
聞說永明多好景 幾年凝思此游尋
今朝哀變江山色 始信風光自我心

55. Arriving at Yŏnbok Monastery[515] on Mt. Pallyong 盤龍山 and Offering Worship at the Ancient Site of the Flying Abbot's Chamber of the Saintly Master Podŏk[516]

Numinous traces of the flying chamber
may be gazed upon in the land south;
Removing prints of his seclusion long ago
I worship at this time.
Pusŏk (Ŭisang) and Punhwang (Wŏnhyo)
formerly asked him about the Way to enlightenment.
Sighing deeply I think for a long time
that I didn't know whether I would return.

到盤龍山延福寺, 禮普德聖師飛房舊址
飛房靈迹瞻南地 舊隱遺蹤禮此間
浮石芬皇曾問道 慨然長想未知還

515 Yŏnbok Monastery 延福寺 is the name of the monastery where Podŏk was active in Koguryŏ before fleeing the country and establishing Kyŏngbok Monastery on Mt. Kodae in Paekche. Its location is unknown.

516 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.563c16–19.

56. Listening to a Lecture by Great Master Nakchin[517]

The buddhas and the patriarchs compose writings
What affairs are they connected to?
I should only transmit the Buddhadharma
to edify flocks of living beings.
The master lecturers of recent times
are all deficient and negligent.
You alone sir conform to [the Way]
and are different from the throngs of ordinary people.

聽樂眞大師講
佛祖垂文緣底事 只應傳授化群萌
近來講主皆荒怠 君獨循循異衆情

Self-Admonishment[518]
Leisurely and content! I haven't made up my mind;
I am not willing to save time.
Although I say I have studied the scriptures and treatises,
I would rather know my eyes are facing the wall.

自誡
悠悠無定志 不肯惜陰光
雖曰攻經論 甯知目面墻

517 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.563c20–22.

518 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 19, HPC 4.564a21–23.

57. I, Ŭich'ŏn, received a visit from a royal commissioner[519] who came bearing a royal order to bring one each of the mounted paintings of the true image of the Indian Trepiṭaka Tianjixiang 天吉祥 and the Elder Feishan Jiezhu[520] of Futang.[521] Having been allowed to take refuge and show respect there is no end to my gratitude for this favor. I humbly composed three poems on this theme and submitted them to the palace and beg his majesty to merely look them over.[522]

(1)
The source of form and appearance—
how could it be a different person?
The red and blue [of the portrait] originally are
important to the essential spirit.
The intent behind the royal family's sending
me to lodge in a mountain monastery:

519 A royal commissioner (*chungsa* 中使) refers to a representative sent from the palace.

520 Futang 福唐 refers to Futang district 福唐縣 in Fuzhou 福州. The postscript to the Song-dynasty monk Jiezhu's 戒珠 *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan* 淨土往生傳 [Narratives on rebirth in the Pure Land] says: "Told by the śramaṇa Jiezhu of Feishan in Futang" 福唐飛山沙門戒珠敍. See also *Lebang wenliu* 樂邦文類 2, T 1969A.47.173a23–24.

521 Feishan Jiezhu 飛山戒珠 (985–1077), or simply Jiezhu, made Faxing Ziguang his master at a young age, and after leaving home to become a monk delighted in wholesome practices. Being exceptionally skilled in literary composition, people called him the Silent Scribe (Moshu 默書). However, it is said that he burned all of his myriads of compositions and only his *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan* 淨土往生傳 remains. He learned Chan meditation from Fahai Huaiyao 法海懷要, and he wrote an extended separate biography (*biezhuan* 別傳) about him when he lived on Mt. Huangbi 黄檗山. He claimed a new opinion on the complementary nature of Chan and the doctrinal teachings. His *Jingtu wangsheng zhuan* excerpts the narratives of seventy-five individuals who attained rebirth in the Pure Land from the three *Lives of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳) collections of the Liang, Tang, and Song dynasties.

522 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 20, HPC 4.565a14–b2.

The causal connection of protecting the Dharma
resides in this time.

(2)
Abandoning your life to circulate the Dharma—
there are such people generation after generation.
Your road has traversed the snow of the Pamirs[523]
for thirteen years. <The Trepiṭaka Tianjixiang himself said, "I was on the road for thirteen years.>
That year you fortunately obtained
a personal inheritance of the teaching.
Now, confronting your fame and appearance
I recollect my past karmic causes.

(3)
The bequeathed language from the golden mouth of the Buddha
fill a great-thousand world system[524]
The Way to enlightenment diminishes and becomes distant,
and rare are those that promote the summit.
The silent philosopher of Feishan

---

523 Pamirs (Ch'ongnyŏng, Ch. Congling 葱嶺) refers to the Pamir plateau. It is the primary gateway pass from India into China. The Pamirs was one of the primary routes by which Buddhism passed through Central Asia into China.

524 A great-thousand world system (*taech'ŏn* 大千) is an abbreviation of a great trichilocosm or a "thousand-cubed great-thousand world system" (*samch'ŏn taech'ŏn segye*, Ch. *santian datian shijie* 三千大千世界; Skt. *trisāhasramahāsāhasrolocadhātuḥ*), which denotes one billion worlds. A thousand individual worlds are called a "small-thousand world system." In modern parlance this refers to what we would call a galaxy. One thousand small-thousand world systems comprise a "medium-thousand world system." Medium thousand (*dvisāhasra*), literally "2,000," is used to mean $1,000^2$, or a million worlds. Great thousand (*trisāhasra*), literally "3,000," is used to mean $1,000^3$, or a billion worlds. Because all of these worlds have Mt. Sumerus, heavens, gods, and so forth, and follow the Buddhist cycle of coming into existence and disappearing together, they can be conceptualized as a single unit. See *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (*Dīrghāgama*) 18, T 1.1.114b25–c8.

is what kind of person?
High is his merit for protecting the Dharma
and he has transmitted it in the four seas.

某承中使至, 奉傳王旨, 以天竺國天吉祥三藏眞容, 福唐飛山戒珠長老眞容各一軸, 許令歸敬者, 無任感幸之至, 謹課成拙詩三首, 仰獻宸堦, 伏惟賜覽.

形貌由來豈異人 丹青元是重精神
王家寄到山門意 護法因緣在此辰
委命流通代有人 路經葱雪十三春<三藏自言, "在路十三年.">
當年幸得親承訓 今對風儀念宿因
金口遺文滿大千 道消彌遠罕扶顚
飛山默子何爲者 弘護功高四海傳

58. Composed While Living in Seclusion at Haein Monastery, Four Poems[525]

(1)
Haein Monastery is rather superior to the monastery on Lu Peak[526]
The Kaya [River], in addition, resembles the flow of Tiger River[527]

525 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 20, HPC 4.565b3–12.

526 Lu Peak (Yŏak, Ch. Luyue 廬岳) refers to Mt. Lu 廬山 and the White Lotus Society (Bailianshe 白蓮社) that was organized there by Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 during the Eastern Jin period. The monastery on Mt. Lu became the fundamental enlightenment site and a holy site for practitioners of Pure Land Buddhism

527 Tiger River (Hogye, Ch. Huxi 虎溪) is the stream that flows in front of the Bailianshe on Mt. Lu. The Tiger River became famous because of the adage "Three chatting by Tiger River" (*Hogye samso*, Ch. *Huxi sanxiao* 虎溪三笑). The story goes that the Confucian scholar and poet Tao Yuanming and the Daoist master Lu Xiujing went to see the eminent monk Huiyuan at Bailian Monastery. On their way back the three men were chatting while they were walking. Although Huiyuan had previously decided not to cross the Tiger River, he was so caught up in their conversation that he ended up crossing over the river while seeing these men off. This story, oft retold and depicted in paintings, has commonly been employed symbolically to show the harmony between the three teachings of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. However, when one takes into consideration the dates when

<Kaya is the name of a river.>
Although the high traces of the noble Huiyuan
Still, I'm pleased that my final aspiration has been realized.

(2)
Disheartened by disgrace for many years while staying in the capital,
I am ashamed and have not completed the merits and skills of the doctrinal approach.
At this time my practicing the Way to enlightenment is only vain effort.
I compete like forests and springs and take pleasure in the sentience of the nature.

(3)
Affairs pass, how many times have I lamented?
Every year there is no way for me to recompense my king and parents.
How pathetic were my younger years, my mind is just like yesterday.
I did not realize that forty years had passed already.

(4)
Honor, glory, wealth, and rank are all spring dreams.
They assemble and disperse, exist and do not, and pop like water bubbles.
Outside of resting one's will and pacifying one's mind
One continually schemes but what things does one pursue?

海印寺退居有作 四首
海印却勝廬岳寺 伽耶還似虎溪流<伽耶者溪名也>
遠公高迹雖難繼 且喜終焉志已酬
屈辱多年寄帝京 教門功業耻無成
此時行道徒勞爾 爭似林泉樂性情

---

these men actually lived, it would have been difficult for them to actually have met. Rather we should consider it a story crafted in a later generation that promotes the idea of the capability and harmony of the three teachings.

事去幾廻興嘆息 年來無計報君親
可憐少壯心如昨 不覺銷磨四十春
榮華富貴皆春夢 聚散存亡盡水漚
除却栖神安養外 筭來何事可追求

59. Composed to Celebrate My Lecturing on the *Diamond Sūtra* based on the *Korean Commentary*[528]

Meaning and speech are not written language
so they are compatible with the Buddha mind.
The courses and teachings of Master Punhwang (Wŏnhyo)
alone are worthy of pondering.
The lonely road of many rebirths
is dark as night.
Meeting this day [for my lecture is like]
a mustard [seed] encountering a needle.[529]

依海東疏, 講金剛經, 慶而有作.
義語非文契佛心 芬皇科教獨堪尋
多生孤露冥如夜 此日遭逢芥遇針

---

528 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 20, HPC 4.565b13–15. The most common usage of the name *Korean Commentary* (*Haedongso* 海東疏) is as the popular name of Wŏnhyo's *Kisillon so* 起信論疏 in China because that was one of the three most influential commentaries on the *Qixin lun* [Awakening of faith] in East Asian Buddhism. However, because it seems strange that Ŭich'ŏn would lecture on the *Diamond Sūtra* using Wŏnhyo's commentary on the *Qixin lun*, here Ŭich'ŏn probably refers to Wŏnhyo's *Kŭmgang-gyŏng so* 金剛經疏 [Commentary on the *Diamond Sūtra*].

529 "A mustard seed encountering a needle" (*pong kae u ch'im* 逢芥遇針) refers to a very rare occurrence and is a metaphor for the difficultly of having an opportunity to learn the Buddhadharma. The idea is that if a needle was set up somewhere on the earth, it would be very difficult and practically impossible for a mustard seed falling from heaven to land right on the needle point. In just the same way, it is very difficult to encounter someone from whom to learn the Buddhadharma.

60. Reading the Doctrinal Traces of Korea[530]

Writing treatises and esteeming the scriptures to elucidate the great Way to enlightenment
The merit and skill of Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna are comparable to his.
If you are lazy in your studies and are completely ignorant like [people] today,
It's still similar [to the adage] "There's someone like Confucius in the house to the East."

讀海東教迹
著論宗經闡大猷 馬龍功業是其儔
如今惰學都無識 還似東家有孔丘

61. One of my students drew my portrait. Considering the profundity of his brushwork to be fine, I wrote this poem and showed it to him.[531]

Seminal artistic skill issues forth from one's innermost feelings/heart
How is there such precocity in the study of the five courses[532]
Since you were able to draw my physical form [well]
I also hope you will be able to transmit my Way to enlightenment.

學徒中 有寫吾眞者, 佳其筆妙, 因而示之.
精藝發懷抱 五明學何早

530 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 20, HPC 4.565b16–18.

531 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 20, HPC 4.565c2–5.

532 The five courses (*omyŏng*, Ch. *wuming* 五明; Skt. *pañca-vidyā*) are (1) Sanskrit grammar, including language and literature (*sŏngmyŏng* 聲明; Skt. *śabda-vidyā*); (2) technical skills and crafts (*konggyomyŏng* 工巧明; Skt. *śilpa-karma-sthāna-vidyā*); (3) medicine and pharmaceutics (*ŭibangmyŏng* 醫方明; Skt. *ciktsā-vidyā*); (4) logic (*inmyŏng* 因明; Skt. *hetu-vidyā*); and (5) clarification of the doctrine of the self (*atman*) (*naemyŏng* 內明; Skt. *adhyātama-vidyā*).

旣能寫我形 亦願傳吾道

62. Reading Minister Duke Pei[533] of the Tang's "Composition on Arousing the Bodhicitta"[534]

O esteemed bodhisattva
of the house of Tang,
You preached the dharma as a councilor and official
and rescued those who were drowning.
Ever since the Song emperor
thoroughly comprehended your spirit,
The flocks of those deluded in the sea of nature
have begun to ask for guidance in this endeavor.[535]

讀唐朝裵相公發菩提心文
珍重唐家菩薩人 宰官說法拯沈淪

---

533 Minister Duke Pei 裵相公 refers to Pei Xiu 裵休 (797–870), a scholar and official of the Tang period. During the Changqing reign period (812–824) he became a presented scholar (*jinshi* 進士), and during the Dazhong reign period (847–859) he became an attendant gentleman of the Ministry of War. Later, he became a military commissioner of several areas. He was a very dignified individual whose appearance and attitude were friendly. The Chan school praises him as a true Confucian scholar. He was a capable individual in literary composition and had beautiful calligraphy in the blocked or square *kaishu* style 楷書. He learned Huayan from Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), and whenever Zongmi finished a new work he always requested Pei Xiu to write preface for him. Furthermore, it is also recorded that he discussed Chan meditation with Huangbi Xiyun 黃檗希運 and Wanling 宛陵. He composed the *Wanling ji* 宛陵集, which became very popular in the world. When Emperor Wuzong persecuted and suppressed Buddhism during the Wuchang reign period (840–846), he exerted all of his powers as a senior statesman to protect the Buddhist church and was eventually able to restore Buddhism to favor. He composed the *Quan fa putixin wen* 勸發菩提心文 and edited the *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 compiled by Xiyun and Fayao .

534 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 20, HPC 4.565c21–566a1.

535 I have translated the common Sinitic expression "inquire about the ford" (*munjin* 問津), often used to express the idea "How do I get started?" or "asking for guidance in this endeavor."

自從宋帝通神後 性海群迷始問津

63. On the twenty-first day of the sixth month of the *kimyo*-year [1099], after striking up a conversation in the Pear Room I happened to compose a short poem and showed it to His Majesty the Crown Prince. <This was when King Yejong[536] was in the Eastern Palace[, the residence of the heir apparent].>[537]

When I think of long ago
during the Xianyong[538] reign period,
Many times because of literary societies
this situation came up.
Who knew we would meet again
in this revitalized world?
Feeling for the ancient past and cherishing the present
I cannot yet acquiesce to return.

己卯六月二十一日, 梨房攀話之後, 偶成一絶, 寫呈副君殿下.<睿王在東宮時>
憶昔咸雍紀號間 屢因文會此躋攀
誰知再遘中興世 感舊懷今未忍還

---

536 Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1105–1122) was the sixteenth king of Koryŏ. He was the eldest son of Sukchong (r. 1095–1105). He instituted the seven fasts (*ch'ilchae* 七齋), which were specialty lectures at the State University (*kukhak* 國學), and planned to revive and promote a Government School (*kwanhak* 官學). He built Ch'ŏngyŏn Pavilion 淸讌閣 and Pomun Pavilion 寶文閣. He promoted Confucianism greatly by setting up academicians (*haksa* 學士) and discussing the classics with them. He also had a policy to nurture men of talent by establishing a scholarship foundation called the Warehouse to Nurture Worthies (Yanghyŏn ko 養賢庫) in the State University. The literary arts flourished during his reign as a result of these polities.

537 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 20, HPC 4.566a2–5.

538 The Xianyong 咸雍 reign period (1065–1074) was a region period of the Liao 遼 emperor Daodi 道帝 or Daozong 道宗 (r. 1055–1101).

64. Grieving for Royal Preceptor Hyedŏk[539]

Merit and wisdom,
these two were solemnly complete;
Training his mind
resided in lecturing and proclaiming;
Although inundated
with a thousand years of teachings
His promotion and protection [of the Dharma]
was the karmic connection of his whole life.
In the palace temple [of Tuṣita Heaven]
causes were full from the first;[540]

---

539 *Taegak kuksa munjip* 20, HPC 4.566a13–17. Royal Preceptor Hyedŏk 慧德 refers to Sohyŏn 韶顯 (1038–1096), an eminent monk of the Pŏpsang school in the mid-Koryŏ period. He was the son of Yi Chayŏn 李子淵 (d. 1086), founder of the most powerful lineage of the mid-Koryŏ period. He left home and became a monk at eleven *se* and became a disciple of State Preceptor Haerin 海麟. After receiving full ordination to the Buddhist precepts, he passed the monastic examination held at the site of the great examination of the five teachings (*ogyo taesŏnjang* 五教大選場) in 1061 and received the dharma rank of *bhadanta* or great virtue. Whether supervising [dharma talks in] the dharma seat (*pŏpsŏk* 法席) in the royal palace temple (*naejŏn* 內殿) or lecturing in monasteries, he was completed absorbed in his activities. He was appointed abbot of Kŭmsan Monastery in 1079, which he renovated expanding its size. He erected the Kwanggyo Cloister 廣教院 to the south of Kŭmsan Monastery and lectured on the scriptures and disseminated the literature of the Pŏpsang school. He published thirty titles of essays and commentaries of the Consciousness-only lineage, in 353 rolls, including such works as Kuiji's (632–682) *Fahua xuanzan* 法華玄贊 (T 1723). This was a publishing project executed by the Pŏpsang school itself in contrast to Ŭich'ŏn's publication of the canon of doctrinal teachings at Hŭngwang Monastery. He became master of ceremonies (*hoeju* 會主) of the examination sites at Kaeguk Monastery 開國寺 and Chaun Monastery 慈雲寺. He then became a saṃgha overseer and annotated texts at Hyŏnhwa Monastery. Among his disciples was the saṃgha overseer Tosaeng 導生, the fifth son of Munjong and younger brother of Ŭich'ŏn. His commemorative stele remains at Kŭmsan Monastery.

540 The Bodhisattva Maitreya was born to a Brahmin family and later became a disciple of the Buddha Śākyamuni. He passed away before the Buddha, and it is said that as a bodhisattva he resides in Tuṣita Heaven and preaches to men and gods. When the Bodhisattva Maitreya first aroused the aspiration to enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) and desired to save living beings, he vowed that he would

In the southern island [of Jambudvīpa]
fruition rewards have already been transferred.
How should one
dispel the clouds and fog?
Sitting I see
the heaven of Master Daoan
<Dharma Master Daoan obtained the spiritual penetration of the heavenly eye and from a great distance saw Tuṣita Heaven.>

悼慧德王師
福慧二嚴全 刳心在講宣
澆漓千載敎 弘護一生緣
內院因初滿 南洲報已遷
何當撥雲霧 坐見道安天<道安法師得天眼通, 遙見兜率天.>

---

not eat meat. For this reason he was called the Bodhisattva Maitreya, "the Loving One," which was translated into Chinese as "the Merciful One" (Chassi, Ch. Cishi 慈氏). When the Buddha gave Maitreya a prophesy of his future Buddhahood, he said that he would live a long life of 4,000 years in Tuṣita Heaven (about 57 *koṭis* [*ŏk* 億] and 6 thousands of myriads of years in human earth years), descend to earth, attain Buddhahood under a *nāgapuṣpa* tree (*yonghwasu*, Ch. *longhuashu* 龍華樹), and preach the Buddhadharma in three great assemblies (*samhoe*, Ch. *sanhui* 三會). It is said that in these assemblies 96 *koṭis*, 94 *koṭis*, and 92 *koṭis* of living beings, respectively, will be liberated from the cycle of rebirth and death. There were four primary definations of *koṭi* among Kyŏnghŭng's contemporaries in medieval East Asia: one *koṭi* equals one hundred thousand (*simman* 十萬), one *koṭi* equals one million (*paengman* 百萬), one *koṭi* equals ten million (*ch'ŏnman* 千萬), and one *koṭi* equals one hundred million (*manman* 萬萬). These four were known to the Faxiang monk Kuiji and the Huayan monk Fazang 法藏 (643–712); see *Yuga shidi lun lüezuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂 1, T 1829.43.17b23–c3; *Huayan jing souxuan ji* 華嚴搜玄記 4, T 1719.35.174c15–18.

65. On the fourth day of the sixth month of the *kyŏngjin*-year[541] [1100], after lecturing on the *Sublime Mysteries of Tiantai*[542] at Kukch'ŏng Monastery, I wrote my ambitions and showed them to my students.[543]

For twenty-four years I have exerted myself in lecturing.

<From the time I was twenty-three years old I first started to lecture on the *Zhengyuan New Translation of the* Avataṃsaka-sūtra[544] and its

---

[541] The *kyŏngjin* 庚辰 year was 1100, one year before to Ŭich'ŏn's passing away (lit. "entering quiescence") at age forty-six.

[542] *Sublime Mysteries of Tiantai* (*Tiantai miaoxuan* 天台妙玄) refers to Zhiyi's *Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義 [Mysterious meaning of the Lotus Sūtra]. The Fahua jing xuanyi 法華經玄義 and Fahua jing wenju 法華經文句, which were both preached by Zhiyi and recorded by Zhang'an Guanding 章安灌頂 are often called the commentaries on the mysteries (*hyŏnso*, Ch. *xuanshu* 玄疏) or sublime mysteries and sublime commentaries (*myohyŏn myoso*, Ch. *miaoxuan miaoshu* 妙玄妙疏). The Fahua xuanyi, in ten rolls (or twenty rolls), was recorded by Guanding in 593 when Zhiyi preached at Yuquan Monastery 玉泉寺 in Xingzhou 荊州. The work describes in a detailed manner the meaning of the title of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*) [Sūtra on the lotus of the sublime dharma] and the deep principles of the sūtra.

[543] *Taegak kuksa munjip* 20, HPC 4.556b11–20.

[544] The *Zhengyuan New Translation of the* Avataṃsaka-sūtra (*Zhengyuan xinyi huayan jing* 貞元新譯華嚴經) refers to the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* (T 293), in forty rolls, completed in 798. There are three primary translations of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* into Buddhist Chinese: the sixty-roll edition translated in the Eastern Jin period (*Jinben* 晉本, T 278), the eighty-roll edition tradition translated during the time of Empress Wu (*Zhouben* 周本, T 279), and the forty-roll edition translated during the Zhengyuan reign period of the mid-Tang period (*Zhengyuanben* 貞元本). The Zhengyuan edition differs from the foregoing because it is only a translation of the "Entry into the Dharma Realm" chapter (*Ru fajie pin* 入法界品), the voluminous final chapter of the sutra, which circulated separately in India as the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*. The Zhengyuan edition was translated by Prajñā (Bore 般若), but it is presumed that eminent monks such as Chengguan 澄觀 and Yuanzhao 元照 also participated. The translation was originally titled *Dafangguangfo huayan jing ru busiyi jietuo jingjie Puxian xingyuan pin* 大方廣佛華嚴經入不思議解脫境界普賢行願品 [Chapter on entering the world system of inconceivable liberation and the practice and vows of Samantabhadra in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*]. Although for the most part is bears many similarities with the two earlier full translations of the sūtra, its distinctive characteristics are that its sentences are even more expanded and lengthened and it appends the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra's ten great vows.

accompanying commentary,[545] fifty rolls altogether, and I have never ceased lecturing on it until today after finishing it that year.>

I have translated three hundred rolls of silk-brocade like materials [such as the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, and the *Mysterious Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua xuanyi*)].

<I have lectured on more than three hundred rolls: the three translations of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra and their commentaries in 180 rolls. Although the words of the departed masters support each other, I have not followed them all; I have just translated into our language following the commentary before us.[546] It is just the same with regard to the Southern *edition of the Nirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Nanben Niepan jing* 南本涅槃經) in thirty-six rolls. In particular, with respect to several sections of the *Mysterious Meaning of the Nirvāṇa-sūtra* in ten rolls, since there has been no one to transmit it from ancient times, not knowing its deep meaning, I translated it into our language and it was also ten sections. The *Lives of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan*) says, "Translation is simply like the floral patterns to the left and right on the reverse side of a design on silk brocade."[547] For this reason I

545 This accompanying commentary refers to Chengguan's *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏, in ten rolls, a commentary on the forty-roll translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. It is also called the *Huayan jing Puxian xingyuan pin shu* 佛華嚴經普賢行願品疏, the *Zhengyuan xinyi huayan jing shu* 貞元新譯華嚴經疏, and the *Zhengyuan shu* 貞元疏. Although it is for the most part the same as the portion of Chengguan's *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏, in sixty rolls, which is an annotated commentary of the eighty-roll edition of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the major contribution of the commentary is that it goes into greater detail explicating the ten great vows of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (*Puxian pusa shi dayuanwen* 普賢菩薩十大願文). Furthermore, Chengguan asserts that the Lotus Storehouse Realm of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* does not exist apart from the world system of Extreme Bliss (Sukhāvatī), the Pure Land of Amitābha. In addition, Chengguan also has another commentary titled *Dafangguang fo huayan jing Puxian xingyuan pin biexing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經普賢行願品別行疏 (*Biexing shu* 別行疏 for short).

546 This refers to Chengguan's *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 in sixty rolls. The commentary was composed by imperial command upon the completion of the translation in 798.

547 "With respect to translation, if you turn silk inside out the back side is all floral patterns; it is only that the right and left sides of those flowers are not the same. For this reason, the two names *fan* 飜/翻 (turn over) and *yi* 譯 (interpret) are used." See *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 3, T 2061.50.723a27–29.

have written "silk-brocade like translation" (*kŭmbŏn* 錦飜).>

Although I've racked my brains for many years, I'm embarrassed that my strength in transmitting the lamp [of the Dharma] is insufficient.

<I suffer from worrying too much, and because it's recently gotten worse, whenever I read sūtras and commentaries I am depressed because I realize my scholarship has greatly deteriorated.>

I respectfully intend to combine and rectify [the traditions of] Mt. Lu and plant the lotus of the society [viz., organize a White Lotus Society of Mt. Lu].

<When Queen Dowager Inye previously organized a religious society she vowed to offer worship to all the true images of the eighteen worthies of Mt. Lu,[548] famous paintings owned by the Song dynasty. Those true images have been neglected and have still not been enshrined in a hall. Relying on good karmic connections, I would like to improve my karma for rebirth in the world of the Western Paradise and pray to be placed on the path of rebirth in the Pure Land.>

庚辰六月四日, 國清寺講徹天台妙玄之後, 言志示徒

二紀孜孜務講宣<予自二十三歲, 始講貞元新譯花嚴經并疏共五十卷, 其年徹軸, 自後講演未嘗有廢.>

錦翻三百貫花詮<所有講演諸部三百餘卷, 而花嚴三本共一百八十卷, 雖有古人相承之說, 吾並不用, 但依本疏翻譯方言. 其南本涅槃三十六卷等亦爾. 妙玄十卷等諸部, 古無傳授者, 不揆膚受, 輒譯方言, 亦有十餘部. 高僧傳云, "翻也者,

548 The eighteen worthies of Mt. Lu (*Yŏsan sipp'al hyŏn,* Ch. *Lushan shiba xian* 廬山十八賢) are the eighteen notable individuals who participated with Huiyuan in the practices seeking rebirth in the Pure Land as part the White Lotus Society (Bailianshe 白蓮社) at Donglin Monastery 東林寺 on Mt. Lu. In addition to Huiyuan were Huiyong 慧永, Huichi 慧持, Daosheng 道生, Tanshun 曇順, Huirui 慧叡, Tanheng 曇恒, Daobing 道昺, Tanshen 曇詵, Daojing 道敬, Buddhayaśas (Fotuoyeshe 佛陀耶舍), Buddhabhadra (Fotuobatuoluo 佛馱跋陀羅), Liu Yimin 劉遺民, Chang Ye 長野, Zhou Xuzhi 周續之 (377–423), Chang Qian 長詮, Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443), Lei Cizong 雷次宗 (386–448), and Liu Chengzhi 劉程之 (354–410). Their biographies are recorded in the *Lianshe gaoxian zhuan* 蓮社高賢傳, and a shrine (*shetang* 祠堂) for the worship of these eighteen worthies is found on Mt. Lu. There are some curious anachronisms with regard to the traditional list of the eighteen worthies. For a brief discussion see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China,* 106–108.

如翻錦綺, 但花有左右耳." 故云"錦翻".>
憔勞愧乏傳燈力<予有心勞之病, 近日漸增, 看讀經書, 每覺心痛, 學業荒廢.>
祇合匡廬種社蓮<仁睿太后 昔曾發愿結社之事, 所有宋本名畵廬山十八賢眞容,
落在院門, 未[549]有安置堂閣. 予欲仗此勝緣, 修西方之業, 用薦冥遊云爾.>

[549] Correcting the text by adding the logograph *mi* 未 following the context and the woodblock edition.

V

BRIEF EXPLANATION OF THE VOW MADE AT WHITE FLOWER ENLIGHTENMENT SITE

Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae

白花道場發願文略解

體元

By Ch'ewŏn

Introduction

The *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae* 白花道場發願文略解 (Brief Explanation of the Vow Made at White Flower Enlightenment Site) is a commentary appended to the Silla monk Ŭisang's 義相 (625–702) "Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun" 白花道場發願文 (Vow Made at White Flower Enlightenment Site) by the late Koryŏ-period monk Ch'ewŏn 體元 (ca. 1280–d. after 1338).

Ch'ewŏn was a scholiast who compiled an intellectual variorum on the cult of Avalokiteśvara in the late Koryŏ period. His pen name (*ho* 號) was Mogam 木庵 and his pseudonym (*cha* 字) was Hyangyŏ 向如. He was the son of the late-Koryŏ official Yi Chŏn 李瑱 (1224–1321) of the Kyŏngju Yi lineage 慶州李氏 and the elder brother of the eminent Confucian scholar Ikchae 益齋 Yi Chehyŏn 李齊賢 (1287–1367). Ch'ewŏn left home and became a monk when he was about twenty years old and passed the monastic examination. He was selected by King Ch'ungsŏn 忠宣 (r. 1308–1313) and served as abbot of several monasteries. Ch'ewŏn was active primarily in the area of Kyŏngsang Province 慶尙道—centered on Haein Monastery 海印寺—and not in the Koryŏ capital of Kaegyŏng 開京 (present-day Kaesŏng 開城). He was the abbot of Pŏpsu Monastery 法水寺 in Sŏngju, in the vicinity of Haein Monastery, and active in Pallyong Monastery 盤龍寺 in Koryŏng in 1324. Pallyong Monastery was the enlightenment site

(*toryang* 道場) at which the Saṃgha Overseer Yoil 寮一 founded a Hwaŏm Society in 1320. Ch'ewŏn was also the abbot of Tongch'ŏn Monastery 東泉寺 in Kyŏngju. From this we can see that Ch'ewŏn was active in monasteries associated with the Hwaŏm tradition in Kyŏngsang Province during the 1320s and 1330s. He published several expository writings on Buddhist scriptures at Haein Monastery.[1] Ch'ewŏn initiated projects to create special handwritten copies (*sagyŏng* 寫經) of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra and* the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* when he assumed the title Metropolitan Saṃgha Overseer of the Two Streets of the Saṃgha Registry (*yangga tosŭngt'ong* 兩街都僧統) in 1338.

The *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae,* as a collection of comments that explicate Ŭisang's "Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun," cites the canonical writings of several Huayan/Hwaŏm founders beginning with the eminent Silla monk Ŭisang. This variorum, which was examined and corrected by Sŏngji 性之 of Kakwa Monastery 覺華寺, was completed in 1328; the first edition of it was published in Kyerim Superior Prefecture 鷄林府 (Kyŏngju) in 1334. Several monks and laypeople, from the religious ascetic Sŏnsun 善珣 of the Tongch'ŏn Society 東泉社 to calligraphers, copyists, and carvers, participated in the publication of this brief exegesis. The Administrator of Kyerim Superior Prefecture also participated as an important donor. The publication of this work provides evidence that many kinds of people, beginning with Ch'ewŏn's dharma brother Inwŏn 忍源 (fl. 1314–1340), were interested in the worship of Avalokiteśvara. The cult of Avalokiteśvara received widespread support at this time in Koryŏ society, and the fact of its expansion is demonstrated by the compilation and publication of this variorum.

The contents of the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae* view the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with admiration, venerate the bodhisattva as the

---

1 Ch'ae Sangsik 蔡尙植, "Ch'ewŏn ŭi chŏsul kwa Hwaŏm sasang" 體元의 著述과 華嚴思想 [Ch'ewŏn's writings and Hwaŏm thought], in *Han'guk Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 韓國華嚴思想研究 [Research on Korean Hwaŏm thought], ed. Pulgyo Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 佛敎文化研究院 [Buddhist Culture Research Center] (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1982), 239–265, esp. 241–244.

original master, and encourage people to make a vow to be reborn in the Pure Land. Although there is controversy among contemporary scholars whether the "Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun" was indeed composed by Ŭisang or is a pretext from a later period, Ch'ewŏn clearly states that the vow-text was composed by Ŭisang for his worship of the bodhisattva in the Cave of Avalokiteśvara (Kwanŭm kul 觀音窟) at Naksan 洛山.[2] The "Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun" suggests that the role of Avalokiteśvara is more than merely a savior being in the present world. Although he wears a heavenly crown, bearing a figure of transformation buddha, on his head as an assistant of the Buddha Amitābha, just as described in the *Guanwuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 (Sūtra on the Visualization of the Buddha Amitāyus), he is shown to play an even greater role helping Amitābha, welcoming practitioners and aspirants to the Pure Land of Extreme Bliss (Sukhāvatī) in the West, and causing people to comprehend the true principle and obtain acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas (*musaengbŏp in*, Ch. *wushengfa ren* 無生法忍).

Although Ŭisang's faith was based on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls, Ch'ewŏn's faith was founded on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls, and his work analyzes this particular edition in his work. Because the title White Flower Enlightenment Site (*paekhwa toryang* 白花道場) appears to derive from Chengguan's 澄觀 (ca. 720/38–837/838) explanation that Potalaka (Podallakka 補怛洛迦) means Small White Flower Tree (*sobaekhwasu* 小白花樹), the exegetical work probably has the name it has. Although the exegesis also cites the forty-roll and sixty-roll editions of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra,* most of the passages from the sūtra that are cited and analyzed are from the eighty-roll edition. For this reason, Chengguan's *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏 (Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*) is the most cited exegetical work. After that, citations from Fazang's 法藏 (643–712) works are the next most numerous. Ch'ewŏn quotes from diverse examples of Fazang's work, such as the *Tanxuan ji* 探玄記 (Record on Exploring the Mysteries of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*), *Qixin lun yiji* 起信論義記 (Record of the Meaning of the

---

2 Jung Byung Sam (Chŏng Pyŏngsam 鄭炳三), *Ŭisang Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 의상 화엄사상 연구 [Research on the Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought] (Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1998), 203–212.

Awakening of Faith), *Wangjin huanyuan guan* 妄盡還源觀 (Observations on Exhausting Delusion and Returning to the Source). Furthermore, because Ch'ewŏn also cites Ŭisang's *Ilsŭng popkye to* 一乘法界圖 (Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm as the One Vehicle) several times in his analysis of the vow-text, it can be said that Ch'ewŏn considered the strand of Hwaŏm practice deriving from Ŭisang to be important. The abundance of citations to Fazang and Ŭisang manifests that this exegesis on Uisan'g vow-text is a reflection of Ch'ewŏn's interest in the Hwaŏm of Ŭisang and Fazang's period before the time of Chengguan.[3] Furthermore, because he cites certain contents of the *Shigou zhang* 十句章 (Essay on the Ten Passages) that are in harmony with positions held in the works of Kyunyŏ 均如 (923–973) or opinions held by Kyunyŏ, it may be said that Ch'ewŏn was quite familiar with the writings of Kyunyŏ. Because of these things we can know that the tendencies in Ch'ewŏn's understanding are a continuation of the Hwaŏm of the Silla and Koryŏ periods inherited from Ŭisang to Kyunyŏ.

The most distinctive feature of this work is the description of the core of the vow-text, the verses on the two vows: (1) the vow to be the same as the original master (*wŏn tong ponsa* 願同本師) and (2) the vow to be reborn in the Pure Land (*wŏn saeng chŏngt'o* 願生淨土). It is an individual description of each of the ten kinds of vows after the vow to make offerings (*kongyang wŏn* 供養願), which Chengguan analyzed with a citation to the *She dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋 (Analysis of the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*). Furthermore, another distinctive feature is the explanation of the thirty-two response bodies and fourteen fearlessnesses associated with the theory on Avalokiteśvara's response bodies using the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*. Because there are passages on the samādhi of perfect penetration (*wŏnt'ong sammae* 圓通三昧) among the passages of the vow-text, we would think that Ch'ewŏn's theory on Avalokiteśvara's response bodies would follow the opinion of the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*. The most eye-catching thing about the citations to the

3 Jung Byung Sam, "Koryŏ hugi Ch'ewŏn ŭi Kwanŭm sinang ŭi t'ŭksŏng" 고려 후기 體元의 관음신앙의 특성 [The characteristics of Ch'ewŏn's worship of Avalokiteśvara in the late Koryŏ period], *Pulgyo yŏn'gu* 佛教研究 30 (2009): 43–83, esp. 72–73.

Qianshou qianyan jing 千手千眼經 (Sūtra of the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) is that the core contents of the vow-text, the ten vows and six transferences (*sibwŏn yukhyang* 十願六向), come from this sūtra. Other seminal treatises are cited to provide analysis of key terms. For example, he cites the *Qixin lun* 起信論 (Awakening of the Faith) to explain original enlightenment (*pongak*, Ch. *benjue* 本覺), and the *She dasheng lun shi* to analyze the body of self-nature (*chasŏngsin*, Ch. *zixingshen* 自性身) and the ten kinds of vows.

Prints from the woodblocks of the 1334 edition of the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae* published at Haein Monastery circulated throughout the country, but, until recently, pages five and seven of the twenty-page work have been lost.[4] Furthermore, seven woodblocks carved on both sides, or fourteen pages of the original work, are preserved at Haein Monastery.[5] Besides missing pages five and seven, the original woodblocks are missing for pages nine, ten, thirteen, and fourteen. Because of this, in later times there are versions of the text that circulated with handwritten pages to fill in the portions of the text that did not have woodblocks. Two styles of calligraphy are used in the woodblocks.

Aside from this work, Ch'ewŏn edited and published another work associated with Avalokiteśvara, the *Hwaŏm-gyŏng Kwanjajae posal sosŏlpŏp mun pyŏrhaeng so* 華嚴經觀自在菩薩所說法門別行疏 (Commentary on the

4 Recently, a new woodblock has been discovered that contains the missing information from pages five and seven. So, now, all of the contents of the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun* and the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae* can be known. See Jung Byung Sam, "Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae ŭi chŏsul kwa yut'ong: Saero palgyŏndoen p'anbon kwa ŭi pigyo rŭl chungsim ŭro" 白花道場發願文略解의 저술과 유통: 새로 발견된 판본과의 비교를 중심으로 [The composition and circulation of the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae*: Compared with the newly discovered woodblock print], *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 韓國史硏究 151 (December 2010): 33–61; and Jung Byung Sam, "Chŏnmun *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae* wa Ch'ewŏn ŭi Kwanŭn sinang" 全文 白花道場發願文略解와 체원의 관음신앙 [The complete text of the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae* and Ch'ewŏn's faith in Avalokiteśvara], *Pulgyo yŏn'gu* 佛敎硏究 34 (February 2011): 83–116.

5 Pak Sangguk 朴相國, *Chŏn'guk sach'al sojang mokpan chip* 全國寺刹所藏木板集 [Compilation of xylographs possessed by Korean monasteries] (Seoul: Munhwajae Kwalliguk, 1987), 398.

Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's Approach to Preaching the Dharma and Special Practices in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*). In 1331, Ch'ewŏn also published *Hwaŏm-gyong Kwanŭm chisik p'um* 華嚴經觀音知識品 (Chapter on the Attainments of Avalokiteśvara in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*), an extract of the only portions of the separately translated eighty-roll version of the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, the "Entering the Dharma Realm" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, that deal with Sudhana's searching for Avalokiteśvara and his quest for the bodhisattva path. Furthermore, here *Pyŏrhaeng so* for the most part cites and bases its analysis on Chengguan's *Huayan jing shu, Zongmi's* 宗密 (780–841) *Huayan jing shu chao* 華嚴經疏抄 (Excerpts from the Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*), and other Chinese commentaries. In this book, Ch'ewŏn compares the Avalokiteśvara of the Hwaŏm materials to the "Universal Approach" chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*, and by means of his analysis seeks to forge an amalgamation or interfusion of the ways to worship Avalokiteśvara found in the two sūtras.[6]

However, these kinds of publications by Ch'ewŏn are a result of a request by his dharma brother Inwŏn, who had been preoccupied with the cult of Avalokiteśvara for more than thirty years. On the one hand these works assisted his dharma brother's sincerity of Avalokiteśvara; and on the other hand they were recompense for the aspirations of those who studied together with him. Before this, Ch'ewŏn published the *Samsipp'al pun kongdŏk sogyŏng* 三十八分功德疏經 (Commentary on the Meritorious Virtues in Thirty-eight Divisions) in 1331. This book compares the Daoist divinities to buddhas and bodhisattvas, emphasizes the meritorious virtue of recitation of the name of the Buddha Amitābha (*yŏmbul* 念佛), and stresses procedures for the welfare of the state and the peace of the people.[7]

Ch'ewŏn was a successor to Ŭisang and Ŭisang's Hwaŏm lineage, and this is clearly demonstrated in his intellectual analysis of Avalokiteśvara in the "Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun." Through this he established the truth-

6 Jung Byung Sam, "Koryŏ hugi Ch'ewŏn ŭi Kwanŭm sinang ŭi t'ŭksŏng," 62.

7 Ch'ae Sangsik, "Ch'ewŏn ŭi chŏsul kwa Hwaŏm sasang," 254–255.

seeking Avalokiteśvara of the Hwaŏm school and attempted to fulfill faith in pious deeds of the time through the dissemination of a cult of Avalokiteśvara interfusing Hwaŏm and Lotus components among ordinary people.

[Full Vow-text]

Vow Made at White Flower Enlightenment Site

I kowtow and take refuge. I contemplate the great perfect mirror wisdom of the original teacher, the Great Saint Avalokiteśvara. I also contemplate his disciple's [my own] original enlightenment, which is the quiescence of original nature. This, by means of the same one essence, is clean and pure, bright and clean. Everywhere in the ten directions is spacious, empty, and quiescent. "There are no characteristics of living beings or buddhas, subjective or objective." Already brightly clean, reflections in a mirror are not deficient. The myriad forms and everything in nature within it is manifest suddenly. Marks of the water-moon ornamentation, which the original master possesses, are inexhaustible, and the body, like empty flowers, which I, his disciple, possess, is a form of defilement. Dependent reward and direct reward is purity and impurity, so suffering and pleasure are not the same. Nevertheless, all are not detached from the one great perfect mirror. Now, take the body of the disciple in the midst of the mirror of Avalokiteśvara and take refuge in and worship the Great Saint Avalokiteśvara in the midst of the mirror of the disciple.

Making with sincerity the words of the vow, I expect to take upon myself the bestowal of power. I merely vow that as a disciple I will chant Avalokiteśvara throughout my whole life, and regard you as the original master. Just as if the bodhisattva had the Buddha Amitābha on the crown of your head, I also wear the Great Saint Avalokiteśvara on the crown of my head, and with respect to your ten vows and six transferences, the thousand-armed and thousand-eyed [Bodhisattva] Great Mercy Great Compassion "altogether is similar in my forsaking a body in this world system and receiving a body in other quarters wherever I dwell," just as a reflection follows a form, I always listen to explications of the dharma

and assist in promoting the truthful conversion. I will universally cause all living beings in the dharma realm to chant the great compassion spell, recollect the name of the bodhisattva, and together enter the ocean of the [original] nature of the samādhi of perfect penetration.

Furthermore, I vow that once this recompense is complete, I, his disciple, will personally revere the guidance of the Great Saint [Avalokiteśvara], which is like a shining light, and I will leave behind all fear and dread so that my body will be delighted and refreshed. In one *kṣaṇa* [instant], I will then instantly take rebirth in the White Flower Enlightenment Site and, together with all the bodhisattvas, listen to the True Dharma and enter its flowing current. Thought upon thought, my understanding will increase in clarity, and I will manifest the Tathāgata's great acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas.

Completing this vow, I take refuge with my life and prostrate myself before the Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara.

白花道場發願文

稽首歸依. 觀彼本師 觀音大聖, 大圓鏡智. 亦觀弟子 性靜本覺, 同是一體, 清淨皎潔 周遍十方 廓然空寂. 無生佛相, 無能所名, 旣然皎潔, 鑑照無虧. 萬像森羅於中頓現. 所有本師, 水月荘嚴, 無盡相好, 亦有弟子, 空花身相, 有漏形骸. 依正淨穢, 苦樂不同. 然皆不離 一大圓鏡. 今以觀音鏡中弟子之身, 歸命頂禮弟子鏡中觀音大聖. 發誠願語, 冀蒙加被. 惟願弟子, 生生世世稱觀世音, 以爲本師. 如菩薩頂戴彌陁, 我亦頂戴觀音大聖, 十願六向, 千手千眼大慈大悲, 悉皆同等捨身受身. 此界他方隨所住處, 如影隨形, 恒聞說法, 助揚眞化. 普令法界一切衆生, 誦大悲呪, 念菩薩名, 同入圓通三昧性海, 又願弟子此報盡時, 親承大聖放光接引, 離諸怖畏身心適悅, 一刹那間即得往生白華道場, 與諸菩薩同聞正法, 入法流水念念增明, 現發如來大無生忍. 發願已, 歸命頂禮觀自在菩薩摩訶薩.

The original text used for this translation is the edition published in *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛敎全書 (Collected Works of Korean Buddhism), vol. 6, pp. 570c1–577b5.

Selected Bibliography

Ch'ae Sangsik 蔡尚植. "Ch'ewŏn ŭi chŏsul kwa Hwaŏm sasang" 體元의 著述과 華嚴思想 [Ch'ewŏn's writings and Hwaŏm thought]. In *Han'guk Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 韓國華嚴思想研究 [Research on Korean Hwaŏm thought], ed. Pulgyo Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 佛教文化研究院 [Buddhist Culture Research Center], 239–265. Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1982.

———. *Koryŏ hugi Pulgyosa yŏn'gu* 高麗後期佛教史研究 [Research on the history of Buddhism in the late Koryŏ period]. Seoul: Ilchogak, 1991.

Jung Byung Sam (Chŏng Pyŏngsam 鄭炳三). "Koryŏ hugi Ch'ewŏn ŭi Kwanŭm sinang ŭi t'ŭksŏng" 고려 후기 體元의 관음신앙의 특성 [The characteristics of Ch'ewŏn's worship of Avalokiteśvara in the late Koryŏ period]. *Pulgyo yŏn'gu* 佛教研究 30 (February 2009): 43–83.

———. "Koryŏ hugi Kwanŭm sinang" 高麗 後期 觀音信仰 [The cult of Avalokiteśvara in the late Koryŏ period]. *Tanho munhwa yŏn'gu* 丹豪文化研究 1 (1996): 77–125.

———. *Ŭisang Hwaŏm sasang yŏn'gu* 의상 화엄사상 연구 [Research on Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought]. Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1998.

Kim Yŏngt'ae 金煐泰. "Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun ŭi myŏt kaji munje" 白花道場發願文의 몇 가지 문제 [Several issues associated with the *Vow Made at White Flower Enlightenment Site*]. *Han'guk Pulgyohak* 韓國佛教學 13 (1988): 11–32.

Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝. "Hakuke dōjō hatsuganbun kō" 白花道場發願文考 [A study of the *Vow Made at White Flower Enlightenment Site*]. In *Chūgoku no Bukkyō to bunka: Kamata Shigeo Hakushi kanreki kinen ronshū* 中国の仏教と文化: 鎌田茂雄博士還暦記念論集 [Buddhism and culture in China: Festschrift in commemoration of the sixty-first birthday of Kamata Shigeo], comp. Kamata Shigeo Hakushi Kanreki Kinen Ronshū Kankōkai 鎌田茂雄博士還暦記念論集刊行会 [Publication Committee for the Festschrift in Commemoration of the Sixty-First Birthday of Kamata Shigeo]. Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan, 1988.

Brief Explanation of the Vow Made at White Flower Enlightenment Site

白花道場發願文略解

Variorum by Ch'ewŏn[8]

---

8 Ch'ewŏn 體元 (ca. 1280–d. after 1338) was a monk of the late Koryŏ period. His pen name (*ho* 號) was Mogam 木庵 and his pseudonym (*cha* 字) was Hyangyŏ 向如. He was the son of the late-Koryŏ official Yi Chŏn 李瑱 (1224–1321) of the Kyŏngju Yi lineage 慶州李氏 and the elder brother of the eminent Confucian scholar Ikchae 益齋 Yi Chehyŏn 李齊賢 (1287–1367). Ch'ewŏn left home and became a monk when he was about twenty years old and passed the monastic examination. He was selected by King Ch'ungsŏn 忠宣 (r. 1308–1313) and served as abbot of several monasteries. Ch'ewŏn was active primarily in the area of Kyŏngsang Province 慶尚道—centered on Haein Monastery 海印寺. He was the abbot of Pŏpsu Monastery 法水寺 in Sŏngju, in the vicinity of Haein Monastery, and active in Pallyong Monastery 盤龍寺 in Koryŏng in 1324. Pallyong Monastery was the enlightenment site (*toryang* 道場) at which the Saṃgha Overseer Yoil 寮一 founded a Hwaŏm Society in 1320. Ch'ewŏn was also the abbot of Tongch'ŏn Monastery 東泉寺 in Kyŏngju. From this we can see that Ch'ewŏn was active in monasteries associated with the Hwaŏm tradition in Kyŏngsang Province during the 1320s and 1330s. He published several expository writings on Buddhist scriptures at Haein Monastery. Ch'ewŏn initiated projects to create special handwritten manuscript (*sagyŏng* 寫經) of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* when he assumed the title Metropolitan Saṃgha Overseer of the Two Streets of the Saṃgha Registry (*yangga tosŭngt'ong* 兩街都僧統) in 1338. Aside from the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae* 白花道場發願文略解 [Brief explanation of the vow made at white flower enlightenment site], a commentary on a vow-text by the Silla monk Ŭisang 義湘 (625–702), which was published in 1338, Ch'ewŏn edited and published another work associated with Avalokiteśvara, the *Hwaŏm-gyŏng Kwanjajae posal sosŏlpŏp mun pyŏrhaeng so* 華嚴經觀自在菩薩所說法門別行疏 [Commentary on the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's approach to preaching the Dharma and special practices in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]. Ch'ewŏn also published *Hwaŏm-gyong Kwanŭm chisik p'um* 華嚴經觀音知識品 [Chapter on the attainments of Avalokiteśvara in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], an extract of the only portions of the separately translated forty-roll version of the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, the "Entering the Dharma Realm" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, that deal with Sudhana's searching for Avalokiteśvara and his quest for the bodhisattva path. Before this, Ch'ewŏn published *Sashibafen gongde sujing* 三十八分功德疏經 [Commentaries and scriptures on the

Vow-text by Dharma Master Ŭisang[9] of Silla

The Author

[Vow-text]
Vow Made at White Flower Enlightenment Site [白花道場發願文][10]

meritorious virtues of the thirty-eight divisions of deities] in 1331. This book compares the Daoist divinities to buddhas and bodhisattvas, emphasizes the meritorious virtue of recitation of the name of the Buddha Amitābha (*yŏmbul* 念佛), and stresses procedures for the welfare of the state and the peace of the people.

9 Ŭisang 義相 (625–702) is the recognized founder of Silla's Hwaŏm tradition. After leaving home and becoming a monk at Hwangbok Monastery 皇福寺, he went to Tang China and studied Huayan thought under Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668). He composed the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 一乘法界圖 [Seal-diagram symbolizing the dharma realm as the one vehicle], which establishes the origins of the dharma realm and the mutual identity of the one and the many. Upon returning from China he established several monasteries beginning with Pusŏk Monastery 浮石寺, studied and made seminal progress in Hwaŏm thought along with his many disciples, and spread the Hwaŏm tradition throughout Silla. The cults of Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha flourished in the religious brotherhood he founded. His disciples multiplied and founded ten great Hwaŏm monasteries in Silla. The Hwaŏm tradition was the most powerful and influential Buddhist tradition in Silla's Buddhist world, and it continued in this position long thereafter. Aside from the *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to* Ŭisang composed the *Amit'a-gyŏng ŭigi* 阿彌陀經義記 [Commentary the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*] and the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun* 白花道場發願文 [Vow made at white flower enlightenment site]. Although Ŭisang composed few commentarial and literary works, those that exist are well known. Among his most famous disciples are Chit'ong 智通, Chinjŏng 眞定, Tosin 道身, and P'yohun 表訓. For more on Ŭisang see Richard D. McBride II, *Domesticating the Dharma: Buddhist Cults and the Hwaŏm Synthesis in Silla Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

10 According to tradition, the *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun* 白花道場發願文 [Vow made at white flower enlightenment site] is believed to have been composed as a result of Ŭisang's encountering the true body of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara at Naksan 洛山, near present-day Kangnŭng 江陵, where Ŭisang eventually founded Naksan Monastery 洛山寺. However, there are several problems with the position that it was composed by Ŭisang. For instance, it transcribes Avalokiteśvara's name in a confusing manner, using both Kwanŭm 觀音and Kwanjajae 觀自在, following different sūtras, and it also refers to the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*, a sūtra that wasa not translated until after Ŭisang's death. (Several modern scholars hold that the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* is apocryphal text.) Therefore, it may be seen as a

[Variorum]

The Dharma Master's family name was Kim. He entered Tang[11] in the *kyŏngsul*-year [650], the first year of the Yonghui reign period of Tang Gaozong,[12] committed himself to the Venerable Zhiyan[13] on Mt. Zhongnan,[14]

---

work of his disciples from later periods reflecting his faith in the cult of Avalokiteśvara. Nevertheless, the text has been transmitted in connection with the purported fact of Ŭisang's seeing Avalokiteśvara at Naksan. Ch'ewŏn clearly states that Ŭisang composed this vow-text after his experience in the Cave of Avalokiteśvara at Naksan. Ch'ewŏn does not deal with the anachronistic problems of the text but treats it as an authentic work of Ŭisang; and citing several scriptural commentaries he analyzes the work on a grand scale.

11 Several scholarly theories differ on the actual year that Ŭisang entered Tang. The theory promoting the year 661, not 650 as presented here, is the most accurate and appropriate to modern scholars.

12 The first year of the Yonghui 永辉 reign period (650–655) of Tang Gaozong 唐高宗 (r. 649–683), 650, corresponds to the fourth year of Silla queen Chindŏk 眞德 (r. 647–654).

13 Zhiyan智儼 (602–668) is recognized as the second patriarch of the Huayan tradition in China. He is also known by the names Great Master Zhixiang 至相大師 and the Reverend Yunhua 雲華尊者. He was disciple of the Huayan founding patriarch Dushun's杜順 (557–640) disciple Dharma Master Da 達法師 and was the master teacher of Ŭisang and Fazang 法藏 (Xianshou 賢首, 643–712). He also studied under the Sui and early Tang exegetes Fachang法常 (567–645) and Zhizheng 智正. His extant works, including the *Souxuan ji* 搜玄記 [Record of searching the mysteries, a commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty rolls, T 1732, composed in 628], *Kongmu zhang* 孔目章 [Huayan miscellany, T 1870], and *Wushi yao wenta* 五十要問答 [Questions and answers regarding fifty-three specific doctrines, T 1869], established the foundation of Huayan thought in East Asia along with the works of Fazang. For the most comprehensive study of Zhiyan in a Western language see Robert M. Gimello, "Chih-yen (智儼, 602–668) and the Foundations of Hua-yen (華嚴) Buddhism" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1976).

14 Mt. Zhongnan 終南山 is located about forty kilometers south of Xi'an 西安 (Chang'an 長安 during the Tang period) in China's Shanxi Province 陕西省. Rising to a height of 2,604 meters, the mountain is also called Nanshan 南山 (South Mountain). It lies in the midst of the Jinling mountain range to the southwest, and it includes Mt. Cuihua 翠華山, South Wutai 南五臺, Mt. Guifeng 圭峰山, and Lishan 驪山. The mountain served as an important center of Buddhist practice during the Tang period (618–907); it housed several important monasteries, and it was home to such intellectual luminaries as Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), Zhiyan, and Zongmi 宗密 (780–841). Although it was an important sacred space during the Sui (581–618) and Tang periods where the Vinaya, Huayan, Faxiang, Pure Land, and Chan traditions flourished, in the present only traces remain in many places of its former greatness.

and studied Huayan along with the State Preceptor Xianshou.[15] It was at the time before State Preceptor Xianshou left home and became a monk. As both of them had a thorough knowledge of the profound meaning [of the Buddhadharma], Master Zhiyan called Dharma Master Ŭisang "Ŭiji" 義持 (meaning preserver) and State Preceptor Xianshou "Munji" 文持 (pattern/textual preserver). Already thoroughly conversant in the mysterious [approach to Buddhist wisdom], [Ŭisang] composed the *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm*[16] and presented it to his Master Zhiyan. When the master saw

---

15 State Preceptor Xianshou 賢首國師 refers to Fazang 法藏 (643–712), the third patriarch of the Huayan tradition and one of the most important promoters of Huayan doctrine and thought. His pen name (*hao*) was Dharma Master Guoyi 國一法師, or Great Master Xiangxiang 香象大師, as well as State Preceptor Kangzang 康藏國師. Because Fazang's ancestors hailed from Sogdiana, his surname was Kang 康氏. His grandfather immigrated to China and settled in Chang'an. When he was young he petitioned Zhiyan to be his teacher and studied Huayan. After Zhiyan's passing he left home and officially became a monk under Bochen 薄塵 when he was twenty-eight years old. Because he was skilled in several languages of Central Asia and Sanskrit, by imperial command he participated on the eminent monk Yijing's 義淨 (635–713) translation team, which executed the translations of more than ten sūtras including the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls and the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (T 672). In the latter years of the reign of Empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–705) he achieved a grand synthesis of Huayan thought. To explain the origination of the ten mysteries (*shixuan yuanqi*, Kor. *siphyŏn yŏn'gi* 十玄緣起), the quintessence of the Huayan teaching, he composed the famous *Composition on the Golden Lion* (*Jinshizi zhang* 金獅子章), which compares the ultimate Huayan ideals to the golden lions of the palace. He wrote more than thirty treatises and commentaries on Huayan-related topics and other commentaries on sūtras as a result of his long career of lecturing. Many of his seminal works on Huayan remain. Beginning with the *Tanxuan ji* 探玄記 [Record of exploring the mysteries of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], *Jiaofen ji* 教分記 [Record of doctrinal classification], *Qixin lun shu* 起信論疏 [Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*], *Wangjin huanyuan guan* 妄盡還源觀 [Observations on exhausting delusion and returning to the source], *Fanwang jing pusa jieben shu* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏 [Commentary on the bodhisattva precepts of the *Fanwang jing*], and *Huayan jing chuanji* 華嚴經傳記 [Traditions of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*] established the doctrines and traditions of the Huayan tradition. Among his many disciples were the monks Hongguan 宏觀, Wenchao 文超, Zhiguang 智光, Zongyi 宗一, and Huiyuan 慧苑.

16 The *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* is a short version of the title *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkye to*華嚴一乘法界圖 [Seal-diagram symbolizing the dharma realm of the one vehicle of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]. Ŭisang composed this work in China in 668, before he returned to Silla in 670. It is a brilliant encapsulation of Ŭisang's understanding of Zhiyan's doctrinal innovations and

this he praised him: "You have realized the dharma nature and thoroughly understand the meaning of Buddhahood. You have been right on composing your explanation and analysis." The master then wielded his brush and completed an explanatory essay and combined them together in one roll and presently it has become famous throughout the world.[17] The master went to the Cave of Avalokiteśvara at Naksan,[18] offered worship and made a vow,

---

practical application of Huayan thought. The poetic text of the seal-shaped diagram comprises thirty lines, seven logographs each, for a total of 210 logographs. The course of the text meanders along, symbolizing the course that people take in their spiritual development. The last logograph of the text returns to the starting point. The reader is encouraged to arouse the bodhicitta or aspiration to enlightenment and practice while recognizing that the mere act of producing the aspiration to enlightenment has put him on the path to Buddhahood. On the way he acquires dhāraṇīs that give him thaumaturgic power to work wonders in the mundane world. Because the stages he must traverse are all interconnected, however, the beginning of the path and the end of the path are one and the same: therefore, he is a buddha. The Hwaŏm cosmological principle of "the one containing the many" and "the many containing the one" is repeated here. An early version of the seal-diagram preserved in the Fangshan lithic canon (*Fangshan shijing* 房山石經) attributes the poem to Zhiyan; see Yao Chang-shou 姚長壽, "Bōzan sekikyō ni okeru Kegon tenseki ni tsuite" 房山石経における華厳典籍について [On the Huayan literature in the Fangshan lithic canon], in *Chūgoku Bukkyō sekikyō no kenkyū* 中國佛教石経の研究 [Research on Chinese Buddhist lithic canons], ed. Kegasawa Yasunori 気賀澤保規 (Kyoto: Kyōdo Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppansha 京都大学学術出版社, 1996), 411–437.

17 Here, just as Ch'ewŏn clearly states, we can see that Ŭisang composed the poem that comprises the seal-diagram symbolizing the dharma realm first, received recognition and approval from Zhiyan, and wrote it down with his commentary in one roll. Aside from the opinion that it was composed by Ŭisang, some monks held the opinion that it was composed by Zhiyan. In the late Koryŏ period, however, monks associated with Hwaŏm learning clearly held that it was composed by Ŭisang. With regard to the question of authorship, the scholar-monk Kyunyŏ 均如 (923–973) had theories about this as well in the early Koryŏ period and amassed evidence supporting Ŭisang as the author. See Kyunyŏ's *Ilsŭng pŏpkye to wŏnt'ong ki* 一乘法界圖圓通記, HPC 4.1a7–b15.

18 Naksan 洛山 is the location of Naksansa 洛山寺, a monastery on Mt. Obong 五峯山 on the seashore on the east of Mt. Odae 五臺山. Ŭisang heard that this was the residence of the true body of Avalokiteśvara (*Kwanŭm chinsin* 觀音眞身). Ŭisang sought out this location, performed purification rituals for seven days, and worshipped Avalokiteśvara in a cave, where the dragon of the East Sea gave him a crystal rosary and a fabulous jewel. After another seven-day period of purification he entered the cave and beheld the true features of the bodhisattva. Thereafter this place became the original enlightenment site of Avalokiteśvara. Because the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* calls the place where Avalokiteśvara dwells "Mt. Potalaka" (Pot'arakkasan 普陀洛迦山), this site took Naksan as its name.

and composed this text. The work of conversion and miracles performed by the master are all written down in the basic biography[19] composed by Master Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn.[20] He attained liberation seated in meditation at age seventy-eight, in precisely the third month of the *sinch'uk*-year [701], the first[21] year of the Chang'an reign period[22] of the Empress Wu Zetian[23] of the Great Zhou

---

19 Ŭisang's basic biography (*ponjŏn* 本傳), the *Pusŏk chonja chŏn* 浮石尊者傳 [Life of the Reverend of Pusŏk monastery] was composed by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠 (857–d. after 908) at the end of the Silla period. The biography is listed in Ŭich'ŏn's 義天 (1055–1101) catalog *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 1, HPC 4.682c13.

20 Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠 (857–d. after 908), whose pseudonym (*cha*) was Koun 孤雲 (Lone Cloud), was a representative scholar of the late Silla period. He went to Tang China to study when he was twelve *se* in 868, passed the guest-recommendation examination (*bingong ke*, Kor. *pin'gong kwa* 賓貢科)—the civil service examination for people from states tributary to the Tang—and held a variety of posts primarily in southern China. He played an important role in the pacification of the Huang Chao 黄巢 (d. 884) rebellion and became well known for his compositions when he served as a supporting official (*congshi guan* 從事官). He returned to Silla in 885 and was active in several positions in the Silla government. Although he was recommended to Queen Chinsŏng 眞聖 (r. 887–897) to develop current policy and Queen Chinsŏng sought to exalt the country, as soon as the rebellions grew more difficult, Ch'oe went into retirement. He spent his time in seclusion at such places as Kyŏngju's Namsan 南山 (South Mountain) and Haein Monastery 海印寺. He composed stele inscriptions for three eminent monks of Silla as well as the stele at Sungbok Monastery 崇福寺碑. These four inscriptions were combined together as the "Stele Inscriptions of the Four Mountains" (*sasan pimyŏng* 四山碑銘) and later served as models for the composition of stele inscriptions. He wrote biographies of the Huayan founders in China and Korea: Fazang, the *Tang Taech'ŏnboksa kosaju pŏn'gyŏng Taedŏk Pŏpchang hwasang chŏn* 唐大薦福寺故寺主翻經大德法藏和尚傳 [Life of the *Upadhyāya* Fazang, *Bhadanta* of the sūtra translation bureau and late overseer of Dajianfu monastery of the Tang], in one roll, and Ŭisang, the *Pusŏk chonja chŏn* 浮石尊者傳 [Life of the Reverend of Pusŏk Monastery].

21 Reading *wŏn* 元 for *yuk* 六, because the sixth year of the Yonghui reign 永徽 (650–655) period is not a *kyŏngsul* year.

22 The first year of Chang'an 長安 reign period (701–704) of the Empress Wu Zetian, 701, corresponds to the tenth year of Silla king Hyoso 孝昭 (r. 692–702).

23 Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (ca. 624–705), also called Zetian, and Empress Wu (Zetian Wuhou 則天武后), ruled as emperor of China from 690 to 705. She is the only woman to have ruled in her own name in the whole of Chinese history. She displaced the Tang dynasty in 690 and declared her own Zhou 周 dynasty in 690. She first entered the court of Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626–649) as a secondary

dynasty.[24] In the present Koryŏ dynasty, by royal order he was posthumously honored with the title State Preceptor Wŏn'gyo 圓教國師 (Perfect Teaching) and recognized as the first founder of Hwaŏm in Haedong 海東 (Korea).

白花道場發願文
集曰, 法師俗姓金氏. 唐高宗永徽元年庚戌入唐, 投終南山智儼尊者, 受華嚴, 與賢首國師同學, 時賢首尚未出家. 皆窮通奧旨, 儼公號法師爲義持, 號賢首爲文持. 旣達玄關, 製法界圖, 進于儼公, 公覽之嗟嘆曰, "汝窮證法性, 達佛義旨, 宜造解釋." 師乃奮筆成編, 合爲一卷, 今行於世. 師詣洛山觀音窟, 禮拜發願而述斯文也. 師當時行化神異, 具於崔公致遠所述本傳. 年七十八坐脫, 即大周則天皇帝長安元年辛丑三月也. 至本朝, 追謚圓教國師, 制爲海東華嚴初祖.

I. Analyzing the Title [釋題名]

[Variorum]

I will analyze this text by dividing it into two large sections. I will first analyze the title and after that I will give an orthodox analysis of the text. This is the title. The first four logographs among these [Paekhwa toryang (White Flower Enlightenment Site)] refer to the place where one takes refuge, and the final three logographs [parwŏnmun (text having made a vow)] are the heart of taking refuge. In the foregoing ["White Flower Enlightenment Site"] the

consort in 637. Following custom, she became a nun after the death of Taizong. In 651, however, Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683) brought her back into the palace as a consort, and she gave birth to four sons and two daughters with him. She was raised to the rank of empress (*huanghou* 皇后) in 655 and managed the governmental affairs of Gaozong, who suffered from poor health. Hence, she was able to grasp the reins of power. She served as regent and wielded actual power beginning in 664 and exercised complete control over the government from 675. After the death of Gaozong in 683, although her third son, Zhongzong 中宗, assumed the throne, in 684 Zhongzong was dethroned and replaced with her fourth son Ruizong 睿宗. In 690, Ruizong was dethroned, and she replaced him and declared the founding of the Great Zhou 大周 dynasty. A stalwart supporter of Buddhism, she passed away in 705.

24 The Great Zhou 大周 dynasty was founded by Empress Wu Zetian in 690. To distinguish it from the ancient Zhou dynasty and the Northern Zhou 北周 dynasty (557–581) it is often called the Wu-Zhou 武周 dynasty.

sixteenth roll of the Zhenyuan edition [798] of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*[25] says, "The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara[26] resides on Mt. Potalaka."[27] Great Master

---

[25] The Zhenyuan edition 貞元本 of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is one of the most important of the Mahāyāna Buddhist sūtras translated into Buddhist literary Chinese. There are three translations of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經) in China. Although no Sanskrit original of the complete *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is in existence, the "Ten Stages" chapter, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, and the "Entry into the Dharma Realm" chapter, the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, circulated separately. The three major Chinese translations of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* are Buddhabhadra's translation in sixty rolls (trans. 418–420), the so-called Jin edition 晋本; Śikśānanda's (652–710) translation in eighty rolls (trans. 695–699), the so-called Tang edition 唐本 or Zhou edition 周本; and Prajñā's translation in forty rolls (trans. 796–798), the so-called Zhenyuan edition. The Zhenyuan edition is different from the other two because it is a translation of only the final chapter, the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*.

[26] Avalokiteśvara (Kwanjajae posal 觀自在菩薩; also Kwanseŭm 觀世音, and Kwanŭm 觀音) is the bodhisattva of compassion. This cult of this bodhisattva is one of the most universal manifestations of faith in bodhisattvas to save beings. One of the most important descriptions of the bodhisattva is "The Gateway to Everywhere of the Bodhisattva He Who Observes the Sounds of the World" chapter [Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin 觀世音菩薩普門品) of the *Lotus Sūtra*. This chapter, which circulated separately as the *Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* (*Guanshiyin jing*), outlines the situations and methods for praying for the aid of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The bodhisattva also appears in a prominent position in the Pure Land sūtras as an attendant of the Buddha Amitābha. In the *Lotus Sūtra*'s chapter on Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva is said to appear in the world to save beings in thirty-three different apparitional forms according to the needs of the people to whom he manifests. A similar list of thirty-two transformations bodies is found in the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*.

[27] *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (*Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*) 16, T 293.10.732c20–21. Potalaka (Kor. Podallakka, Ch. Budaluojia 補怛洛迦; also written Pot'alakka, Ch. Putuoluojia 普陀洛迦) is known as the mountain residence of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Potalaka means "small flower tree" (*sohwasu*, Ch. *xiaohuashu* 小花樹) and is translated into Chinese as "small white flower" (*sobaekhwa*, Ch. *xiaobaihua* 小白華). The "Entry into the Dharma Realm" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* tells the story of a monk named Sudhana who is sent on a spiritual quest by the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī to learn all the techniques taught by all the bodhisattvas in the world. Avalokiteśvara is the twenty-seventh such bodhisattva Sudhana meets, and he is directed to find him in the south on a mountain called Potalaka. There Avalokiteśvara instructs Sudhana in his practice of great compassion. In every country where Buddhism was practiced, people located Mt. Potalakas. In southern India, it is Mt. Malaya in Sri Lanka; in China it is Putoshan 普陀山 and Luojiashan 洛迦山 in the ocean off Ningbo 寧波, Dinghai district 定海縣, in Zhejiang Province 浙江省; and in Korea it is Naksan near Kangnŭng in Kangwŏn Province 江原道.

Qingliang's[28] *Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra*,[29] by way of interpretation, says, "Potalaka means 'small white flower tree.' There are many trees like this on the mountain, and because their fragrance wafts for a long distance

---

28 Great Master Qingliang 清涼大師 refers to Chengguan 澄觀 (ca. 720/38–837/8), the fourth patriarch of the Huayan tradition. Hailing from Shanyin 山陰 in Yuezhou 越州, his surname was Xiahou 夏侯, his pseudonym was Daxiu 大休, and his pen name was State Preceptor Qingliang 清涼國師. He left home to become a monk under the Chan Master Pei 霈禪師 at Baolin Monastery 寶林寺 when he was eleven sui. Not only did he become thoroughly conversant in Vinaya, Madhyamaka (Three Treatises, Sanlun 三論), the *Awakening of Faith*, Nirvāṇa, Huayan, Tiantai 天台, and Chan materials, but he also became well versed in Confucianism. He was particularly devoted to the Huayan learning of Fazang. He went on a pilgrimage to Mt. Wutai 五台山 and Mt. Emei 峨眉山 in 776 and practiced the Vaipulya Repentance Ritual (*fangdeng chanfa* 方等讖法) at Huayan Monastery 華嚴寺 on Mt. Wutai. He disseminated the writings of the Huayan tradition and made a name for himself. In 796, he went to Chang'an at the request of the Emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805) and worked on the translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in forty rolls with the Trepitaka of Kashmir (Prajñā). He wrote a commentary on this new translation at Caotang Monastery 草堂寺 in Mt. Zhongnan. He received the pen name State Preceptor Qingliang, an allusion to the abode of Mañjuśrī, viz. Mt. Wutai, in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, from Dezong, and his successor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–820) also installed him as a state preceptor. He was not a direct disciple of Fazang, but he inherited and further developed the intellectual ideas and thought of Fazang. He perfected the theory of the four kinds of dharma realms, he responded to the sudden rise of the Chan tradition, and he attained greatness for the development of Huayan thought. His writings include works in more than thirty classes, such as the *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏 [Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*] in sixty rolls, the *Suishu yanyi chao* 隨疏演義鈔 in ninety rolls, the *Huayan jing gangyao* 華嚴經綱要 [Essentials of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*] in three rolls, *Wuyun guan* 五蘊觀 [Observations on the five aggregates], *Sansheng yuanrong guanmen* 三聖圓融觀門 [Approach to observing the complete interfusion of the three saints], and so forth. He had more than one hundred disciples including Sengrui 僧叡, Fayin 法印, and Jiguang 寂光.

29 *Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏) is short for *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方光佛華嚴經疏 [Commentary on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*]. Qingliang wrote this work as a commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls between 784 and 787. It systematically clarifies Huayan doctrine by dividing the teaching of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* into ten approaches. In the second section, he introduces his doctrinal classification scheme and explains that Huayan is the "perfect teaching" (*yuanjiao* 圓教) among the five teachings. In the third section, he clarifies his theories on the origination of the dharma realm, such as "the unimpeded nature of principle and phenomena" (*lishi wuai* 理事無碍).

people who smell it are very happy. Hence, it has this name."[30] With respect to "enlightenment site," the sūtra also says such things as "Good sons, have you seen or not seen the Bodhisattva Ananya-gamin's[31] coming to this ocean of the great assembly enlightenment site?"[32] Therefore, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara constantly resides on this mountain preaching the practices of great compassion and universally saving all beings. It is a site for practicing the path of the bodhisattva. In the latter [text on making the vow], "vow" refers to hoping and going forth to save [living beings], "making" refers to awakening the mind and manifesting external forms; and "text" refers to arousing and completing patterns/designs.

集曰, 將解此文, 大分爲二. 先釋題名, 後釋正文. 此即題名. 於中前之四字所歸處, 後之三字能歸心. 前中, 華嚴貞本經第十六卷云, "觀自在菩薩在補怛洛迦." 清凉疏釋云, "補怛洛迦者, 此云小白花樹. 山多此樹, 香氣遠聞, 聞見必欣." 故以爲名. 言道場者, 經亦云, "善男子, 汝見正性無異行菩薩, 來此大衆道場海不?" 等. 以是觀自在菩薩, 常在此山, 說大悲行, 普救一切, 行菩薩道之場也. 後中希望趣求之謂願, 起心形外謂之發, 發而成彩謂之文.

II. Orthodox Analysis of the Text [正釋文]

1. Taking Refuge, Showing Reverence, Completing the Observance, and Forgetting the Subject and Object [歸敬成觀亡其能所]

30 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 57, T 1735.35.940a1–2.

31 Ananya-gāmin (Chŏngsŏng mui haeng posal, Ch. Zhengxing wuyi xing pusa 正性無異行菩薩) is called Zhengjiu pusa 正趣菩薩 (Kor. Chŏngch'wi posal) in the sixty-roll and eighty-roll editions of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. The name given here is what is found in the forty-roll edition (Zhenyuan edition) of the sūtra. Ananya-gāmin is the twenty-ninth bodhisattva Sudhana meets on his pilgrimage right after his encounter with Avalokiteśvara. From Ananya-gāmin Sudhana learns the "practice of immovable speed in all directions everywhere" (*pumun budong suji xing* 普門不動速疾行). See *Dafangguan fo huayan jing* 16, T 293.10.735c2.

32 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 16, T 293.10.735c1–3.

A. Rites of Reverence [敬儀]

[Vow-text]

I kowtow and take refuge.

[Variorum]

The second part, the orthodox analysis of the text, may be expanded into three subpoints. The first is taking refuge, showing reverence, completing the observance, and forgetting the subject and object. The second is after "now, by means of Avalokiteśvara," reverently make the vow, continue the works, and attain the results. The third is after "make the vow," bind oneself by taking refuge and looking upward and turn toward the original master.

In the first, taking refuge, showing reverence, completing the observance, and forgetting the subject and object, there are two issues. The first is generally distinguish the rites of reverence, and the second is specially clarify the characteristics of observation.

This is generally distinguishing the rites of reverence: Bowing one's head to reach the ground, just like a servant serves his lord, and looking upward in dependence, just like a son depends on his father. Revering one's elders and being on good terms with one's relatives are exhausting the path of reverence and faith.

稽首歸依

集曰, 二正釋文中, 大分有三. 一歸敬成觀亡其能所, 二今以觀音下, 敬伸發願承事成果, 三發願已下, 結歸投仰廻向本師. 第一歸敬成觀亡其能所. 中二. 先惣標敬儀, 二別明觀相. 此即惣標敬儀也. 屈頭至地, 如臣奉君, 投仰憑托, 如子拊親. 尊尊親親, 則敬信之道盡矣.

B. Observing Characteristics [觀相]

a. Subjective Wisdom [能觀之智]

[Vow-text]

I contemplate the great perfect mirror wisdom[33] of the original teacher, the Great Saint Avalokiteśvara.

[Variorum]

Second is rightly clarifying the observation of characteristics. With this there are two points: the logograph *kwan* 觀 (observation) is subjective wisdom and "that original master" is the objective sphere.

In the foregoing, if the subject is called observation it can be said to depend on the master. If the object is called observation, this is an interpretation that relies on karma. As for so-called observation, thoughts solely bound to emotion do not run free or become scattered. Hence, the *Sūtra on the Bequeathed Teaching* says, "Those who freely indulge in these thoughts sabotage the wholesome activities of other people; but if such people are restricted to one place there is nothing they cannot manage."[34] Nevertheless, not only observation, but the important thing is to cease activity and one will squarely attain [awakening to the] ultimate. Hence, a gāthā in "The Appearance of the Tathāgata" chapter says, "If you desire to know the sphere of the buddhas, you should purify your thoughts of it just like empty space. Leave far behind delusive thoughts and all defilements; cause that in which the mind tends toward to be wholly free from impediments."[35] Master Qingliang's *Commentary* says:

The upper half of the gāthā generally manifests by analogy and the

---

33 The great perfect mirror wisdom (*taewŏn'gyŏng chi* 大圓鏡智), which refers to everything in nature being fully reflected as if in a great mirror, is one of four wisdoms (*saji*, Ch. *sizhi* 四智): (1) perfect achievement wisdom (*sŏngsojak chi*, Ch. *chengsuozuo zhi* 成所作智; Skt. *kṛtyānuṣṭhanajñāna*), (2) sublime contemplation wisdom (*myogwanch'al chi*, Ch. *miaoguancha zhi* 妙觀察智; Skt. *pratyavekṣanajñāna*), (3) universal equality wisdom (*p'yŏngdŭngsŏng chi*, Ch. *pingdengxing zhi* 平等性智; Skt. *samatājñāna*), and (4) the great perfect mirror wisdom (*taewŏn'gyŏng chi*, Ch. *dayuanjing zhi* 大圓鏡智; Skt. *mahādarśanājñāna*). See *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (*Vijñapatimātratāsiddhi*) 10, T 1585.31.56a12–29.

34 Cf. *Yijiao jing lun* 遺教經論, T 1529.26.285c20–22. The original passage comes from the *Fochui banniepan lüeshuo jiaojie jing* 佛垂般涅槃略說教誡經, T 389.12.1111a19–21.

35 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 50, T 279.10.265b10–11.

lower half of the gāthā manifests separately. The first is leaving behind delusion and defilements because it is like the pure empty expanse without obstruction by clouds. This is precisely true cessation. The second is making contact with the object, being without impediment, because it is like the pure empty expanse without hindrances. This is precisely true observation. From here to there, if it is like this then not being brushed away and not being clarified, it will be pure by itself. Purity that lacks purity secretly treads the sphere of the buddhas.[36]

觀彼本師 觀音大聖 大圓鏡智

二正明觀相. 於中二. 觀之一字, 能觀之智. 彼本師下, 所觀之境. 前中能觀名觀, 可作依主. 所觀名觀, 即持業釋. 所言觀者, 專情繫念, 不令馳散. 故遺教經云, "縱此心者, 喪人善事, 制之一處, 無事不辨." 然不唯觀, 要有止行, 方成究竟. 故出現品偈云, "若有欲知佛境界, 當淨其意如虛空. 遠離妄想及諸趣, 令心所向皆無得." 清凉疏云, "上半偈惣以喻現, 下半偈別現. 一離於妄取, 如彼淨空無雲翳故, 斯則眞止. 二觸境無滯, 如彼淨空無障碍故, 斯則眞觀. 乃至若斯則不拂不瑩而自淨矣. 無淨之淨, 暗蹈佛境矣."

b. Objective Target [所觀之境]

Second, in the objective target there are three points: first, observing the body of the saint's wisdom; second, observing the body of one's own mind; and third, observing their interpenetration.

• Observing the Body of the Saint's Wisdom [觀聖智體]

This is observing the saint's wisdom. "Original master" refers to his constantly being treated as a master after he nullified his defilements [by making himself a monk]. Furthermore, he did not become a master in this present life; he

36 *Dafangguang fo huayuan jing shu* 49, T 1735.35.874c21–28.

made a vow to become an original master long ago, kalpas without beginning; and the upādhyāya provides assistance inheriting the approach to practices of great compassion. With respect to the Great Saint Observer of Sounds (Kwanŭm 觀音), in Sanskrit he is "Avalokiteśvara," which means "Observer of the World's Sounds." Immediately upon observing the sounds [of living beings], [the bodhisattva] delivered them [from difficulty]. Observing is illuminating by means of wisdom. It is not the recognition of sounds by means of the ears. Because his position is high and he is without equal he is called "great." Because his vow of compassion is extremely spiritual he is called "saint."

Within these there are also observing the dependent and direct rewards[37] and observing the sphere of realization. Observing the dependent and direct rewards is precisely like what is described in the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*. Now observing the sphere of realization is precisely the great perfect mirror wisdom. With respect to this mirror wisdom, the eighth consciousness, the *ālayavijñāna*,[38] upon which living beings rely, when one arrives at the level of no outflows in equal enlightenment, one evolves and attains the great perfect mirror wisdom. Hence, the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* says, "With respect to the great perfect mirror wisdom, this wisdom enables manifestation and it enables production. [Buddha] bodies, [buddha] lands, and [buddha] wisdom illuminate; and since there is no interruption and no cessation, it thoroughly comprehends the limits of the future like [gazing into] a round mirror showing a host of color images."[39] Hence, this may be analogized to the acquisition of names. This is explained briefly in the initial teachings of the

---

37 Direct reward (*chŏngbo*, Ch. *zhengbao* 正報) refers to the ornamentation or the type of body a practitioner receives at rebirth. It is contrasted with dependent reward (*ŭibo*, Ch. *yibao* 依報), which refers to the environmental surroundings, or physical surroundings, the practitioner receives at rebirth.

38 The *ālayavijñāna* (*aroeya sik*, Ch. *alaiye shi* 阿賴耶識) is one of the eight types of consciousness postulated by the Yogācārists. Translated as the "un-sinking/undying consciousness" (*mumolsik* 無沒識) in the old translation and the "storehouse consciousness" (*changsik* 藏識) in the new translation, the *ālayavijñāna* is the basis or foundation upon which all things are experienced and understood. It stores all things like seeds, so it is sometimes called the seed consciousness (*chongjasik* 種子識).

39 *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*) 10, T 1585.31.56a12–16.

Mahāyāna.[40] This *ālayavijñāna* is translated as *amalavijñana*,[41] which is also called the mirror of the Tathāgatagarbha. Hence, [Xianshou's] *Record on the Meaning of the Awakening of Faith* says, "If the mind of the Tathāgatagarbha is in the buddha stage, there is no meaning to harmonization. Actualized enlightenment is like original enlightenment; it is precisely thusness."[42] This is explained briefly in the final teachings of the Mahāyāna teaching.[43] If one summarizes the perfect teaching,[44] it is the ocean seal mirror. Now,

---

40 The initial teaching of the Mahāyāna teaching (*sigyo*, Ch. *shijiao* 始教) is one of the five teachings (*ogyo*, Ch. *wujiao* 五教) according to the Huayan tradition: (1) Hīnayāna (*sosŭng*, Ch. *xiaosheng* 小乘), (2) initial Mahāyāna teachings (*taesŭng sigyo*, Ch. *dasheng shijiao* 大乘始教), (3) final teachings of the Mahāyāna (*taesŭng chonggyo*, Ch. *dasheng zhongjiao* 大乘終教), (4) sudden teaching (*ton'gyo*, Ch. *dunjiao* 頓教), and (5) perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo*, Ch. *yuanjiao* 圓教). The initial teaching of the Mahāyāna refers to the doctrines of *śūnyatā* (emptiness), *prajñā* (wisdom), and *sandhīnirmocana* (freeing the underlying meaning) that all things in existence are produced by means of causal connections—in other words, the teachings and doctrinal positions of the sūtras and commentaries associated with the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra intellectual traditions.

41 The *amalavijñāna* (*amara sik*, Ch. *amoluo shi* 阿摩羅識) is also translated as the "immaculate consciousness" (*mugu sik*, Ch. *wugou shi* 無垢識) and the "clean and pure consciousness" (*ch'ŏngjŏng sik*, Ch. *qingjing shi* 清淨識). The term *amalavijñāna* refers to this consciousness' eschewing of delusion and its basic characteristic of the transposition of immaculate purity by means of enlightenment. Although in the old translation by Paramārtha the *amalavijñāna* is established separately as a consciousness that is pure and immaculate outside of the *ālayavijñāna*, in the new translation by Xuanzang it is nothing more than the pure aspect of the *ālayavijñāna*, which in itself preserves the two aspects of purity and impurity (*yŏmjŏng*, Ch. *ranjing* 染淨), and it is not established separately. Here the *ālayavijñāna*'s being translated separately and being called the *amalavijñāna* does not match with the accurate definition.

42 *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 1, T 1846.44.250b14–18. In this text, while explaining the mind of living beings, Fazang says that with respect to the mind of the Tathāgatagarbha, if seen from the standpoint of living beings there are the two approaches of harmony and disharmony; but if seen from the standpoint of the buddhas there is no significance to the concept of harmony.

43 The final teachings of the Mahāyāna (*chonggyo*, Ch. *zhonggyo* 終教), the third of the five teachings according to the Huayan tradition, refers to the doctrines of the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* and the *Dasheng qixin lun* [Awakening of faith in the Mahāyāna].

44 The perfect teaching (*wŏn'gyo*, Ch. *yuanjiao* 圓教), the fifth of the five teachings according to the Huayan tradition, refers to full and complete teaching of the Mahāyāna and the doctrine of the one vehicle as described is such scriptures as the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and *Lotus Sūtra*.

summarizing the meaning of the early Mahāyāna teaching, clarifying the great perfect mirror, and the Tathāgatagarbha of the final teaching thoroughly circulate in the four saints[45] and six kinds of ordinary beings.[46] The ocean seal mirror of the perfect teaching does not thoroughly circulate in the three vehicles; hence it concisely brings to mind the meaning of the mind that confirms equal enlightenment,[47] which is the objective target.

二所觀中三. 先觀聖智體, 二觀自心體, 三觀其交徹. 此則觀聖智也. 言本師者, 自零染已來常師事之謂也. 又非謂此世爲師, 無始劫來誓爲本師, 和尚資承大悲行門也. 言觀音大聖者, 梵云婆盧枳底攝伐多, 此云觀世音, 即觀其音聲而得度脫也. 觀智照之, 非耳識聞也. 位高無等曰大, 悲願至神曰聖. 此中或有觀依正, 或有觀證境. 觀依正則如無量壽經所說, 今則觀證境即大圓鏡智也. 此鏡智者, 衆生所依第八阿賴耶識, 至等覺無漏位中, 轉成大圓鏡智. 故唯識論云, "大圓鏡智者, 此智能現能生, 身土智影, 無間無斷, 窮未來際, 如圓鏡, 現衆色像." 故此乃從喩得名. 此約始教說. 此阿賴耶, 翻爲阿摩羅識, 亦即名爲如來藏鏡. 故起信論疏云, "如來藏心, 若在佛地, 無和合義, 以始覺同本, 即如等." 此約終教說. 若約圓教, 是海印鏡也. 今且約始教之義, 明大圓鏡者, 終教如來藏, 通於四聖六

45 The four saints (*sasŏng*, Ch. *sisheng* 四聖) refer to disciples (*sŏngmun*, Ch. *shengwen* 聲聞; Skt. *śrāvaka*), solitary buddhas (*yŏn'gak*, Ch. *yuanjue* 緣覺; Skt. *pratyekabuddha*), bodhisattvas (*posal*, Ch. *pusa* 菩薩), and buddhas (*pul*, Ch. *fo* 佛), when all living being in the ten realms are separated into the two categories of ordinary beings (*pŏmbu*, Ch. *fanfu* 凡夫) and saints (*sŏngja*, Ch. *shengzi* 聖者). The four saints are called the fruition rewards of nirvāṇa (non-action, *muwi*, Ch. *wuwei* 無爲).

46 The six kinds of ordinary beings (*yukpŏm*, Ch. *liufan* 六凡) refer to the denizens of hell (*chiok*, Ch. *diyu* 地獄), hungry ghosts (*agwi*, Ch. *egui* 餓鬼; Skt. *preta*), beasts (*ch'uksaeng*, Ch. *chusheng* 畜生), titans (*asura*, Ch. *axiuluo* 阿修羅; Skt. *asura*), humans (*in'gan*, Ch. *renjian* 人間), and gods (*ch'ŏn*, Ch. *tian* 天; Skt. *deva*). The six kinds of ordinary beings are the fruition rewards of saṃsāra (*yuwi*, Ch. *youwei* 有爲).

47 Equal enlightenment (*tŭnggak*, Ch. *dengjue* 等覺, or *tŭngjŏnggak*, Ch. *dengzhengjue* 等正覺) is the fifty-first of the fifty-two stages of the bodhisattva path according to the Huayan tradition. After myriads and myriads of lifetimes of practicing and aiding beings on the bodhisattva path, practitioners complete their practices and from this stage they move forward to attain sublime enlightenment (*myogak*, Ch. *miaojue*, or *myogakcha musangji*, Ch. *miaojuezhe wushangdi* 妙覺者無上地) and the fruition of Buddhahood (*pulgwa*, Ch. *foguo* 佛果). For all intents and purposes it is essentially the same as the enlightenment of the Buddha and merely one stage prior to Buddhahood. See *Da fangguangfo huayan jing* 53, T 278.9.736a.

凡, 圓敎海印鏡者, 不通三乘故. 簡擧等覺證心之義, 爲所觀境.

• Observing the Body of One's Own Mind [觀自心體]

[Vow-text]

I also contemplate his disciple's [my own] original enlightenment, which is the quiescence of original nature.

[Variorum]

Second is observing one's own mind. "Disciple" refers to Master Ŭisang himself. It refers to following the Saint, being courteous to oneself, and transforming in accordance with the Dharma. Possessing "original enlightenment, the quiescence of original nature" refers to being endowed with the essence of the mind of all living beings. In the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* there are two things that clarify the dharma realm of the one mind. One is the approach of the true thusness of the mind (*xin zhenru men* 心眞如門); the other is the approach of the production and destruction of the mind (*xin shengmie men* 心生滅門). In the approach of production and destruction, natures are quiescent and originally enlightened. This is the true thusness of being bound up in defilements (*zaichan zhenru* 在纏眞如).[48] Thus, the *Awakening of Faith* says, "There are two things in the approach of production and destruction. First is the meaning of enlightenment, which refers to the essence of mind that has left behind thought. This is precisely the equal and level (universal) dharma body of the Tathāgata."[49] Xianshou's *Record on the Meaning of the Awakening of Faith* says, "The approach of flowing with the current is called original enlightenment; the approach of

---

[48] The true thusness of being bound up in defilements (*chaejŏn chinyŏ*, Ch. *zaichan zhenru* 在纏眞如) is the opposite of the true thusness of being freed from defilements (*ch'ulchŏn chinyŏ*, Ch. chuchan zhenru 出纏眞如) or the true thusness of immaculateness (*mugu chinyŏ*, Ch. *wugou zhenru* 無垢眞如). Thus, this term is also called the true thusness of the defiled (*yugu chinyŏ*, Ch. *yougou zhenru* 有垢眞如).

[49] Cf. *Dasheng qixin lun* 32, T 1666.32.576b7–14.

going against the current is called actualized enlightenment."[50] This, in brief, is the final teaching of the Mahāyāna. If one relies on the initial teaching of the Mahāyāna, the *ālayavijñāna* is able to transform the seeds of all dharmas into the body of the sense-bases, the realm of objects.[51] Hence, the *Composition on the Five Teachings*[52] says, "In conditioned arising and the production and destruction of things, the *ālaya* [vijñāna] is established, and the essence is distinguished and produced following the seeds of karma and so forth; a recompense consciousness that comes to maturation heterogeneously[53] becomes dependent on all dharmas."[54] If one relies on the perfect teaching, we can say that it is the wisdom of the fruit of Vairocana. The wisdom of the fruit of Vairocana completes the realm of living beings

---

50 There is no passage in the text that specifically says this; however, there is a related passage; see *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 1, T 1846.44.250b20–25.

51 The body of the sense-bases (*kŭnsin*, Ch. *genshen* 根身) refers to the five sense-bases of eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and body; and the realm of objects, literally "dish-like realm" (*kigye*, Ch. *qijie* 器界), refers to the idea that the world system is like a dish. Because the eighth consciousness is the base-consciousness, pollution and purity together serve as its source, and it is said that both the body of the sense-bases and the realm of objects are produced in accordance with this. In the Sinitic Yogācāra tradition (Pŏpsangjong, Ch. Faxiangzong 法相宗) it is said that each of the three objects—seeds (*chongja*, Ch. *zhongzi* 種子), the body of the sense-bases, and the realm of objects—is produced according to casual conditions (*soyŏn*, Ch. *suoyuan* 所緣).

52 In the original text, Ch'ewŏn says that he will quote from the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (*ko Yuga ron un* 故瑜伽論云); however, this is actually a quotation from Fazang's *Wujiao zhang* 五教章 [Composition on the five teachings].

53 A recompense consciousness that comes to maturation heterogeneously (*isuk posik*, Ch. *yishu baoshi* 異熟報識; Skt. *vipaka-vijñāna*) is a mark of the fruition of the *ālayavijñāna* and the subject of seeds (causes) and the recompense of karma. Heterogeneous maturation (*isuk*, Ch. *yishu* 異熟) is also translated as "fruition reward" (*kwabo*, Ch. *guobao* 果報). This refers to the production of a result that is characteristically different, being neither wholesome nor unwholesome, as a result of karmic causes that are either wholesome or unwholesome. In Yogācāra thought, the *ālayavijñāna* is suffused with wholesome and unwholesome karma; these become seeds of karma, which in turn function as the influence of one powerful factor in causing others (*chŭngsang yŏn*, Ch. *zengshang yuan* 增上緣; Skt. *adhipati-pratyaya*). Being called the fruition of that which matures heterogeneously (*isuk kwa*, Ch. *yishu guo* 異熟果), it is called a consciousness that comes to maturation heterogeneously.

54 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenji zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 2, T 1866.45.484c15–17.

and makes causes and results. Hence, "The Appearance of the Tathāgata" chapter in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says, "All living beings are fully endowed with the virtue and characteristics of the wisdom of the Tathāgata. Only those who grasp at delusive thoughts are unable to obtain realization [enlightenment]. If they forsake their delusive thoughts, omniscience[55] and the intuitive wisdom of the buddhas[56] are precisely what appear before them."[57] Now, taking up the final teaching of the Mahāyāna, the clean and pure mind of self-nature[58] is the essence of one's own mind.

亦觀弟子 性靜本覺

二觀自心體. 言弟子者, 相公自謂也. 順聖恭己, 從法化生之謂也. 言性靜本覺者, 一切衆生具有心體也. 起信論明一心法界有二, 一心眞如門, 二心生滅門. 生滅門中, 有性靜本覺, 即在纒眞如. 故論云, "生滅門中有二, 一覺義, 謂心體離念, 即是如來平等法身." 賢首疏云, "隨流門名本覺, 返流門名始覺." 此約終教. 若依始教, 賴耶藏識, 能變根身器界諸法種子. 故瑜伽云, "緣起生滅事中, 建立賴耶, 從業等種, 辨體而生, 異熟報識, 爲諸法依." 等. 若依圓教, 可云舍那果智也. 謂

55 Omniscience (*ilchŏl chi*, Ch. *yiqie zhi* 一切智; Skt. *sarvajna*) is the wisdom of knowing all characteristics of dharmas; it is the wisdom of summarily knowing everything about existence and all things that exist. It is the wisdom of knowing all things including all the realms of existence, the realm of living beings, saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, the difference between causes and effects or seeds and results, the three worlds of the past, present, and future, and so forth.

56 The intuitive wisdom of the Buddha (*chayŏn chi*, Ch. *ziran zhi* 自然智; Skt. *svayambhū-jñāna*) refers to the natural knowledge of all things associated with actions of the body, speech, and mind of all the buddhas. Because "nature" (*chayŏn*) means that it exists by itself, independently, intuitively, it is the wisdom by which all of the buddhas were originally endowed. Hence, I have translated it as "intuitive wisdom."

57 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 51, T 279.10.272c22–273c3.

58 The clean and pure mind of self-nature (*chasŏng ch'ŏngjŏng sim*, Ch. *zixing qingjin xin* 自性清淨心) alludes to the doctrine that the basis of the original mind is clean and pure. This is called "the original purity of the nature of the mind (*simsŏng ponjŏng*, Ch. *xinxing benjing* 心性本淨), and this mind is called the clean and pure mind of self-nature. This mind is also called "the mind of the Tathāgatagarbha" (*yoraejang sim*, Ch. *rulaizang xin* 如來藏心), "Buddha nature" (*pulsŏng*, Ch. *foxing* 佛性), "true thusness" (*chinyŏ*, Ch. *zhenru* 眞如), and "dharma nature" (*pŏpsŏng*, Ch. *faxing* 法性). Although the mind is originally clean and pure, in real life or actuality the innate purity is covered over with defilements and is polluted.

舍那果智, 該衆生界, 作因作果. 故出現品云, "一切衆生, 具有如來智慧德相, 但以妄想執著而不證得. 若離妄想, 一切智自然智, 即得現前." 等. 今取終教, 自性清淨心, 爲自心體也. (...)

[page 5 lost]

"several profundities are contained and remain"[59] and so forth. Now, relying on the latter meaning, it is precisely as it is said in Master Xianshou's *Observations on Exhausting Delusion and Returning to the Source*:[60] "It means the function of everything in nature constantly abiding in the ocean seal [samādhi]. Nevertheless, the meaning of [exhausting delusion and] returning to the source rightly comes under being in the function, and the function of constantly abiding in it also does not leave behind/forsake the greatness of characteristics.[61] This is the meaning of the concept that the three greatnesses of essence, marks,

---

59 This is probably part of a quotation from the preface to Chengguan's commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in which he explains the dharma realm; cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 1, T 1735.35.503a6–7.

60 *Observations on Exhausting Delusion and Returning to the Source* (*Wangjin huanyuan guan* 妄盡還源觀) is a book on Huayan thought composed by Fazang. Its full title was *Sui huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan*隨華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀 [Observations on exhausting delusion and returning to the source according the the interior meaning of the *Avataṃsaka*, T 1876]. It teaches the principle of practicing Huayan methods of observation and returning to the original source of the one mind. Because the meaning of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is very broad and expansive, Fazang thought that it was difficult to know or comprehend extreme states, so he generalized the meaning and core teachings. By means of composing this work he hoped that later students would be able to practice the methods of observation, eschew all falsity and delusion, and return to the true fundamental source. It is composed of six chapters. The first three chapters are a detailed analysis of "perfect and sudden" teaching (*wŏndon*, Ch. *yuandun* 圓頓), viz. Tiantai. The later three chapters describe the methods of observation.

61 The greatness of characteristics (*sangdae*, Ch. *xiangda* 相大) is one of the three greantesses (*samdae*, Ch. *sanda* 三大). The three greatnesses are the greatness of essence (*ch'edae*, Ch. *tida* 體大), the greatness of characteristics, and the greatness of function (*yongdae*, Ch. *yongda* 用大). The greatness of characteristics refers to the attributes of suchness—in other words that it is non-empty, full of characteristics and qualities of the Buddha and that it possesses salutary aspects, such as wisdom and compassion.

and function do not forsake each other."[62] Where the *Dharmapāda* says, "Everything in nature is that which is sealed by one dharma,"[63] this is precisely the meaning. [One dharma is precisely the greatness of function.]

衆妙而有餘等. 今約後義, 即賢首還源中, 海印森羅常住用義也. 然還源之義, 正當用中, 而其常住之用, 亦不離相大, 此是體相用三, 不相捨離之義也. 經云, "森羅及萬像, 一法之所印." 即其義也.<一法即體大也>

• Observing Their Interpretation [觀其交徹]

[Vow-text]

Marks[64] of the water-moon ornamentation,[65] which the original master possesses, are inexhaustible; the body, like empty flowers, which I, his disciple, possess, is a form of defilement. Dependent reward and direct reward are purity and impurity, so suffering and pleasure are not the same.

[Variorum]

Third is precisely the function of essence. Truly, this is the meaning of the ocean seal's comprehending everything in nature. There are three issues within this: first is the clarification of the Great Saint's larger and smaller

---

62 Cf. *Sui huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀, T 1876.45.637a24–26.

63 Although it is said to be a verse from the *Dharmapāda* in Chengguan's *Huayan jing shu chao* and Zixuan's 子璿 *Qixin lun bixue ji* 起信論筆削記, it does not appear in the received text of the *Dharmapāda*. It only appears in the Dunhuang edition of the *Fagou jing* 法句經 (*Dharmapāda*), T 2901.85.1435a23.

64 The larger and smaller marks (*sangho*, Ch. *xianghao* 相好; Skt. *lakṣaṇa-vyañjana*) refer to the thirty-two larger marks on the Buddha's body, including such things as the *uṣṇīṣa* (fleshy topknot) and the *ūrṇa* (white tuft of hair on his forehead between his eyes that emits light when he teaches the Dharma), and the eighty smaller marks.

65 The water-moon ornamentation (*suwŏl changŏm*, Ch. *shuiyue zhuangyan* 水月莊嚴) is a symbol suggesting that just as the moon in the heavens illuminates and appears in all water upon the earth, Avalokiteśvara will hear the cries, wishes, and desires of living beings and respond and appear to them in a variety of forms.

marks; next, after "also," is the clarification of the characteristics of his own body; and last, with respect to "dependent and direct reward" and so forth, we can say that ordinary people and saints are not the same.

In the former, with respect to the water-moon ornamentation, when all living beings are in danger or are afraid, if they chant the name Avalokiteśvara with an utmost mind, the Great Saint observes their cries and universally appears/manifests to all by means of all manner of greater and lesser marks [transformation bodies]. Still, because it is like the wheel of the moon that universally manifests the mass of water, it is called the water-moon ornamentation. Hence, the sūtra says, "The bodhisattva [is like] the clear and cool moon, and the minds of living beings are as pure as running water," and so forth.[66] With respect to his inexhaustible great and lesser marks, the *Book on the Visualization of the Buddha Amitāyus* says,

> The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's body is eighty *koṭis* of *nayutas*[67] of sands of the Ganges of yojanas in length, and his body is purple gold in color. On the crown of his head there is an *uṣṇīṣa* (fleshy topknot) and behind his head there is a round mandorla (nimbus). In the mandorlas of each of his [hundreds of thousands of *yojanas* of] faces there are five hundred transformation buddhas, and [just like] Śākyamuni, each and every one of the transformation buddhas has five hundred [attendant]

---

[66] Although the first part of the passage appears in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 43, T 278.9.670c21, the remainder does not. The whole couplet is found in Zixuan's 子璿 *Qixin lun bixue ji* 起信論筆削記18, T 1848.44.393c25–27. In particular, when Zixuan explain the mind of living beings, he explains it as being related to essence and function. It is probable that Ch'ewŏn paid close attention to and cited his views; see *Qixin lun bixue ji* 18, T 1848.44.393c18.

[67] A *nayuta* (*nayut'a*, Ch. *nayouta* 那由他) is the name of a type of measurement in ancient India and was translated into Chinese as "a million" or "a billion" (*cho*, Ch. *zhao* 兆). Some opine that ten *ayutas* (*ayuta* 阿由他) are one great *ayuta*, and ten great *ayutas* is one *nayuta*. Since one *ayuta* is said to be ten *koṭis* (*ŏk* 億), one *nayuta* may be a thousand million (*chŏnŏk* 千億). Although there are lots of theories on the meaning of the term, regardless of its precise meaning it is used to mean an extremely large number, much like a zillion.

bodhisattvas. From his *ūrṇa* mark [white tuft of hair][68] stream out eighty-four thousand rays of light, and in each and every one of these rays of light there are immeasurable hundreds of thousands of transformation buddhas. In each of the bodhisattva's arms and the palms of his hands there are eighty-four thousand rays of light that universally illuminate all things. And so on and so forth the Buddha addressed Ānanda. One who visualizes the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara will avoid all disasters, purify and remove all karmic hindrances, and remove the sins of numberless kalpas in saṃsāra [the cycle of rebirth and death]. If one hears the name of a bodhisattva like this, one will obtain immeasurable blessings. How much more so if one should see him![69]

Next, after "also his disciples" is the second point: clarification of the characteristics of his body. [The text is lost hereafter.]

所有本師, 水月疟嚴, 無盡相好, 亦有弟子, 空花身相, 有漏形骸, 依正淨穢, 苦樂不同.

三即體之用. 正是海印森羅之義. 於中三, 先明聖相好, 次亦有下, 明自身相, 後依正等者, 凡聖不同. 前中水月疟嚴者, 一切衆生危苦之時, 至心稱觀世音名者, 大聖觀其音聲, 而以種種相好, 普應一切, 猶如月輪普現衆水, 故云水月疟嚴. 故經云, "菩薩清凉月, 衆生心水淨." 等也. 無盡相好者, 觀無量壽經云. "觀世音菩薩, 身長八十億那由他恒河沙由旬, 身紫金色. 頂有肉髻, 項有圓光, 面各, 圓光中 有五百化佛, 釋迦牟尼, 一一化佛, 有五百菩薩. 毫相流出八萬四千種光明, 一一光

68 The *ūrṇa* mark (*paekho sang*, Ch. *baihao xiang* 白毫相, also called *migan paekho sang*, Ch. *meijian baihao xiang* 眉間白毫相) is one of the thirty-two greater marks of a buddha. The skin in between the World-Honored One's eyebrows is soft and fine, and there is a small tuft of white hair growing a little long that curls to the right kind of like a seashell. It emits a white light that is clean, like a pearl, and because it emits rays of light like the sun it is called literally the "white tuft mark." It is said that if living beings encounter this light, all of their karmic hindrances will be eradicated and their mind and body will enjoy peace and bliss. Therefore, this mark is regarded as the most superior of all of the major marks of a buddha. Although the *ūrṇa* mark usually and originally refers to a mark of a buddha, here it is said to be the mark of a bodhisattva.

69 This passage is a pastiche from *Guan Wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經, T 365.12.343c13–344a5, 344a11–14.

明有無量百千化佛. 菩薩臂及手掌, 各有八萬四千光明, 普照一切. 乃至佛告阿難, 若觀觀世音菩薩者, 不遇諸禍, 淨除業障, 除無數劫生死之罪. 如此菩薩聞名, 獲無量福, 何況諦觀!" 次亦有弟子下, 二明自身相. 言空 (...)

[page 7 is lost and omitted.]

Question: ... the teaching. Furthermore, the side of the Great Saint is called the great perfect mirror [wisdom], and the side of the disciple is called the nature that is pure and enlightened. In the end, amid the approach that both essences/bodies interpenetrate each other, the meaning functions as the mirror of the ocean seal; but what is its meaning?

Answer: There are two points of significance. First, with respect to the great perfect mirror wisdom, it is not thoroughly understood by those of ordinary status; only those who fall under the status of those who have attained the fruit [of Buddhahood understand it]. With respect to the nature being pure and enlightened, as I have already explained in the approach of production and destruction, they do not belong in the status of those who have attained the fruit [of Buddhahood]. The meaning of both essences precisely penetrating the perfect teaching is that they are squarely the ultimate. To summarize, the meaning of the mirror of the ocean seal is the final teaching. Second, in explaining the three vehicles from the standpoint of the one buddha vehicle, since the roots of those in each of the three vehicles are undetermined, gradually, by means of elimination, they work hard and are led to the one vehicle of the ultimate. Master Ŭisang also relied on the aspiration to Buddhahood and crafted this sequence [of practices] because he sought to cause [beings with] inferior capacities to hope for [the development of] superior [capacities] so that they might take hold of the realization [of enlightenment]. Hence, the preface to his *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* says, "The crowds that grasp after names return to the nameless true source,"[70] which is precisely the meaning of this.

---

70 *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkye to* 華嚴一乘法界圖, HPC 2.1a6–7.

Question: The text has already been described according to the three teachings. Why are the Hīnayāna and the sudden teaching not extolled?

Answer: The Hīnayāna fears saṃsāra (life and death) and is afraid of the Mahāyāna, so how could one such obtain the great vow of the one vehicle in advance? Furthermore, with respect to the sudden teaching,[71] one exhausts one's phenomenal marks suddenly, observes the mind, and also produces the aspiration to see one's buddha nature; so if one produces this one mind he is called a "buddha." Therefore, how are observing marks here and making vows described? Nevertheless, in truth, in the midst of a large body of interpenetrating inquiries, although one obtains the meaning and insufficiently comprehends the teaching, one can completely distinguish it from the whole of the one vehicle.

Question: In the great perfect mirror wisdom also because the meaning suddenly appears, both the initial and the final teachings of the Mahāyāna clarify the great perfect mirror wisdom. Why, in short, do we regard the "everything in nature" in the ocean seal mirror as the ultimate? If it were not so, the initial teaching, with regard to the meaning of leading and welcoming by means of expedient means, extols the great perfect mirror wisdom and takes refuge in it. Since the final teaching also extols the great perfect mirror wisdom, what is its meaning?

Answer: Although the initial and final teachings extol the great perfect mirror wisdom, since that which they manifest is not yet able to be completely interfused, it is only about the meaning of emptiness. Therefore, the *Composition on the Ten Passages*[72] says,

---

[71] The sudden teaching (*ton'gyo*, Ch. *dunjiao* 頓教) is the fourth of the five teachings according to the Huayan tradition. Discarding the use of words and language to describe the path of practice and the nature of Buddhadhood, the sudden teaching follows the doctrines and teachings of such scriptures as the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* that emphasize the priority of practice, do not recognize hindrances and obstructions to practice, and describe that enlightenment will be attained suddenly.

[72] The *Composition on the Ten Passages* (*Shigou zhang* 十句章) is a work that emphasizes the essentials of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* by means of the ten passages (*sipku*, Ch. *shigou* 十句) described in the first chapter of Zhiyan's *Souxuan ji*. Research on these ten passages flourished in Silla Korea in Ŭisang's lineage. Commentaries were written by the monks Sillim 神琳, Pŏbyung 法融, Pŏmch'e 梵體, and

Since the initial teaching has a meaning, that which manifests forms in the great perfect mirror wisdom of the Buddha is not what is called that which relies on something else or the single body on which it relies. With respect to the mature teaching,[73] since it manifests forms in a repeatedly maturing great perfect mirror wisdom and since its original nature is pure and the thoughts it produces are different [from those of ordinary beings], it is not different from a brand new mind that produces all manner of objects. Therefore, this is also that which relies on something else and the single body on which it relies; however, this is the nature of the perfect, complete, and true.[74] In the one vehicle, because the essence is interfused, it is able to manifest all manner of forms, it is precisely a water body.[75]

Because it is seen with this meaning, in sum, the ocean seal samādhi and everything in nature completely interpenetrate each other. Furthermore, in addition, the analysis portion of Master Ŭisang's *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm as the One Vehicle* says, "I desire to show that the net of the teachings of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni, which encompass the three kinds of worlds, frequently manifest in accordance with the ocean seal samādhi."[76] If we pass judgment/discuss, by means of this, the three worlds are endowed within these two mutually interpenetrating approaches. The water-moon

---

Yungbul 融昢. In the early Koryŏ period, Kyunyŏ compiled his *Sipku chang wŏngt'ong ki* 十句章圓通記 [Perfect comprehensive record of the composition on the ten passages], in two rolls, which is still extant. This work comprises comments on the ten passages by Pŏbyung, based on what he had learned from Sillim; these were corrected by Yungbul; and Kyunyŏ supplemented these with his own opinions. Hence, the main author of the work is Pŏbyung. See Ko Ikchin 高翊晋, *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa* 韓國古代佛敎思想史 [The history of Buddhist thought in ancient Korea] (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1989), 323–330.

73 The mature teaching (*sukkyo*, Ch. *shujiao* 熟敎) refers to the final teaching of the Mahāyāna.

74 The nature of the perfect, complete, and true (*wŏnsŏngsil sŏng*, Ch. *yuanchengshi xing* 圓成實性) is one of the three types of nature according to Yogācāra tradition. It is essentially the same is true thusness (*chinyŏ*, Ch. *zhenru*).

75 Cf. *Sipku chang wŏngt'ong ki* 十句章圓通記 4, HPC 4.59c14–60a1.

76 *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, HPC 2.1b2–4.

ornamentation of the original master is precisely the world of wisdom and complete enlightenment (*chi chŏnggak segan* 智正覺世間); the marks/appearance of disciples' bodies is precisely the world of living beings (*chungsaeng segan* 衆生世間); and the land (field) upon which the original master and disciples rely is precisely he world as a vessel or the material world (*kisegan* 器世間; Skt. *bhajanaloka*). If we contrast them with the things, still there is nothing deluding in it. In the end, also, with respect to extolling the great perfect mirror wisdom, this great perfect mirror wisdom is precisely the dharma realm of the one mind and also it is the dharma realm of non-hindrance; it is also the wisdom of the buddha-fruit of Vairocana, and also the ocean seal mirror. It breaks the three vehicles' separately grasping and producing and seeks to [become the same as/be equal to] the joy of our dharma. It is only taking the three vehicles as participating in the one vehicle. It is precisely as in the Composition on the Five Teachings; with respect to the marks of the Dharma participating with each other, it becomes the same as the meaning of the teaching.[77] Thus, Master Ŭisang, in his *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm as the One Vehicle* says, "If we rely on the doctrinal approach of the expedient means of the three vehicles, although high and low are not the same, by relying on the perfect teaching of the one vehicle there is no front and back."[78]

Question: Having already said that "I desire to show the ocean seal samādhi of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni" and, furthermore, the *Composition on the Five Teachings* says, "Now I will explain the ocean seal samādhi of the Buddha Śākyamuni,"[79] with respect to "ocean seal," the Buddha's evincing the one mind in the morning that he first attained complete enlightenment is just ocean seal. Why is observing causally determined evincing wisdom said to be ocean seal?

Answer: There are two meanings. The Upādhyāya Zhiyan clarified the

77 Cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenji zhang* 1, T 1866.45.478c13–20.

78 *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, HPC 2.2a3–5.

79 This is paraphrase of the first line of Zhiyan's work; cf. *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenji zhang* 1, T 1866.45.477a6–7.

fivefold ocean seal,[80] and Master Kyunyŏ[81] furthermore added causal ocean

---

80 The fivefold ocean seal (*ojung haein*, Ch. *wuzhong haiyin* 五重海印) is attributed to Zhiyan, but there is a theory that the Silla monk Yunhyŏng 綸逈 made the seals and attributed them to Zhiyan as a pretext. The five ocean seals are as follows: (1) When Śakra, who had practiced for three *asaṁkhya* [numberless] kalpas, ascended the summit of the Mt. Sumeru of emptiness and fought with the asura He Who Knows Hindrances (*soji chang* 所知障), shadows of one hundred dharmas in three subjects appeared in the ocean of the true thusness of the one mind. (2) When Śakra, who had practiced for numberless kalpas, ascended the summit of the Mt. Sumeru of original enlightenment and fought with the *asura* Fundamental Ignorance, shadows of myriads of virtues numbering as the sands of the Ganges appeared in the ocean of the true thusness of the one mind. (3) When Śakra of the non-produced in a single thought-moment (*illyŏm pulsaeng* 一念不生) ascended the summit of the Mt. Sumeru of the single-practice samādhi and fought with the *asura* Delusion (*mangnyŏm* 妄念), signless and indistinct images appeared in the ocean of the reality of non-duality. (4) When Śakra, who had practiced for an inexhaustible number of kalpas in the World System of the Dharmakāya Buddha (*ibul segye* 理佛世界) ascended the summit of the Mt. Sumeru of the middle way of the general characteristics of all phenomena (*ch'ongsang chungdo* 總相中道) and fought the *asura* Indistinct Universal Calculation (*punbyŏl p'yŏn'gye* 分別遍計; things seeming to be real), shadows of ten kinds of universal dharmas appeared in the ocean of the ordinary world systems (*segye hae* 世界海). (5) When the Śakra of the ten buddhas ascended the summit of the Mt. Sumeru of the dharma nature and fought with the *asura* Reality of the Abodeless (*muju silsang* 無住實相), dharmas of the three kinds of worlds appeared in the ocean of the enlightened world (*kukt'o hae* 國土海). This theory on the ocean seals is not found in any Chinese Buddhist materials, but is transmitted in Kyunyŏ's *Sipku chang wŏngt'ong ki* 十句章圓通記 [Perfect comprehensive record of the composition on the ten passages], HPC 4.63c3–24, and the *Pŏpkye to ki ch'ongsurok* 法界圖記叢髓錄 [Comprehensive variorum on the seal-diagram symbolizing the dharma realm, T 1887B], HPC 6.775a10–12. See Ko Ikchin, *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo sasangsa*, 332–333.

81 Kyunyŏ 均如 (923–973) was a Hwaŏm thinker of the early Koryŏ period. He clearly recognized that the Hwaŏm school was disrupted intellectually by internal issues and discord between doctrinal (Kyo 教) and meditational (Sŏn 禪) approaches to Buddhism. He developed an intellectual system to respond to these issues. Kyunyŏ's large corpus of written works, sixty-five rolls in ten classes, is concerned with the essential writings of the early Huayan founders Zhiyan, Ŭisang, and Fazang and the Silla Hwaŏm tradition, including such works as the *Pŏpkye to wŏnt'ong ki* 法界圖圓通記 [Perfectly comprehensive record of the *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm*] and the *Sipku chang wŏngt'ong ki* 十句章圓通記 [Perfectly comprehensive record of the *Composition on the Ten Passages*]. His commentaries on the works of the great Chinese Huayan philosopher Fazang including the *Kyobun ki wŏnt'ong ch'ao* 教分記圓通鈔 [Perfectly comprehensive account of the *Jiaofen ji*], *Chigwi chang wŏnt'ong ch'ao* 旨歸章圓通鈔 [Perfectly comprehensive account of the *Composition on Taking Refuge in the Profound Meaning*], *Sambo chang wŏnt'ong ch'ao*三寶章圓通鈔 [Perfectly comprehensive account of the *Composition on the Three Jewels*] are still extant. In these works Kyunyŏ cites the

seal (*in haein* 因海印).[82] Furthermore, since this great saint already in the past attained [enlightenment as] the Tathāgata Bright King of the True Dharma, and now manifests the approach of traces, how is it that he is one who has not attained the fruit?

Question: If we discuss the causal ocean seal, the *Mahāsamnipāta-sūtra*[83] says, "If we make a comparison, since the bodies of all living beings in Jambudvīpa and all other remaining forms are like reflections on the ocean, we describe the great ocean as a seal. Bodhisattvas also are like this, since they obtain the samādhi of the great ocean seal."[84] What is different from this?

---

opinions of Zhiyan, Ŭisang, and Fazang, makes them the basis of his own personal theories, and then establishes his individual intellectual position. Although the Hwaŏm thought of Kyunyŏ affirms the primacy of Ŭisang as the founder of Silla Hwaŏm tradition, he supplements it by merging it with the Huayan thought of Fazang. By presenting the theory of doctrinal classification affirming the imperative theory of Hwaŏm's one vehicle, Kyunyŏ emphasized the reasonability and superiority of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and Hwaŏm thought and aimed to revitalize the Hwaŏm school, which had atrophied after the end of the Silla period. Kyunyŏ also composed eleven native songs (*hyangga* 鄕歌) under the title "Songs of the Ten Vows of Samantabhadra" (*Pohyŏn sibwŏn ka* 普賢十願歌) by which he intended to spread practices and vows of Samantabhadra (*Pohyŏn haengwŏn* 普賢行願) among the masses. See also Adrian Buzo and Tony Prince, trans., *Kyunyŏ-jŏn: The Life, Times and Songs of a Tenth Century Korean Monk*, University of Sydney East Asian Series 6 (Canberra: Wild Peony, 1993).

82 Kyunyŏ describes six kinds of ocean seals by adding his "causal ocean seal" to Zhiyan's five kinds of ocean seals; see *Sŏk hwaŏm kyobun ki wŏnt'ong ch'o* 釋華嚴教分記圓通鈔 1, HPC 4.246c4–5.

83 The *Daji jing* 大集經 = *Da fangdeng daji jing* 大方等大集經 (*Mahāsamnipāta-sūtra*) was translated into Chinese by the eminent monk Dharmakṣema (Tanwuchen 曇無讖, 385–433) and others of the Northern Liang 北凉 regional regime. Divided into seventeen chapters, it is a collection of edited versions of all the major sūtras. Sixteen years after the Buddha Śākyamuni's attainment of Buddahdood, he founded a great enlightenment site (*mahābodhimaṇḍa*) in between the desire realm and the realm of forms, gathered together all the bodhisattvas, heavenly dragons, and ghosts of the *buddhakṣetras* (buddhafields) in the ten directions; and preached the deep and profound truth of the sixteen kinds of great compassion (*taebi*, Ch. *dabei* 大悲) and the thirty-two types of karma (*ŏp*, Ch. *ye* 業). The main contents deal with methods for acquiring the six pāramitās of the Mahāyāna and the original nature of all dharmas. Aside from that there are descriptions of dhāraṇī practices and rituals as well as information about state protection by all of the gods, such as Brahmā. Many of the sūtras condensed into one chapter in this seventeen-chapter sūtra exist separately under different names.

84 See *Da fangdeng daji jing* 大方等大集經 (*Mahāsamnipāta-sūtra*) 15, T 13.106c11–16. Kyunyŏ also gives more or less the same information, suggesting that Ch'ewŏn was well familiar with Kyunyŏ's

Answer: The ocean seal of the *Mahāsamnipāta-sūtra* also is the meaning of manifestation. Merely it is the meaning of sustaining (*chi* 持), and repeatedly there is no meaning of precisely entering, and also there is no meaning that that which manifests is precisely able to manifest. Now, in this core teaching of the one vehicle, that which manifests the dharmas of the three worlds is precisely the essence of the great perfect mirror, and there are no reflections outside of the great perfect mirror. What manifests there is repeatedly not exhausted; one is all and all is one, perfectly interfusing and self-existing, without hindrances or obstacles; it is not the same as that.

教耶. 又大聖邊云大圓鏡, 弟子邊云性淨覺. 終於同躰交徹門中義用海印鏡, 其義云何? 答, 有二意. 一大圓鏡智者, 不通凡位, 唯當果位. 性淨覺者, 旣於生滅門中所論, 不屬果位. 其同體即入之義, 於圓教, 方究竟故, 約海印鏡義而終也. 二所以於一佛乘, 說三乘者, 各爲三乘根不定者, 漸以淘汰, 務令引導究竟一乘也. 相公亦依佛意, 爲令下機望上取證, 故作次第也. 故法界圖序云, "冀以執名之徒, 還歸無名眞源," 即此義也.

問, 旣約三教述文, 何故不擧小乘及頓教耶?

答, 小乘則恐生死怖大乘, 何得預於一乘大願? 又頓教則事相頓盡, 觀心見性亦曰生心, 一念生即名爲佛. 故於此觀相發願, 亦何所述? 然茍得其意於交徹門體大之中, 微含其教, 然與一乘惣體全別也.

問, 大圓鏡智中, 亦有頓現之意, 故始終皆以圓鏡智明也. 何故要以海印鏡, 森羅爲究竟耶? 不然則始約方便引接之義, 擧大圓鏡聞命矣. 終亦擧其大圓鏡智, 其義云何?

答, 始終雖大圓鏡智, 然其所現未能融通, 但約即空之義耳. 故十句章云, "始教有義, 佛大圓鏡智中現像, 非謂能依所依一身, 熟教因重習鏡中現像, 從性淨心生, 非從新新心生種種境. 故亦是能依所依一身, 然是圓成實也. 一乘中體融, 故顯現種種像, 直是水身." 約此義故, 要以海印森羅爲交徹也. 又況相公法界圖釋文云, "欲表釋迦如來教網所攝三種世間, 從海印三昧, 繁出顯現." 以此論之, 則於此交徹門中, 具三世間也. 謂本師水月莊嚴, 即智正覺世間, 弟子身相, 即衆生世間, 本師及弟子依土, 即器世間也. 以此對之, 尙無惑矣. 其終亦擧大圓鏡智者, 此鏡智即一心法界, 亦是無障碍法界, 亦舍那果智, 亦海印鏡也. 爲破三乘別

---

work; see *Sŏk hwaŏm kyobun ki wŏnt'ong ch'o* 1, HPC 4.246a25–b3.

執而生, 同於我法之欣, 但以三乘, 叅於一乘耳. 即五教章中, 法相交叅, 同教義也. 故相公法界圖云, "依三乘方便教門, 高下不同, 依一乘圓教故. 無有前後."
問, 旣云 "欲表釋迦如來海印三昧." 又五教章云, "今將開釋迦佛海印三昧," 則海印者, 佛始成正覺之旦證心. 方曰海印也, 何故觀因人證智云海印耶?
答, 有二義. 智儼和尚明五重海印, 而均如法師 又加因海印也. 又此大聖, 過去已成正法明王如來, 今示迹門, 豈非果人耶?
問, 若論因海印者, 大集經云, "喩如閻浮提一切衆生身及餘外色, 於海中皆有像, 以是名大海爲印. 菩薩亦如是, 得大海印三昧." 與此何別?
答, 大集經海印, 亦有現像之義. 但是依持之義, 無有重重即入之義, 亦無所現即能現之義. 今此一乘宗中所現三世間法, 即是鏡體, 無有鏡外所現之像. 而彼所現重重無盡, 一即一切, 一切即一, 圓融自在, 無障無碍, 與彼不同也.

2. Reverently Make the Vow, Continue the Works, and Attain the Results [敬伸發願承事成果]

[Vow-text]

Now, take the body of the disciple in the midst of the mirror of Avalokiteśvara and take refuge in and worship the Great Saint Avalokiteśvara in the midst of the mirror of the disciple.

[Variorum]

Second is reverently make the vow, continue the works, attain the fruits. In this there are two points: first, comprehensively displaying the marks of taking refuge; and second, distinctively clarifying the making of the vow.

A. The Marks of Taking Refuge

These are the marks of taking refuge. Among these there are two issues: first, the body that is able to take refuge; and second, the saint in which one takes refuge. We can know that, as above, the great perfect mirror wisdom of the great saint and the original enlightenment of the disciple are already, by means of the same one essence, clean and pure and forsake defilements; the

original reflection of the myriad forms and everything in nature suddenly manifests. Only this is not supposing it is the essence of one dharma realm. All buddhas evincing the ocean seal of fruits and bodhisattvas evincing the ocean seal of seeds can only be the difference between the parts and the whole. Therefore, disciples appear in the mirror of that great saint, and the great saint appears in the mirror of the disciples. If one is deluded, there is saṃsāra [life and death]; if one is enlightened, there is nirvāṇa. Although delusion and enlightenment are different in essence they are indivisible. Thus, the "Arousal of the [Jewel King Tathāgata's] Nature" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says, "In the body of the Tathāgata all see that all living beings arouse the bodhicitta, attain equal and complete enlightenment, up to quiescence, nirvāṇa."[85] Furthermore, it says, "Bodhisattvas know of themselves that in their bodies there is the bodhi of a buddha, and just like their own minds, within the minds of all living beings it is just the same."[86] Master Xianshou's analysis says, "Below the body of the Tathāgata is the fifth, the approach of manifesting seeds and fruits. By means of the body of bodhi one becomes equal to the world of living beings. For this reason, all living beings appear in it. This is because that which appears is the same as what is able to appear. For this reason, living beings invariably attain Buddhahood. Since this passage is an important paragraph, you would do well to not treat it lightly."[87] Master Qingliang says, "It is like the masters and disciples of the world being together as a pair in one mirror; if chosen by means of the master, it is precisely the mirror of the master; and if chosen by means of the disciple, it is precisely the mirror of the disciple."[88] Precisely this is the meaning. As for "taking refuge for one's life," Master Xianshou's Record on the Meaning of the Awakening of Faith says, "It is the manifestation of being able to seek for refuge and be sincere. Taking refuge (*kwi* 歸) [means]

---

85 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 35, T 278.9.627a1–4.

86 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 52, T 279.10.279b24–26.

87 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記16, T 35.413b18–22.

88 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 13, T 1736.36.97a23–26.

relying on and casting oneself hastening towards [something]."[89] Master Wŏnhyo's Commentary on the Awakening of Faith says, "Fated life (*myŏng* 命) means comprehensively mastering all of one's sense [organs], the main point of the one body, that which is important to the person, there is no one that is not first. Extolling these lives that are non-dual, one receives the honored one who is unsurpassed."[90]

今以觀音鏡中弟子之身, 歸命頂禮弟子鏡中觀音大聖.

第二敬伸發願承事成果. 於中二, 先惣標歸相, 二別明發願. 此則歸相. 於中二, 先能歸身, 後所歸聖. 可知 如上大聖鏡智弟子本覺, 旣同一體, 清淨離染, 萬像本影, 森羅頓現. 只此無儻一法界體. 諸佛證爲果海印, 菩薩證爲因海印, 但分滿異可. 故弟子現彼大聖鏡中, 大聖現於弟子鏡中. 迷之生死, 悟則涅盤, 迷悟雖殊, 其體莫二. 故性起品云, "如來身中, 悉見一切衆生發菩提心, 成等正覺, 乃至寂滅涅盤." 又云, "菩薩自知, 身中有佛菩提, 如自心, 一切衆生心中亦如是." 等. 賢首釋云, "如來身下, 第五顯因果門. 以菩提身, 等衆生界, 是故衆生悉於中現. 以彼所現同能現故. 是故衆生無不成佛. 此文是大節, 幸不輕之." 清凉云, "如世師資, 同對一鏡, 若以師取之, 即師之鏡, 若以弟子取之, 即弟子鏡." 者, 即此義也. 言歸命者, 賢首起信疏云, "顯能歸誠. 歸者, 依投趣向." "命者, 摠御諸根, 一身之要, 人之所重, 莫不爲先. 擧此無二之命, 以奉無上之尊."

B. Distinctively Clarifying the Making of the Vow [別明發願]

[Vow-text]

Making with sincerity the words of the vow, I expect to take upon myself the bestowal of power. I merely vow that as a disciple I will chant Avalokiteśvara throughout my whole life, and regard you as the original master. Just as if the bodhisattva had the Buddha Amitābha on the crown of your head,

[Variorum]

Second, in distinctively clarifying the making of the vow there are two

89 *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 1, T 1846.44.246c25–28.

90 Cf. *Kisillon so* 起信論疏 1, HPC 1.700a6–11.

issues. The first is exhibiting the request for the bestowal of power, and next, after "merely vow" is the twined clarification of the two vows: first, the vow to become the same as the original master; and second, the vow to be reborn in the Pure Land.

a. Requesting the Bestowal of Power [請加]

In accommodating oneself to requesting the bestowal of power, although the power of the vows of living beings is profound, because they need assistance, by means of the mystical bestowal of the Great Saint they are able to achieve the great vow, just as when a person rides a boat and crosses the ocean he needs to rely on an eminent master who knows the direction, and the direction fulfills the purpose. Master Qingliang's *Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says, "Above there is a white moon; below gives assistance/support to a clear pool. If the pool is clear the moon will appear [in it]; its capacity will resonate and respond by producing [a reflection]."[91] If the water is not clear, how can the moon appear clearly? And if the aspiration is not sincere, why would it respond as quickly as this? Hence, are the words "make with sincerity the words of the vow," and so forth. In [Qingliang's] commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* written during the Zhenyuan reign period, analyzing the approach to dharma obtained by the Brahman Śiva-rāgra (Most Quiescent),[92] he says,

> With respect to [making] with sincerity the words of the vow, speaking comprehensively they are devoid of falsity and individually there are four

---

91 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 1, T 1735.35.504a18–19.

92 The Brahman Śiva-rāgra (Ch'oe chŏkchŏng paramun, Ch. Cui jijing poluomen 最寂靜婆羅門) is the forty-ninth spiritual mentor that the monk Sudhana meets on his spiritual quest to learn all of the expedient means bodhisattvas use to save beings. The Brahman Śiva-rāgra perfected the practice of the bodhisattva's sincere vow words that are conducive toward liberation (*posal sŏngwŏnŏ t'arhae* 菩薩誠願語脫解); in other words, he realized the way of speaking in such a way that the truth is revealed.

meanings: first is corresponding with principle because it is devoid of error; second is being the beginning and the end because it is devoid of contradiction; third is self-practicing because it is devoid of contradiction; and fourth is benefiting others because it is not empty. Being endowed with these four meanings is called [making] with sincerity the words of the vow.[93]

發誠願語, 冀蒙加被, 惟願弟子, 生生世世稱觀世音, 以爲本師, 如菩薩頂戴彌陁,

二別明發願. 中二, 先標請加, 次惟願下雙明兩願, 一願同本師, 二願生淨土. 就請加中, 衆生願力, 雖深要借, 大聖冥加, 能成大願, 如人乘舡渡海, 要依篙師智方, 方遂其志. 淸凉疏云, "上有白月, 下資澄潭. 潭淸月現, 機感應生." 水若不淸, 月豈分明, 心若不誠, 應何斯速? 故云發誠願語等. 貞元疏釋最寂靜婆羅門所得法門云, "誠願語者, 摠謂無妄. 別有四義, 一稱理無失故, 二始終無違故, 三自行無違故, 四利他不虛故. 具此四義, 名誠願語."

• Vowing To Be the Same as the Original Master [願同本師]

First, in vowing to be the same as the original master there are also two points. The former is the example of that which is similar, and the latter distinguishes what is able to be similar.

This is precisely that which is similar. Qingliang's commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* written during the Zhenyuan reign period says, "The transformation buddha above the crown of his head is precisely the original master."[94] The *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* says,

The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara addressed the Buddha saying, "I've been

93 The original passage of the sūtra is *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 32, T 293.10.807c29. Chengguan's commentary as found in the received text has both large and small differences with respect to the third explanation; see *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shu* 華嚴經行願品疏 9, X 5.170c23–171a5.

94 There is no such passage in the *Huayan jing xingyuan pin shu*. The most similar passage in another work by Chengguan is found in the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 87, T 1736.36.680b24–25.

> thinking about when I was given the name Avalokiteśvara when the buddha appeared long kalpas ago numbering as the sands of the Ganges. I aroused the bodhicitta before that buddha and that buddha instructed me; and in accordance with my listening, pondering, and practicing,[95] I entered into samādhi." He goes on to say that "Buddha Tathāgata praised me for well obtaining the dharma approach of perfect penetration and of those in the great assembly he presented me with the title Avalokiteśvara. As a result of my observing and listening, because the ten directions are perfectly clarified, the name Avalokiteśvara circulates throughout the world systems of the ten directions."[96]

Great Master Jiehuan's[97] *Explanation of the Essentials of the Śūraṃgama-sūtra* says, "With respect to the buddha who was his master and also his being called Avalokiteśvara, causes and results tally with each other as a principle of the Way to enlightenment throughout the past and present."[98] Our Master Ŭisang's serving Avalokiteśvara is also similar to this. His viewing the worthies and pondering piety is truly that which might be called

---

95 Listening, pondering, and practicing (*munsasu*, Ch. *wensixiu* 聞思修) refer to the three wisdoms (*samhye*, Ch. *sanhui* 三慧) that describe the process of practicing the Buddhadharma: (1) the wisdom of listening to and obtaining the Buddhadharma, (2) the wisdom of pondering its moral principles; and (3) the wisdom of putting into practice what it teaches.

96 *Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wanxing shoulengyan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 (*Śūraṃgama-sūtra*) 6, T 945.19.128b15–18.

97 Master Jiehuan 戒環 (fl. 1119–1125) was a monk of the Northern Song period 北宋. Because he spent time at Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺 in Wenling 溫陵, he is called Great Master Wenling 溫陵大師. He was renowned for his knowledge of the intellectual traditions associated with the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. He gave many lectures, and his writing circulated widely. He wrote many commentaries with the title words "explanation of the essentials" (*yohae*, Ch. *yaojie* 要解), such as *Fahua jing yaojie* 法華經要解 [Explanation of the essentials of the *Lotus Sūtra*] and *Huayan jing yaojie* 華嚴經要解 [Explanation of the essentials of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]. Since the Koryŏ period, Jiehuan's explanation of the essentials has been given particular importance in the understanding of the *Lotus Sūtra* in Korea.

98 *Lengyan jing yaojie* 楞嚴經要解 11, X 11.830c19–20.

the past and present being as one path!

一願同本師. 中亦二, 先例所同, 后辨能同. 此則所同. 貞元疏云, "頂上化佛, 即本師也." 楞嚴經, "觀世音菩薩白佛言. 憶念我昔恒河沙劫有佛出現, 名觀世音. 我於彼佛發菩提心, 彼佛教我, 從聞思修, 入三摩地. 乃至云 彼佛如來歎我善得圓通法門, 於大衆中, 授記我爲觀世音號. 由我觀聽, 十方圓明, 故觀音名, 遍十方界." 戒環疏云, "所師之佛, 亦名觀世音者, 因果相符, 古今一道也." 我相公之師事觀音, 亦猶是也. 見賢思齊, 眞所謂古今一道歟!

[Vow-text]

I also wear the Great Saint Avalokiteśvara on the crown of my head, and with respect to your ten vows and six transferences,[99] the Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed [Bodhisattva] Great Mercy Great Compassion "altogether is similar in my forsaking a body in this world system and receiving a body in other quarters wherever I dwell," just as a reflection follows a form, I always listen to explications of the Dharma and assist in promoting the truthful conversion.

[Variorum]

Second is being able to be similar. In this, initially, the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*-

99 The ten vows and six transferences (*sibwŏn yukhyang*, Ch. *shiyuan liuxiang* 十願六向) refer to vows made by Avalokiteśvara in the *Qianshou jing* 千手經 (Kor. *Ch'ŏnsu kyŏng*, Sūtra on the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara). Because ten vows are made in two corresponding sets, there are really just five vows: (1) the vow to obtain the eye of wisdom and comprehend all dharmas; (2) the vow to obtain wholesome expedient means (upāya) and save all living beings; (3) the vow to cross the ocean of suffering and ferry beings in the boat of prajñā to Sukhāvatī; (4) the vow to ascend the mountain of nirvāṇa and obtain morality, meditation, and enlightenment [or the path of precepts and absorption] (*kyejŏngdo* 戒定道); and (5) the vow to assimilate with the body of the dharma nature and meet in the unconditioned lodge (*muwisa* 無爲舍). The six transferences refer to Avalitesvara's desiring to transfer merit to rescue all beings and deliver them from rebirth in sword-mountain hell (*tosan chiok* 刀山地獄), the hell of fire and boiling (*hwat'ang chiok* 火湯地獄) and the four unwholesome paths of rebirth as a denizen of the hells, as a hungry ghost, as a titan (*asura*), and as an animal or beast of burden. See *Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa da yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經, T 1060.20.106c17–107a3.

śāstra[100] says, "There are two things in comparing, measuring, and excelling. First, practicing immeasurable practices is precisely self-benefiting; and second, becoming the same as living beings is precisely benefiting to others."[101] If we take that and equate it to this there are also two meanings.

First, after "the ten vows and six transferences" are precisely practices that are self-benefiting; and after "universally cause in the dharma realm" are practices benefiting others. Just like this these two benefits are superior to the two vehicles. Hence, in the front he merely extols the three teachings but does not extol the practices of the two vehicles.

> 我亦頂戴觀音大聖, 十願六向, 千手千眼大慈大悲, 悉皆同等捨身受身, 此界他方隨所住處, 如影隨形, 恒聞說法, 助揚眞化.
> 二能同. 中 初地論云, "校量勝有二. 一行無量行, 即是自利. 二與衆生同, 即是利他." 以彼准此, 亦有二義. 一十願六向下, 即自利行, 二普令法界下, 是利他行. 如是二利, 勝於二乘, 故前但擧三教, 不擧二乘行也.

Practices That Benefit Oneself [自利行]

Speaking of the ten vows and so forth, some say that when those who chant the [great compassion] spell make the great vow and direct it toward or transfer it to living beings, the Great Saint [Avalokiteśvara] responds to them and causes them to all be successful in their cultivation of the ten

---

100 The *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論 (*Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra*) is Vasubhandu's (ca. 400–480) commentary on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (*Shidi jing* 十地經), the "Ten Stages" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* that circulated separately. It was translated into Chinese by both Bodhiruci I (ca. 508–535) and Ratnamati in 508. Later, Huiguang 慧光 made a composite using both of these translations. The sūtra describes characteristics of a bodhisattva's practice as he processes on the stages toward *Buddhahood* and shows that all mundane and supramundane doctrines are included without remainder.

101 Although Ch'ewŏn claims this is a quotation from the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra*, it is really a direct quotation from Chengguan's *Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra*; see *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 34, T 1735.35.762a2–3. The original passage upon which this was based is *Shidi jing lun* 十地經論 3, T 1522.26.141a18–20.

vows and six transferences. It does not refer to the Great Saint's making vows and transferring [merit] to himself. Some say that because the Great Saint had previously made his vow and directed it toward living beings in the presence of a buddha, he has living beings taught like me to make this kind of great vow; it is precisely the vow aroused originally by the Great Saint Avalokiteśvara. According to the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra on the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara,* that latter meaning is the same as the sūtra. That sūtra says:

> I remember, in the past kalpa, that a buddha named Tathāgata Quiescence Dweller King of a Thousand Rays appeared in the world. That buddha took pity on me, and for the sake of all living beings, he preached this dhāraṇī on the heart of great compassion. When I heard the great compassion spell, I passed the eighth stage and immediately made a vow saying, "If in the future I am well able to benefit all living beings, may my body immediately produce and completely be endowed with a thousand arms and a thousand eyes. If bhikṣus, bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas, upāsikās, boys, girls, and so forth desire to chant and maintain this spell, all living beings will arouse the aspiration toward compassion, and should they initially follow me they will produce a vow like this."[102]

Since they have already produced a vow following me, how could they not have produced a vow initially by themselves and only teach living beings?

Although [the spell] says, "Homage to the Avalokiteśvara of Great Compassion;" it can also say, "The Original Master, the Tathāgata Avalokiteśvara"; it can also say, "Teach them to recollect the name themselves, and it will cause them to take upon themselves the bestowal of power."

With respect to the ten vows, although there are ten kinds of vows, that which is sought are five kinds, precisely, the four extensive

---

[102] *Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa da yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing*, T 1060.20.106b27–c1, 106c3–7, 106c14–16. The passage on the ten vows and six transferences is found immediately following the end of this passage.

vows,[103] which are called the ten vows in five pairs (*ossang sibwŏn* 五雙十願). For each one he initially vows the cause and afterwards vows the result. Only in vows one, two, and four, for example, is it such that after obtaining the eye of wisdom he is able to know all dharmas; and after obtaining wholesome expedients he is able to save living beings. Nevertheless, for those that are not the same as afterwards, merely the initial is the object of what is causally connected; this is because it is the heart of what can be connected; this is because the heart comes after the object and is the order of the meaning of casual connection. First is the object of what is known; second is the heart of what can be known; third is what is saved; and fourth is what is able to save. The first two vows (nos. one and two) teach approaches to dharma, and the latter two vows (nos. three and four) deal with saving living beings. In the next pair of vows (nos. five and six) *prajñā* is called "wisdom," and as a result of wisdom they are able to cross over saṃsāra (life and death) just as a boat crosses the ocean. Hence, because saṃsāra is limitless it is designated the ocean of suffering; and he precisely vows to cut off defilements. He is able to cut off defilements because he never sinks into the ocean of suffering. In the next two pairs of vows, the first two vows (nos. seven and eight) seek the fruit of nirvāṇa; and the next two vows (nos. nine and ten) seek the fruit of the dharma body of self-nature.[104] In that case, the former is the dharma body of response

---

103 The four extensive vows (*hongsa sŏwŏn*, Ch. *hongsi shiyuan* 弘四誓願) are the four great vows made by all bodhisattvas. The contents of the four vows varies a little according to the sūtra in which they appear; here we will follow the *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 [Platform sūtra of the sixth patriarch]: (1) the vow to save all of the limitless living beings; (2) the vow to sever all defilements; (3) the vow to learn all aspects of the Buddhadharma; and (4) the vow to attain the most supreme and perfect enlightenment. See *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing* 六祖大師法寶壇經 1, T 2008.48.354a10–13.

104 The dharma body of self-nature (*chasŏng pŏpsin*, Ch. *zixing fashen* 自性法身) is one of the two kinds of dharma bodies along with the dharma body of response and transformation (*ŭnghwa pŏpsin*, Ch. *yinghua fashen* 應化法身). It is a concept pervading the bodies of buddhas and bodhisattvas above the initial stage of the bodhisattva path. It is the dharma body of true wisdom that resides in the nature of dharmas. In contrast to this, the dharma body of response and transformation refers to all of the response bodies emerging from the dharma body of self-nature. The specific characteristic of the dharma body of self-nature is that it is the dharma body that abides in the dharma nature of true thusness or universal truth; hence, it is the original body (*ponsin*, Ch. *benshen* 本身) of the buddhas.

and transformation;[105] and the latter is the dharma body of self-nature. This is precisely the fruit of vows to attain Buddhahood. Once his precepts and practices are fulfilled he will avail himself and ascend to nirvāṇa, sever delusion and attain the fruit of Buddhahood. Hence, it is called a dharma body of response and transformation. For this reason, the *Book on the Original Acts* [*That Serve as Ornaments for the Bodhisattva*] says, "First is the dharma body of self-nature; and second is the dharma body of response and transformation."[106] Furthermore, the Treatise [translated] during the Liang period[107] says, "The body of self-nature and the Dharma body function because they make reliance."[108]

The path of the full precepts[109] is the path of the rules and ceremonies leading one to the state of being devoid of outflows;[110] and it is called the

---

105 Dharma body of response and transformation (*ŭnghwa pŏpsin*, Ch. *yinghua fashen* 應化法身) refers to the limitless dharma bodies of buddhas and bodhisattvas, men and gods, beasts of burden, and so forth that manifest from the dharmakāya buddha (*pŏpsin pul*, Ch. *fashen fo* 法身佛). It is also called the response body (*ŭngsin*, Ch. *yingshen* 應身) and the transformation body (*hwasin*, Ch. *huashen* 化身). These kinds of dharma bodies are able to appear to living beings as a result of their wholesome roots. These kinds of bodies are the inconceivable types of bodies that appear in *buddhakṣetras* of all the world systems, all bodies of living beings, all buddha bodies, all bodhisattva bodies, and so forth.

106 *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 1, T 1485.24.1015c19–21. Although the passage as Ch'ewŏn gives says "dharma body of self-nature" the sūtra says "body of dharma nature" (*pŏpsŏng sin*, Ch. *faxing shen* 法性身).

107 The "*Treatise* [translated] during the Liang period" (*Yang ron*, Ch. *Liang lun* 梁論) refers to the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* translated by Paramārtha in 563. The treatise was not actually translated during the Liang period (502–557). Ch'ewŏn appears to have mistaken the date of the translation of the sūtra with the general time period when Paramārtha arrived in southern China.

108 *She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論 (*Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*) 3, T 1593.31.129c4–5.

109 Although the text here reads "path of the full precepts" (*kyejok to*, Ch. *jiezu dao* 戒足道), the original text upon which this was probably based reads "path of morality and meditation" (*kyejŏng to*, Ch. *jieding dao* 戒定道); see *Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa da yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing*, T 1060.20.106c23.

110 The rules and ceremonies leading one to the state of being devoid of outflows (*muru yurŭi*, Ch. *wulou lüyi* 無漏律儀) are one of the three kinds of rules and ceremonies (*yurŭi*, Ch. *lüyi* 律儀). The other two are rules and ceremonies leading one to liberation (*pyŏrhaet'al yurŭi*, Ch. *biejietuo lüyi* 別

pure precepts of the three groups[111] and the precepts of the ten natures[112] and so forth. "Full" (*chok* 足) is precisely perfect and sufficient. "Nirvāṇa" means perfect quiescence. "Virtue being full" is called perfect and "hindrances being exhausted" is called quiescent. Because by means of his nirvāṇa he rises high and emerges out of the ocean of saṃsāra, it is compared to a mountain. Hence, Great Master Qingliang, in analyzing the dharma approach of the Householder Veṣṭhila[113] said, "The passage on the mountain afloat in the ocean means to display compliance to great compassion, to enter the ocean

解脫律儀) and rules and ceremonies leading to quiet contemplation (*chŏngnyŏ yurŭi*, Ch. *jinglu lüyi* 靜慮律儀). When a saint or enlightened being enters the samādhi that is devoid of outflows (*muru chŏng*, Ch. *wulou ding* 無漏定), he is able to obstruct all unwholesomeness when he arises.

111 The pure precepts of the three groups (*samch'wi chŏnggye*, Ch. *sanju jingjie* 三聚淨戒; Skt. *tri-vidhāni śīlani*) are the precepts of bodhisattvas in the Mahāyāna. Because the precepts of the three groups are immaculately clean and pure and include all of the rules and precepts of the Mahāyāna, they are called the pure precepts of the three groups. Because the Mahāyāna subsumes all of the Hīnayāna precepts they are said to be all embracing (*sŏp* 攝). Because the precepts are clean and pure, they are said to be pure (*chŏng* 淨). The first of the three groups is the precepts subsuming rules and ceremonies (*sŏp yurŭi kye*, Ch. *she lüyi jie* 攝律儀戒; Skt. *saṁvara-śīla*), the approach subsuming all rules and ceremonies that end all unwholesomeness. The vinaya is divided into seven groups in East Asia and, depending on whether one is a layperson or renunciant, there are lists of five precepts, eight precepts, ten precepts, and the full precepts. The second group is the precepts subsuming wholesome dharmas (*sŏp sŏnbŏp kye*, Ch. *she shanfa jie* 攝善法戒; Skt. *kuśala-dharma-saṁgrāhaka-śīla*), the approach subsuming the practice of all wholesome dharmas. This refers to vinaya, rules, and precepts cultivated by bodhisattvas; the cultivation of wholesome karma by means of body, speech, and mind; and the turning towards superlative enlightenment. It is always making seminal progress diligently, making offerings to the Three Jewels, and not becoming lax in one's practice. The third group is the precepts subsuming living beings (*sŏp chungsaeng kye*, Ch. *she zhongsheng jie* 攝衆生戒; Skt. *sattvārtha-kriyā-śīla*), the approach in which all living beings are benefited by means of a compassion mind.

112 The precepts of the ten natures (*sipsŏng kye*, Ch. *shixing jie* 十性戒) refers to several different lists of ten bodhisattva precepts beginning with the ten heavy precepts (*sip chunggye*, Ch. *shi zhongjie* 十重戒) of the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 [Book of the Brahmā's net].

113 The Householder Veṣṭhila (Pisŭlchŏra kŏsa, Ch. Pisediluo jushi 毘瑟底羅居士, also called Anju changja, Ch. Anzhu changzi 安住長者) is the twenty-sixth spiritual mentor encountered by Sudhana in the last chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. The Householder Veṣṭhila preached that he obtained the liberation that is not parinirvāṇa and send Sudhana off to find Avalokiteśvara.

of saṃsāra, and to dwell on the mountain of nirvāṇa," and so forth.[114] The dwelling of non-action is precisely the house of great compassion, dharma nature, and so forth. Because one goes against [the common practice of] making distinctions and obtains the state of being devoid of distinctions, it is called non-action. With respect to dwelling, the analytical passage in the *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* says, "What is the meaning of house? It means the place where one dwells. So-called dharma nature is true emptiness because those who are enlightened dwell there. Furthermore, the wholesome talent of great compassion that conceals living beings is called a dwelling. The meaning of this resides in the ultimate of the one vehicle."[115] With respect to the body of the dharma nature, it means that in the mansion of true emptiness those who are enlightened are bodies of the dharma nature. Each and every buddha evinces that the dharma nature is the same as the nature of a single body because they are to be the same. The *Treatise* [translated] during the Liang period says, "If one invariably follows the current of the dharma realm he will invariably return and evince this dharma realm."[116] Is that what this means? The Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara is like what has been cited above.

The six transferences save those in the four unwholesome paths.[117] The first and second transferences are particularly raising beings from the sword-wheel

---

[114] *Dafangguan fo huayan jing shu* 57, T 1735.35.939c26–27.

[115] *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkye to*, HPC 2.5b13–17.

[116] Although Ch'ewŏn's original text suggests it is from the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*, it appears to be a passage from the *She dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋 [Analysis of the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*] 13, T 1596.31.254a25–26.

[117] The four unwholesome paths of rebirth (*sa akto*, Ch. *si edao* 四惡道) are rebirth as a titan (*asura*), as a beast, as a hungry ghost, or as a denizen of hell.

hell[118] and the fire-wheel hell[119] because this is extreme suffering. The third is summarily raising beings from all hells. The remaining three are hungry ghosts,[120]

---

118 Sword-wheel hell (*toryun chiok*, Ch. *daolun diyu* 刀輪地獄), also called sword-mountain hell (*tosan chiok*, Ch. *daoshan diyu* 刀山地獄), is the hell in which sins are controlled by means of a mountain of swords or a sword-wheel. It is the hell for people who take pleasure in inflicting pain on other people and killing living beings. It is surrounded on all sides by mountains, and on the mountains swords are piled high just like bricks. Eight trillion sword-wheels pour out like rain from the sky. When the sinners there arrive at death, they get ill and in their breasts agonizingly hard and sharp stone-like tumors amass so that the afflicted sinners think they will feel refreshed if eventually the tumors are trimmed and removed with sharp knives. When the sinners manifest these thoughts, the jailer brings a sharp sword and cuts out the serious illness. The sinners are extremely happy that their lives have come to an end, but they are born on the mountain of swords and everywhere on the mountain come together in one moment and cut their bodies. Furthermore, the jailers drive away the sinners to the mountain of swords, and the sinners ascend the mountain; their whole bodies are cut to pieces and left unattended on the jailor's sword tree. One day and one night there are like the passing of sixty million rebirths and deaths and then one such must pass through five hundred years as a beast of burden, and another five hundred years as a lowly person; and then the sinners will meet a spiritual mentor and not until then will they produce the aspiration to enlightenment. See *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經 5, T 643.15.670c14–671a4.

119 Fire-wheel hell (*hwaryun chiok*, Ch. *huolun diyu* 火輪地獄), also called fire-cart hell (*hwagŏ chiok*, Ch. *huoche diyu* 火車地獄), is the hell in which a fire cart sets ablaze the sinner's body with fire and then conveys the sinner to hell, or it is used as a tool to give punishment to sinners. It is the hell in which sinners are ushered to that hell in fire carts. This hell consists of a copper cauldron measuring forty *yojanas* in length and breadth in which is set a blazing fire. There are twelve wheels below and ninety-four fire-wheels above. After they die, people who produced unwholesome karma and lived by means of inappropriate methods will ride on the fire cart, and the fire cart will trample them and grind them to powder. Copper boiled in heaven will pour over them, cleansing their bodies. One day and one night lasts the span of ninety million rebirths and deaths. After that they can leave home to become monks, meet spiritual mentors, hear the Buddhadharma, and attain the enlightenment of the arhat. See *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 5, T 643.15.671a25–b15.

120 Hungry ghosts (*agwi*, Ch. *egui* 餓鬼; Skt. *pretagati*) are one of the six paths of rebirth in the desire realm and are subject to karma. People who amass unwholesome karma as a result of greed, jealously, and so forth are reborn as hungry ghosts. There are some hungry ghosts who are unable to eat anything, and there are hungry ghosts who are able to eat food left over by people or given to them by people.

titans,[121] beasts of burden,[122] and so forth. Titans are evil deities or non-deities. Although they partake in rebirth in the heavenly realm, their minds are given to flattery and arrogance. Because they do not perform the veritable practices of deities they are called non-deities. Because they produce many unwholesome thoughts they afflict beings with unwholesome thoughts. As for beasts of burden, because their stupidity and ignorance is deep, [Avalokiteśvara] causes them to obtain wisdom. Among the foregoing ten vows, although they benefit others, on the whole they are self-benefiting. Among these, the whole are for benefiting others. Speaking of great mercy and compassion, mercy is being able to give bliss, which precisely correspond to his thirty-two response bodies;[123] and compassion is being able to alleviate

---

121 Titans (*sura*, Ch. *xiuluo* 修羅, from *asura*, Ch. *axiuluo* 阿修羅) are one of the six paths of rebirth in the desire realm and are subject to karma. They are classified as the first of the four unwholesome rebirths (*sa akch'wi*, Ch. *si equ* 四惡趣) as well as the third of the three wholesome paths of rebirth (*sam sŏndo*, Ch. *san shandao* 三善道) coming after gods and humans. *Asura* originally were the gods charged with waging war and are thus commonly considered to be evil gods. Portrayed as being in a never-ending war with Śakra (Indra), the king of the gods, they are symbolic of war and strife. Because, in Greek mythology, the titans were the original gods of the world that were displaced by Zeus and gods of Mt. Olympus, their descendants, "titans" is an apropos translation for *asura*.

122 Beasts of burden (*ch'uksaeng*, Ch. *chusheng* 畜生; Skt. *tiryagyonigati*) are one of the six paths of rebirth in the desire realm and are subject to karma. People who amass unwholesome karma by stealing, killing living things, and so forth are born as beasts of burden or animals. They endure great pain and suffering and experience little joy; their desires and appetites are strong, but they are devoid of wisdom; and because fathers and sons and brothers and sisters lack ethics and morals, they fight and eat each other.

123 The thirty-two response bodies (*samsibi ŭngsin*, Ch. *sanshier yingshen* 三十二應身) refer to the forms that the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara takes in order to save and assist living beings as described in the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*. These forms are (1) a buddha, (2) a solitary buddha, (3) a *pratyekabuddha*, (4) a disciple (*śrāvaka*), (5) King Brahmā, (6) King Śakra (Indra), (7) the god Iśvara, (8) the god Maheśvara, (9) a heavenly general, (10) one of the four heavenly kings, (11) a crown prince of the four heavenly kings , (12) a king of humans, (13) a venerable elder (*gṛhapati*), (14) a householder, (15) a chief counselor, (16) a Brahmin, (17) a monk (bhikṣu), (18) a nun (bhikṣuṇī), (19) a layman (*upāsaka*), (20) a laywoman (*upāsikā*), (21) a female lord, (22) a celibate male youth, (23) a celibate female youth, (24) a god (deva), (25) a dragon (nāga), (26) a *yakṣa* (demon) (27) a *gandharva*, (28) an *asura*, (29) a *kinnara*, (30) a *mahoraga*, (31) a human, and (32) a non-human. See *Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng*

suffering, which precisely corresponds to his fourteen fearlessnesses,[124] just like it is explained in the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* and the "Universal Approach [of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara]" chapter [in the *Lotus Sūtra*.]

言十願等者, 或云是誦呪者, 發大願向時, 大聖應彼令彼十願六向皆遂, 非謂大聖自發願向也. 或云大聖, 曾於佛所, 發其願向, 故令衆生, 教如我發如是大願, 則觀音聖本所發願也. 准千手千眼經, 後意如經. 謂經云,"我念過去劫, 有佛出世, 號千光王靜住如來. 彼佛憐愍我故, 及爲一切衆生, 說此大悲心陁羅尼. 我聞此呪, 超第八地. 即發誓言,'若我當來, 堪能利益一切衆生者, 令我即時 身生千手千眼, 皆悉具足. 若有比丘比丘尼優婆塞優婆夷童男女等, 欲誦持者, 於諸衆生, 起慈悲心, 先當從我, 發如是願.' " 旣說從我發願, 則豈自不先發誓, 唯教衆生而已耶? 雖云南無大悲觀世音, 亦可云 本師觀世音如來, 亦可云 教念自號, 使蒙加被也.

十願者, 願雖十種, 所求五種, 即四弘誓願, 謂五雙十願. 各先願其因, 後願其果. 唯一二四願者, 例如得智惠眼然後, 知一切法, 得善方便然後, 度衆生也. 然其與後不同者, 但先是所緣境, 後是能緣心, 有境後心緣義次第故耳. 一是所知境, 二是能知心, 三是所度, 四是能度. 前二誓學法門, 後二誓度衆生也. 次一兩願中, 般若此云智, 由智能越生死, 如因舡渡海. 故生死無際, 故稱苦海, 即誓斷煩惱也. 以能斷煩惱, 必不沉沒生死海故. 次二兩願中, 先二願 求涅槃果, 次二願 求自性法身果. 然則 前是應化法身, 後是自性法身. 此則誓成佛果也. 則戒行滿足, 趣登涅槃, 斷惑成果. 故云應化法身也. 故本業經云,"一自性法身, 二應化法身." 又梁論云,"自性身與法身, 作依止故也." 戒足道者, 無漏律儀道也, 謂三聚十性戒等. 足即圓足. 涅槃此云圓寂, 德滿曰圓, 障盡曰寂. 以其涅槃, 高出生死海中, 故比山也. 故清凉釋毗瑟底羅居士法門中,"海上有山之文云,'表大悲隨順, 入生死海, 住涅槃山.' " 等. 言無爲舍者, 即大悲法性等家也. 背反分別, 得無分別, 故

---

liaoyi zhu pusa wanxing shoulengyan jing 6, T 945.19.128b–129a. The *Lotus Sūtra* provides a list of thirty-three response bodies, see *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 7, T 262.9.57a–c.

124 The fourteen fearlessnesses (*sipsa muoe*, Ch. *shisi wuwei* 十四無畏) refer to the fourteen kinds of fearlessness (Skt. *abhaya*) described in the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*. The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara acquires these fearlessnesses by means of the power of the adamantine absorption (*kumgang sammae*, Ch. *jingang sanmei* 金剛三昧) and transmits to all living beings caught in six types of rebirth in the ten realms of existence of the past, present, and future. See *Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wanxing shoulengyan jing* 6, T 945.19.129a27–b25.

曰無爲也. 舍者, 法界圖釋文云,"家者何義, 住處義故. 所謂法性眞空, 覺者所住故. 又大悲善巧, 蔭覆衆生, 名曰爲舍. 此義在一乘究竟." 言法性身者, 謂其眞空宅中, 覺者爲法性身也. 佛佛皆證法性同一體性, 故云同也. 梁論云,"無不從此法界流, 無不還證此法界." 此之謂歟? 千手眼, 已如前引.

六向者, 救四惡道. 其一二向, 別擧刀輪火輪地獄, 此極苦故, 第三摠擧諸地獄. 餘三餓鬼修羅畜等. 修羅此云非天. 雖天趣攝, 其心諂慢, 無天實行, 故云非天. 多生惡心, 故云惡心調伏. 畜生, 愚癡深重, 故令得智惠也. 前十願中, 雖有利他, 全是自利, 此中全是利他.

言大慈悲者, 慈能與樂, 卽三十二應, 悲能拔苦, 卽十四無畏. 如楞嚴經及普門品說.

Practices that Benefit Others [利他行]

[Vow-text]

Universally cause all living beings in the dharma realm to chant the great compassion spell, recollect the name of the bodhisattva, and together enter the ocean of the [original] nature of the samādhi of perfect penetration.

[Variorum]

Second are practices that benefit others. According to the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra on the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*, "The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara addressed the Buddha saying, 'World-Honored One, if of all living beings who chant and maintain the great compassion spirit-spell, if one should fall into the unwholesome paths of rebirth, I vow to not attain complete enlightenment,'" and so forth.[125] This is making a vow for the benefit of others. Just as that sūtra explains, he dispenses his virtue mutually and benefits others and also wants to be like me. With respect to perfect penetration, and so forth, the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* says, "The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara addressed the Buddha saying, 'Buddha, you have asked about perfect penetration. I have, by means of the ear approach, obtained the

125 *Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa da yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing*, T 1060.20.107a9–11.

samādhis of perfect illumination up to [that] samādhi; and I have attained bodhi; this is the first.'"[126] Jiehuan's *Commentary on the Śūraṃgama-sūtra* says:

> To be without one bit of deficiency and diminishment is called being perfect. To be without the slightest bit of stoppage or structure is called penetration. Samādhi is called right sensory perception (*zhengshou* 正受); it is also called holding oneself in equanimity (*dengchi* 等持) because one maintains the mind in level equanimity and does not allow it to be scattered by exterior [sense objects]. Because the mainspring of the original nature is deep and wide, this is compared to an ocean.

普令法界一切衆生, 誦大悲呪, 念菩薩名, 同入圓通三昧性海,

二利他行. 准千手眼經, "觀世音菩薩白佛言, '世尊若諸衆生, 誦持大悲神呪者, 墮三惡道者, 我誓不成正覺.' " 等, 利他發誓. 如彼經說, 相德利他, 亦願同彼也. 圓通等者, 楞嚴云, "觀世音菩薩白佛言, '佛問圓通, 我從耳門圓照三昧, 乃至得三摩地, 成就菩提, 斯爲第一.' " 等. 環疏云, "無一缺減曰圓, 無小滯擁曰通." 三昧此云正受, 亦云等持, 平等持心, 不令外散故. 性源深廣, 故比海也.

• Vowing to Be Reborn in the Pure Land [願生淨土]

[Vow-text]

Furthermore, I vow that once this recompense is complete, I, his disciple, will personally revere the guidance of the Great Saint [Avalokiteśvara], which is like a shining light, and I will leave behind all fear and dread so that my body will be delighted and refreshed. In one *kṣaṇa* [instant], I will then instantly take rebirth in the White Flower Enlightenment Site and, together with all the bodhisattvas, listen to the True Dharma and enter its flowing current. Thought upon thought, my understanding will increase in clarity, and I will manifest the Tathāgata's great acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas.

---

[126] *Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wanxing shoulengyan jing* 6, T 945.19.128b15–16.

[Variorum]

Second is the vow to be reborn in the Pure Land.

Question: The Venerable Elder [Li Tongxuan's][127] *Treatise on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says, "This bodhisattva's great compassion is the most extreme; it matures things and benefits life. He does not avail itself for his own recompense but goes forward and dwells in the impure realm of living beings."[128] What is the Pure Land?

Answer: Is this White Flower Mountain inside or outside of the Lotus Storehouse World System? Because the Sahā World System falls under the thirteenth layer of the Lotus Storehouse World System,[129] the White Flower [Enlightenment Site] lies in the ocean of the clean and pure *kṣetra*[130] of the Adamantine Treasure Land, the enlightenment site at which Buddha Vairocana preaches the Dharma. Hence, Master Shenxiu's *Observations on*

---

127 The Venerable Elder Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635–730) was a Huayan scholar during the Tang period. According to tradition he was seven feet two inches in height, and his external form was very peculiar. His nature and disposition were superior to those of ordinary people. Although he studied without having a specific master, he became fully conversant in both Confucianism and Buddhism. In 719 he resided in seclusion in Daxian Village 大賢村, in the vicinity of Taiyuan Prefecture 太原府. Because he ate ten jujubes and one pine-tree rice cake every day for several years as he researched the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, people called him Great Scholar Zaobai (Jujube Pine) 棗柏大士. After this he displayed miracles, concentrated on his Huayan studies, and went into a solitary world. He wrote several commentarial works combining Buddhism with indigenous Chinese thought, such as his *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 [Commentary on the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*], in forty rolls, which was very influential in East Asia.

128 *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 37, T 1739.36.982a3–4.

129 The Lotus Storehouse World System (*hwajang segye*, Ch. *huazang shijie* 華藏世界), according to the "Lotus Storehouse World System" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty rolls comprises twenty layers. It is said that the Buddha Vairocana dwells in the thirteenth layer, called the Sahā Lotus Storehouse World System.

130 The ocean of the clean and pure *kṣetra* (*ch'arhae*, Ch. *chahai* 刹海) refers to the realms of the ten directions of the universe. A *kṣetra* (*ch'alt'o*, Ch. *chatu* 刹土, or *kukt'o*, Ch. *guotu* 國土, and many others) refers to a land or field and is usually associated with a buddha's field of action or the reward land that comes as a result of the vows a buddha made while a bodhisattva.

the Perfect Completion of the Sublime Principle[131] says:

> Question: The Sahā World System is already a motley defiled land, the thirteenth layer among the orthodox *kṣetras* of the Lotus Storehouse World System.[132] Why does the sūtra explain that within the *bodhimaṇḍa*, the world system of the jewel tree and so forth of the Adamantine Land are all original *kṣetras* of the Lotus Storehouse World System?
> Answer: The origin is the undetermined origin; the end is the undetermined goal. Although the Sahā World System is the thirteenth level, the view that there are both pure and defiled within it is wholly that of an original *kṣetra*. If it were not pure and defiled, it is wholly an end *kṣetra* [derivative *kṣetra*].[133]

Furthermore, the "Lotus Storehouse World System" chapter in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says, "The World-Honored One, in all of his existences from long ago, cultivated pure practices in places where there were buddhas numbering as the minute particles of dust. Thus, he obtained all manner of sublime glory: the ocean of the world system of the ornamentation of the

---

131 *Observations on the Perfect Completion of the Sublime Principle* (*Miaoli yuancheng guan* 妙理圓成觀) was written by the monk Shenxiu 神秀. This Shenxiu is not the famous Chan monk of the Northern school, but a patriarch of the Huayan tradition during the Tang period. See Kim Yŏngt'ae 金煐泰, "Kyunyŏ sŏ e poil Myori wŏnsŏng kwan ŭi chŏja: Pukchong Sinsu ka anida" 均如書에 보인 妙理圓成觀의著者: 北宗神秀가 아니다 [The author of the *Miaoli yuancheng guan* appearing in the writings of Kyunyŏ: Is not Shenxiu of the Northern school], *Han'guk Pulgyohak* 韓國佛教學 11 (1986): 15–35. According to Ŭich'ŏn's catalog, he wrote a *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏, in thirty rolls, and the *Miaoli yuancheng guan*, in three rolls. Following Ŭich'ŏn's ordering, it seems that this Shenxiu may have come in between Fazang's disciple Huiyuan 慧苑 and Chengguan. Because the *Miaoli yuancheng guan* is cited twice in the *Pŏpkye to ch'ongsurok* 法界圖記叢髓錄 and once in the *Kwanŭm chisik p'um pyŏrhaengso*, we can know that it was of some interest to scholars of Hwaŏm thought in the Silla and Koryŏ periods.

132 Although the *Miaoli yuancheng guan* has not been preserved, this passage is very similar to an aim or purpose stated by Chengguan; see *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 6, T 1736.36.42a19–25.

133 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 6, T 1736.36.25a20–25.

Lotus Storehouse."[134] If one believes that the Sahā World System is a pure, jewel-like *kṣetra*, why then would you question the purity or impurity of the White Flower [Enlightenment Site]?

Question: Why does the Elder [Li Tongxuan] say, "It goes forward and dwells in the impure realm of living being"?

Answer: Dharma Master Xianshou, in the "Vairocana" chapter of the *Record on Exploring the Mysteries of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says:

> Now I will comprehensively analyze all of the oceans of the world systems, of which there are ten[135] <and so on and so forth>. There are two in the one vehicle. First, if we briefly classify the results, with respect to the oceans of the buddhalands of the ten buddhas themselves, these are deservedly impossible to describe. If we describe them in accordance with causal connections they are ten, and are just like what was explained in the second assembly. Second, if we briefly look at it by means of places to persuade and convert, there are three classes: First, Mt. Sumeru World System and the forms of trees, the forms of living beings, the oceans of the world system, and so forth are the first class. Second, outside of the three thousand-world system, the ten world systems that exist separately are the second class. Third, the world system oceans of the ornamentation of the ten Lotus Storehouse [World Systems] are endowed with core and appendages,[136]

134 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 8, T 279.10.39b12–13.

135 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 3, T 1733.35.158a5

136 Core and appendages (*chuban*, Ch. *zhuban* 主伴), also rendered "host and guest," are terms that appear frequently in Huayan materials. When we speak of the conditioned arising of the dharma realm, if "this" is the core, then "that" is an appendage. If "that" is the core, then "this" is an appendage. In this way, the core and appendages are prepared, and because they possess inexhaustible merit they are called "the fullness of core and appendages" (*chuban kujok*, Ch. *zhuban juzu* 主伴具足). Furthermore, all things, each and every one, are core and appendages; and since their mutual interaction and interfusion is inexhaustible, it is called the "inexhaustibility of core and appendages" (*chuban mujin*, Ch. *zhuban wujin* 主伴無盡). This kind of explanation is one of the ten mysterious approaches to explaining the contents of conditioned arising of the dharma realm according to the Huayan tradition: the "approach in which core and appendages are perfectly perfect bright and full

just like Indra's net, and so forth, which is the third class.[137]

The Venerable Elder Li Tongxuan, in briefly looking at [buddha]lands in which to persuade and convert, calls them the first class.[138] Although the first class is a motley defiled land, by means of the Buddha's virtue, the marks of defilement may be completely exhausted so that it is merely a Pure Land. Hence, Householder Veṣṭhila instructed Sudhana saying something like "There is a mountain afloat in the ocean replete with all manner of jewels, and the place where Worthy Saint dwells is extremely clean and pure."[139]

又願弟子此報盡時, 親承大聖放光接引, 離諸怖畏身心適悅, 一刹那間即得往生白華道場, 與諸菩薩同聞正法, 入法流水念念增明, 現發如來大無生忍.

第二願生淨土.

問, 長者論云, "此菩薩爲大悲至極, 熟物利生, 不就自報, 就衆生穢境而居." 何云淨土?

答, 此白花山, 是華藏內耶外耶? 娑婆旣當華藏世界第十三重, 故白花在於毗盧遮那說法道場金剛寶地清淨刹海也. 故神秀公妙理圓成觀, "問云, 娑婆旣當花藏正中刹種上第十三重雜染土. 如何經說菩提場中金剛地寶樹等境界, 全是花藏本刹耶? 答, 本不定本, 末不定末, 娑婆雖在第十三層, 中有淨穢所見全是本刹, 若非淨穢全是末刹." 又大經花藏世界品云, "世尊往昔於諸有, 微塵佛所修淨行. 故獲種種妙光明, 花藏荘嚴世界海." 若信娑婆是淨寶刹 何更問於白花淨穢?

問, 何故長者云 "就衆生穢境而居."

答, 賢首法師舍那品疏云, "今通釋諸世界海有十<云云>. 一乘有二. 一約果分, 十佛自體國土海, 此當不可說, 寄緣說十, 如第二會說. 二約攝化, 處有三類. 一須彌山界及樹形衆生形世界海等, 爲第一類. 二三千界外別有十世界, 爲第二類. 三十蓮花藏荘嚴世界海, 具足主伴如帝網等, 爲第三類." 長者約攝化土中, 第一類云也, 雖第一類雜染土, 約佛德能染相皆盡, 唯是淨土. 故毗瑟底羅居士, 指示

of virtue" (*chuban wŏnmyŏng kudŏk mun* 主伴圓明具德門).

137 *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 3, T 1733.35.158a27–28.

138 Cf. *Xin Huayan jing lun* 7, T 1739.36.760a11–761a2.

139 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 16, T 279.10.732c24.

善財云, “海上有山衆寶成, 賢聖所居極清淨.” 等.

Taking Upon Oneself the Bestowal of Power and Forsaking Delusion [蒙加離惑]

There are two things in this: first is taking upon oneself the bestowal of power and forsaking delusion; and next, after “a *kṣaṇa*,” one attains its benefits. Among the former, this [fruition] reward refers to when this reward of one period of time will be relinquished in the future. In the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, a gāthā spoken by Avalokiteśvara to Sudhana says, “Or, when there is danger or misfortune and there is much anxiety and fear, chant my name throughout the six time periods[140] of the day and night. At that time I will appear and remain before that person, and make the most superior place of refuge. He will certainly be reborn in my pure *buddhakṣetra* and will cultivate bodhisattva practices together with me.”[141] This is the response to the vow to be reborn in the Pure Land. Furthermore, [the sūtra says]:

> Or, if there are living beings who are on the verge of the end of their lives, marks of death appear before them as all manner of unwholesome sights. Seeing all manner of those sights causes their minds to be fearful and be void of anything upon which to rely. If they are able to chant my name with utmost sincerity, all of those unwholesome marks will be totally eradicated. Because of me, the Avalokiteśvara of great compassion, they will be caused to be reborn among the wholesome paths of rebirth as gods and humans.[142]

---

140 The six time periods (*yuksi*, Ch. *liushi* 六時) are the six divisions (roughly four-hour periods) of the day and night in premodern Korea. The day is divided into three periods: early morning (*sinjo* 晨朝), daytime (*ilchung* 日中), and sundown (*ilmol* 日沒); and night is divided into three time periods: early evening (*ch'oya* 初夜), midnight (c*hungya* 中夜), and the dead of night (*huya* 後夜).

141 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 16, T 293.10.734b7–9.

142 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 16, T 293.10.734b17–20.

This is certainly the response of taking upon oneself the bestowal of power and forsaking delusion. Furthermore, the sūtra says:

If people vow when they come to the end of their lives, they will not receive a body of three unwholesome rebirths[143] and the eight conditions in which is difficult to see a buddha or hear his dharma,[144] they will always be placed in the wholesome rebirths as a human or god, and they will constantly practice the clean and pure path to bodhi [enlightenment]. Those who vow to forsake their bodies and to be reborn in the Pure Land will universally manifest before all buddhas, universally [reside] in the *buddhakṣetras* of the ten directions, and always be clean and pure superior bodhisattvas. They will universally see all the buddhas of the ten directions and hear the voices of all the buddhas preaching the Dharma. If they are able to chant my name with utmost sincerity, they will completely fulfill all of their vows.[145]

The gāthā after "If people vow" clarifies taking upon oneself the bestowal of power and forsaking delusion. The second gāthā, "Those who vow to forsake their bodies," clarifies being reborn there and attaining its benefits.

Furthermore, the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra on the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* says, "If all living beings chant and maintain the great compassion spirit-spell, when they come to the end of their fated lives, all of the buddhas of the ten directions will come and extend their hands and according to their vows they will all obtain rebirth in whichever buddhaland they desire to be reborn."[146] This then means that the saying

---

143 The three unwholesome rebirths (*samdo*, Ch. *santu* 三涂, also *samakto*, Ch. *sanedao* 三惡道) are rebirth as a beast, as a hungry ghost, or as a denizen of hell. *Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經 (*Ekottarāgama*) 31, T 125.2.717c12–13.

144 The eight conditions in which it is difficult to see a buddha or hear his dharma (*p'allan*, Ch. *banan* 八難) are when one is reborn (1) as a denizen of hell, (2) as a hungry ghost, (3) as an animal or beast of burden, (4) in Uttarakuru (the northern continent where all is pleasant), (5) in the heaven (where life is long and easy), (6) as one who is deaf, dumb, or blind, (7) as a worldly philosopher, and (8) in the intermediate period between a buddha and his successor.

145 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 16, T 293.10.734b7–9.

146 *Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa da yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing*, T 1060.20.107a7–9.

that they will personally ascend being drawn by the great saint is completely comprehensive from all the buddhas of the ten directions to Avalokiteśvara.

於中二, 先蒙加離惑, 後一刹那下, 生彼成益. 前中此報者, 此一期之報, 將捨之時也. 大經 觀自在菩薩告善財偈云,"或在危厄多憂怖, 日夜六時稱我名. 我時現住彼人前, 爲作最勝歸依處. 彼當生我淨佛刹, 與我同修菩薩行." 此是願生淨土之應也. 又"或有衆生臨命終, 死相現前諸惡色. 見彼種種色相已, 令心惶怖無所依. 若能至誠稱我名, 彼諸惡相皆消滅. 由我大悲觀自在, 令生天人善道中." 此當蒙加離惑之應也. 又云,"若人願此命終後, 不受三途八難身. 恒處人天善趣中, 常行清淨菩提道. 有願捨身生淨土, 普現一切諸佛前. 普於十方佛刹中, 常爲清淨勝薩埵. 普見十方一切佛, 及聞諸佛說法音. 若能至誠稱我名, 一切所願皆圓滿." 若人願此下一偈, 明蒙加離惑, 有願捨身等二偈, 明生彼成益也. 又千手千眼經云,"若諸衆生, 誦持大悲神呪者, 臨命終時, 十方諸佛, 皆來授手. 欲生何等佛土, 隨願皆得往生." 則所謂親承大聖接引之言, 通於十方諸佛及觀音也.

Attaining Its Benefits [生彼成益]

With respect to "a *kṣaṇa*" [instant] in the latter passage, it is an extremely instantaneous/brief measurement of time, just like the time it takes for a strong man to flex his arms. With regard to "enter the water of the current of the Dharma," the *Daśabhūmika-sutra-śāstra* says, "Above the eighth stage, unsurpassed wisdom, the path of the saint and current of the Dharma is allowed to revolve and change from *kṣaṇa* to *kṣaṇa* [instant to instant/moment to moment]."[147] This means that the wisdom of the saint able to be evinced increases and progresses suddenly without effort and is allowed to revolve and change, just as a running river flows without ceasing.[148]

---

147 This passage does not exist in the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra*. A related passage and its interpretation are found in *Shidi jing lun* 9, T 1522.26.177a24–29. The actual passage is found in the *Fodi jing lun* 佛地經論 (*Buddhabhūmisūtra-śāstra*) 6, T 1530.26.321c1–4.

148 Cf. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 31, T 1736.36.238c24–25.

After it says "manifest the Tathāgata's [great acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas]," it rightly clarifies the concept of vows being similar. Presently the original master in the end attains the fruit of the ultimate. With respect to "Tathāgata," if we summarize it by means of the final teaching, it means riding as if on a true path and coming to the attainment of complete enlightenment. If we summarize it by means of the sudden teaching, it means that it comes from nowhere and also that it goes nowhere. If we summarize it by means of the perfect teaching, it means that because when one first arouses the mind, defilements are completely cut off, merit and wisdom are fully accomplished, and one has not moved from old, one is called Tathāgata (Thus Come One). With respect to "great acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas," "acquiescence" means to patiently understand; "sealing" is the ability to illuminate with wisdom. If one observes and comprehends this acquiescence, after residing in equal enlightenment, the mind severs the defilements of minute ignorance. If we summarize from the level of the perfect teaching, the level severs delusion, attains Buddhahood, up to the initial [arousal of] mind at the level of the [ten] faiths, and also obtains this acquiescence. Now, relying on the final teaching, the meaning that explains the level is just like the explanation of the "Ten Acquiescences" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. His *Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* says, "With respect to acquiescing to the non-production of dharmas, if we suggest that acquiescence does not produce principle, this is precisely acquiescence[149] to non-production. If we suggest that non-produced wisdom and defilements are not produced, then non-production is precisely acquiescence. There is thorough comprehension in these two analyses."[150] If we summarize by means of the initial teaching, since humans and dharmas are both completely empty [of self-nature] they are said to be non-produced principle. If we summarize by means of the final teaching, the Tathāgatagarbha produces and destroys the six paths according

149 Reading *li* 理 as *ren* 忍 following Chengguan's corrective reading in the *Huayan jing shu*.

150 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 46, T 1735.35.852b13–15.

to causal conditions because everything is Tathāgatagarbha. On the day [one attains] actualized enlightenment, originally there is no difference between actualized and original [enlightenment], so it is called non-produced principle. If we rely on the sudden teaching, directly observing one's own mind, nothing is practiced and nothing is rectified; being originally clean and pure it is squarely called "non-produced." Hence, the *Sūtra on the Essential Nature of the Dharma Realm* (*Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*) says, "The Buddha addressed Mañjuśrī, 'What will you teach all the wholesome young men so that they will arouse the bodhicitta?' Mañjuśrī replied, 'I will teach them to arouse the mind of seeing the self. This is because the limit of seeing the self is precisely bodhi [enlightenment].' "[151] <Zhikong's religious name[152] relies on this.> If we rely on the perfect teaching, not having moved from old, it is called non-produced principle. The foregoing are all still doctrinal classifications that can be explained. Nevertheless, if we borrow the classification of the seed, the vow evinces that the classification of the fruit is impossible to explain, being located in acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas. Hence, it is called

---

[151] This passage appears in Yanshou's 延壽 (904–975) *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 82, T 2016.48.868b16–19. Aside from this, the passage is cited in the Liao monk Zhifu's 志福 *Shi Moheyan lun tongxuan chao* 釋摩訶衍論通玄鈔 2, X 46.135a13–15, and the Song monk Shihui's 師會 *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenji zhang fu guji* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章復古記 2, X 58.365b20–22. The citation of the passage in each of the foregoing is slightly different. A passage quite similar to the one quoted from the *Fajie tixing jing* 法界體性經 [Sūtra on the essential nature of the dharma realm] is found in the *Ru fajie tixing jing* 入法界體性經 (*Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*) T 355.12.234c3–6.

[152] Zhikong 指空 (1300–1361), an Indian monk, was born in the state of Magadha and left home to become a monk at Nālandā Monastery. After studying Buddhism for a few years in India, he went on pilgrimage visiting many areas beginning in 1318. In 1325 he arrived in Yuan China and met with the Mongol emperor. He went to Koryŏ Korea in 1326, and spent time in Kamno Monastery 甘露寺 in Kaegyŏng 開京 (Kaesŏng) as well as travelling about Mt. Kŭmgang. He gave many people the precepts of non-production (*musaeng kye*, Ch. *wusheng jie* 無生戒) and so forth. He was active for three years and then returned to Yuan. The monk Naong Hyegŭn 懶翁慧勤 went to Yuan in 1348 and met Zhikong and also met Baiyun Jingxian 白雲景閑. Ten years after his passing, Zhikong's remains arrived in Kaegyŏng, and the next year Naong erected a funerary pagoda for Zhikong at Hoeam Monastery 檜巖寺. His funerary stele was erected in 1378. See Hŏ Hŭngsik 許興植, *Koryŏ ro olmgin Indo ŭi tŭngbul: Chigong sŏnhyŏn* 高麗로 옮긴 印度의 등불: 指空禪賢 [An Indian lamp moved to Korea: Zhikong Chanxian] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1999), 13–65. Zhikong's religious name was Musŏng kye 無生戒.

"great acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas."

後中刹那者, 時之極促, 如壯士屈伸臂項也. 言入法流水者, 十地論云, "八地已上無相智, 聖道法流, 刹那刹那, 任運而轉." 謂能證聖智, 速疾增進, 而無功用, 任運而轉, 如彼駛水流流無絶故. 言現發如來下, 正明願同. 今師終成究竟之果也. 言如來者, 若約終教, 乘如實道, 來成正覺故. 若約頓教, 無所從來, 亦無所去故. 若約圓教, 初發心時, 煩惱斷盡, 福智成竟, 舊來不動, 故曰如來. 言大無生忍者, 忍謂忍解, 印可智照, 觀達此忍, 在等覺後, 心爲斷微細無明煩惱. 若約圓教位, 位斷惑成佛, 乃至信位初心, 亦得此忍. 今寄終教位說義, 如十忍品說. 彼疏云, "無生忍者, 若約忍無生理, 即無生之忍, 若約無生之智及煩惱不生, 則無生即忍. 通二釋也." 若約始教, 人法俱空曰無生理. 若約終教, 如來藏隨緣, 六道生滅, 全如來藏故. 始覺之日, 本無始本之異, 名無生理. 若依頓教, 直觀自心, 無修無訂, 本來清淨, 方曰無生. 故法界體性經云, "佛告文殊, 汝云何教諸善男子發菩提心? 文殊言, 我教發我見心, 何以故? 我見際, 即是菩提."<指空戒名依此> 若依圓教, 舊來不動, 名無生理. 上皆猶是教分可說. 然借因分, 願證果分不可說, 處無生忍. 故云大無生忍也.

In this foregoing respectful extension and production of a vow, undertaking of service, and completion of the fruit, if we accord with the stage of pleasure,[153] Master Qingliang's *Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and *Commentary on the "Practicing Vow" Chapter*, as well as the ten kinds of vows analyze it. Qingliang's [*Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra*] cites the Liang-period *Analysis of the Mahāyānasaṃgraha* saying, "First is the vow to make offerings; second is the vow to receive and retain [the Buddhadharma]; third is the vow to turn the wheel of the Dharma; fourth is the vow to practice the two benefits [self and others]; fifth is the vow

153 The stage of pleasure (*hwanhŭi chi*, Ch. *huanxi di* 歡喜地; Skt. *pramuditā-bhūmi*) is the first of the ten stages of the bodhisattva path. It is the thirty-first of forty-one stages of bodhisattva practice (According to the *Yingluo jing* 瓔珞經, it is the forty-first of fifty-two stages.) It is also called the "initial stage" (*ch'oji,* Ch. *chudi* 初地). It is the stage in which practitioners obtain the wisdom of the Middle Way (*chungdo chi,* Ch. *zhongdao zhi* 中道地), see the principle of Buddha nature (*pulsŏng*, Ch. *foxing* 佛性), sever delusion and the benefit self and others, and are filled with sincere pleasure and joy.

to maturate living beings; sixth is the vow to undertake service; seventh is the vow of the Pure Land; eighth is the vow to not forsake [living beings]; ninth is the vow to benefit [self and others]; and tenth is the vow to attain complete enlightenment."[154] If we analyze by means of those [vows], after the "call Avalokiteśvara the original master" spoken of here is the vow to undertake service; after the "ten vows and six transferences" is the vow to practice the two benefits; and after "forsaking one's body and receiving bodies" is the vow to make offerings. To be in accordance with one's dwelling place is like shadows following forms. How could one lack practices for making offerings to the Buddha? "Constantly hearing the True Dharma" is the vow to receive and retain [the Buddhadharma]; "assisting in promoting the truthful conversion" is the vow to turn the wheel of the Dharma; after "universally causing in the dharma realm" is the vow to maturate living beings; after "when this fruition reward is exhausted" is the vow to benefit [self and others]; after "one *kṣaṇa*" [instant] is the vow of the Pure Land; after "with all the bodhisattvas" is the vow to not forsake [living beings]; and after "enter the water of the current of the Dharma" is the vow to attain complete enlightenment. In addition, according to that we can know that among these ten vows they are endowed with causes and results. Hence, Master Qingliang says, "If we accommodate what is said about manifesting, the foregoing nine supplications are causes and the last supplication is the result. If we summarize by means of the endowing and encompassing seventh [vow of the Pure Land], it also is a supplication of results because it relies on results. Nevertheless, the tenth [vow to attain complete enlightenment] is the complete result and the remnants are causes. With respect to up to merely explaining the ten, this is because without exception it encircles the practical levels of causes and results in order to encompass the two ornaments [merit and wisdom] and two benefits. Furthermore, it is in order to show these inexhaustible vows."[155] [The ten numbers of the Avataṃsaka all manifest

---

154 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 34, T 1735.35.761c13–17.

155 *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 34, T 1735.35.762a8–12.

the inexhaustibleness.] The twelve great vows of Bhaiṣajyaguru[156] and the forty-eight great vows of Amitābha[157] are both encompassed in these ten great vows. If we equate them to those, their luminosity cannot be hidden. If you are endowed with these ten vows and squarely make the vow, generally speaking, with respect to the path, how could you not imitate it?

---

[156] The twelve great vows of Bhaiṣajyaguru (*Yaksa sibi wŏn*, Ch. *Yaoshi shier yuan* 藥師十二願) were made in the distant past when he practiced as a bodhisattva. They are (1) to illuminate countless realms with his radiance, enabling anyone to become a Buddha just like him; (2) to awaken the minds of sentient beings through his light of lapis lazuli; (3) to provide the sentient beings with whatever material needs they require; (4) to correct heretical views and inspire beings toward the path of the bodhisattva; (5) to help beings follow the Moral Precepts, even if they failed before; (6) to heal beings born with deformities, illness, or other physical sufferings; (7) to help relieve the destitute and the sick; (8) to help women who wish to be reborn as men achieve their desired rebirth; (9) to help heal mental afflictions and delusions; (10) to help the oppressed be free from suffering; (11) to relieve those who suffer from terrible hunger and thirst; and (12) to help clothe those who are destitute and suffering from cold and mosquitoes. See *Yaoshi rulai benyuan jing* 藥師如來本願經 1, T 449.14.401b26–402a27.

[157] The forty-eight great vows of Amitābha (*Mit'a sasipp'al taewŏn*, Ch. *Mituo sishiba dayuan* 彌陀四十八大願) were made in the distant past when Amitābha was the Bodhisattva Dharmākara (Pŏpjang posal, Ch. Fazang pusa 法藏菩薩) in the presence of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara. The forty-eight vows can be categoried into three groups: (1) vows twelve, thirteen, and seventeen are associated with the characteristics of the dharma body the bodhisattva will receive (*sŏp pŏpsin wŏn*, Ch. *she fashen yuan* 攝法身願); (2) vows thirty-one and thirty-two deal with the nature of the Pure Land that will be produced (*sŏp chŏngt'o wŏn*, Ch. *she jingtu yuan* 攝淨土願); and (3) the remaining forty-three vows are associated with the benefits of his vows for living beings (*sŏp chungsaeng wŏn*, Ch. *she zhongsheng yuan* 攝衆生願). Among the most famous and popular vows are number eighteen: "If, when I attain Buddhahood, living beings in the lands of the ten directions who sincerely and joyfully entrust themselves to me, desire to be reborn in my land, and call my name for ten thought-moments (*simnyŏm*, Ch. *shinian* 十念) should not be born there, may I not attain perfect enlightenment"; number nineteen: "If, when I attain Buddhahood, living beings in the lands of the ten directions who awaken the aspiration to enlightenment, do various meritorious deeds, and sincerely desire to be born in my land should not, at their death, see me appear before them surrounded by a multitude of saints, may I not attain perfect enlightenment"; and number twenty: "If, when I attain Buddhahood, living beings in the lands of the ten directions who, having heard my name, concentrate their thoughts on my land, do various meritorious deeds, sincerely transfer their merits toward my land with a desire to be reborn there should not eventually fulfill their aspiration, may I not attain perfect enlightenment." See *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 1, T 360.12.267c17–269b6.

此上敬伸發 願承事成果中 若准歡喜地. 清凉疏及行願品疏, 亦以十種願釋之. 謂清凉引梁攝論釋云,“一供養願 二受持願 三轉法輪願 四修行二利願 五成熟衆生願 六承事願 七淨土願 八不離願 九利益願 十成正覺願.” 若以彼釋, 此言稱觀世音以爲本師下, 承事願. 十願六向下, 修行二利願. 捨身受身下, 供養願. 謂隨所住處, 如影隨形, 豈無供佛之行? 恒聞正法者, 受持願. 助揚眞化者, 轉法輪願. 普令法界下, 成熟衆生願. 此報盡時下, 利益願. 一刹那下, 淨土願. 與諸菩薩下, 不離願. 入法流水下, 成正覺願. 並准彼可知, 此十願中具因果也. 故清凉云,“若就言現, 前九求因, 後一求果. 若約具攝七, 亦求果, 是依果故. 然第十正果, 餘則是因. 乃至所以但說十者, 以攝二嚴<福智二也> 二利, 因果行位, 無不周故. 又爲表此無盡願也.”<華嚴十數皆表無盡> 藥師十二願, 彌陁四十八大願, 皆攝在此十願中也. 以彼准之, 昭然無隱矣. 具此十願, 方爲發願, 凡爲道者, 可不做焉?

3. Pledging to Take Refuge and Worship and Making Transferences to the Original Master [結歸投仰廻向本師]

[Vow-text]

Completing this vow, I take refuge with my life and prostrate myself [158] before the Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara.

[Variorum]

Third is pledging to take refuge and worship and making transferences to the original master. Among the transferences of the three locations,[159]

---

[158] Taking refuge with my life and prostrating myself (*kwimyŏng chŏngnye*, Ch. *guiming dingli* 歸命頂禮) refers to the most extreme form of sincere veneration with one's whole mind and body. It is characteristic of the way believers venerate the Three Jewels of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha. "Taking refuge" alludes to taking refuge of one's mind and body in the Three Jewels. "Prostrating ourselves" refers to lowering one's head to the ground, kowtowing before the Buddha's feet, manifesting the most humble and penitent form of worshop.

[159] The transferences of the three locations (*samch'ŏ hoehyang*, Ch. *sanchu huixiang* 三處迴向) refer to Chengguan's further categorization of the ten transferences of the "Ten Transferences" chapter of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* into three more broader groups in his *Huayan jing shu*. (1) The transference of bodhi (*pori hoehyang*, Ch. *puti huixiang* 菩提迴向) turns causes toward results, inferiorities toward

is the transference of bodhi. This is because enlightenment is due to sentience (*sattva*). Also, it is because they have already attained complete enlightenment. Furthermore, it is because they have already declared their original nature: this is precisely the transference of the true limit of reality.[160] Furthermore, because they have already been endowed with the two benefits of vows and practices, this also is the transference of living beings. Just like this they are endowed with [the transferences of the] three locations.

發願已, 歸命頂禮觀自在菩薩摩訶薩.
第三結歸投仰 廻向本師. 三處廻向中, 菩提廻向也, 以是覺有情故, 亦是已成正覺故. 又旣是稱性故, 即是實際廻向. 又旣具二利願行故, 亦是衆生廻向. 如此則三處具矣.

Publication Record

Our dharma brother, the Great Master Poŭng 普應, Master Inwŏn 忍源, was partial toward faith in the Great Saint Avalokiteśvara his whole life and encouraged us to chant the dharma approach of Avalokiteśvara from the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. More than thirty people solicited my appending

superiorities, comparative models toward realization. (2) The transference of living beings (*chungsaeng hoehyang*, Ch. *zhongsheng huixiang* 衆生迴向) turns self to others, the few toward the many, and practices serving as seeds of the self (*chain haeng*, Ch. *ziyin xing* 自因行) toward practices serving as seeds for others (*t'ain haeng*, Ch. *tayin xing* 他因行). (3) The transference of the true limits of reality (*silche hoehyang*, Ch. *shiji huixiang* 實際迴向) turns phenomena toward principle, discriminative practices (*ch'abyŏl haeng*, Ch. *chabie xing* 差別行) toward perfectly interfused practices (*wŏnyung haeng*, Ch. *yuanrong xing* 圓融行), and the mundane toward the supermundane, and practices in accordance with principle and phenomena toward practices in which principle is attained. The two categories, the transferences of bodhi and the true limits of reality, thoroughly comprehend each other. See *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 26, T 1735.35.694c10–12.

160 The transference of the true limit of reality (*silche hoehyang* 實際迴向) is one of the three kinds of transferences in which one cultivates personally, transfers the wholesome roots and meritorious virtue one has obtained, and attains the sphere of unconditioned nirvāṇa (*muwi yŏlban'gye*, Ch. *wuwei niepanjie* 無爲涅槃界).

annotation to the sūtra, so I made annotation after the sūtra using Qingliang's *Commentary on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, and in addition I compiled my own brief explanations making two rolls in all. Furthermore, following the purport of the sūtra, I have briefly explained the "Vow Made at White Flower Enlightenment Site" in order to assist in the sincerity of our elder brother's worship. In addition, I have tried to recompense the meaning of fellowship with our fellow students [of the Buddhadharma]. Widely bequeathing the wealth of the Dharma, above, it merely aids the arcane merit of one person; below, it merely bequeaths the current of the Dharma on the nine classes of living beings.

The variorum was compiled at Haein Monastery in the tenth month of the *mujin*-year, the first year of the Chihua reign period [1328, the fifteenth year of Koryŏ King Ch'ungsuk].

Written by the junior scholar, the Śramaera Mogam Ch'ewŏn.

Examined and revised by the Bhikṣu Sŏngji,[161] Abbot of Kakhwa Monastery[162]

The woodblocks were carved at Kyerim Superior Prefecture[163] during the days of the seventh month of the *kapsul*-year, the second year of the Yuantong reign period [1334, the third year of the second reign of King Ch'ungsuk].

---

161 Sŏngji 性之 examined and edited another one of Ch'ewŏn's books—the *Hwaŏm-gyŏng Kwanjajae posal sosŏlpŏp mun pyŏrhaeng so* 華嚴經觀自在菩薩所說法門別行疏 [Commentary on the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's approach to preaching the Dharma and special practices in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*]—before he checked this text, *Paekhwa toryang parwŏnmun yakhae*. This chain of belief in the cult of Avalokiteśvara linking Ch'ewŏn, his elder brother Inwŏn 忍源, and Sŏngji demonstrates the strong relations between those active in promoting the worship of the bodhisattva.

162 Kakhwa Monastery 覺華寺 is on Mt. T'aebaek 太白山 in North Kyŏngsang Province 慶尚北道. It was reportedly first founded by Wŏnhyo in 676, who is said to have founded a nearby monastery called Namhwasa 藍華寺. After the monastery fell into ruins, the name of the site changed to Kakhwasa in people's memory. In 1101, State Preceptor Muaeji 無碍智 Kyeyŭng 戒膺 rebuilt it, and it has remained in active use being periodically rebuilt since that time.

163 Kyerim Superior Prefecture (Kyerimbu 鷄林府) is present-day Kyŏngju 慶州 in North Kyŏngsang Province.

Monk Poyŏng 僧甫英, carver, made the same vow.
Ch'oe Pyŏn 崔汴, Office of Worldly Records.
Yi Ki 李奇, Former Township Deputy, Special Category.
Kim Sin'gi 金神器, scribe, cultivated talent, made the same vow.
Sŏnsun 善珣, the religious ascetic of East Spring Shrine, made the same vow.

No ... 盧□□, Probationary Administrator of Kyerim Superior Prefecture, Gentleman for Attendance, Assistant Office Chief of the Capital Officials Section, Prefect of Ulchu,[164] and concurrent Agricultural Development Assistant.

我家兄普應大師源公, 一生偏信觀音大聖, 勸誦花嚴觀音法門. 三十餘人, 倩我注夾其經, 以清凉疏, 箋於經下, 兼集略解, 因成二卷. 又依經旨, 略解白花道場文, 以助家兄崇信之誠, 兼答同學交于之意. 廣施法財, 上資玄福於一人, 下施法流於九類云耳.
致和元年戊辰十月, 在海印山寺集解. 後學沙彌本庵體元誌.
覺華寺住持 比丘性之 校勘.
元統二年甲戌七月日, 雞林府開板.
同願刻手僧甫英.
色記官崔汴.
別色前副戶長李奇.
同願秀才金神器書.
同願東泉社道人善珣.
雞林府權知尹承奉郎都官佐郎知蔚州事兼勸農使盧□□.

[164] Ulchu 蔚州, the present-day Ulchu-gun 蔚州郡, is near the city Ulsan 蔚山, south of Kyŏngju and north of Pusan 釜山 in North Kyŏngsang Province on South Korea's east coast.

INDEX

A.

B.

C.

D.

E.

F.

G.

H.

L.

M.

N.

O.

P.

Q.

R.

S.

U.

V.

W.

X.

Y.

Z.

Contributors

Editor and Translator

Richard D. McBride II is Assistant Professor of History at Brigham Young University–Hawai'i. He earned a Ph.D. in East Asian Languages and Cultures at UCLA. He is the author of *Domesticating the Dharma: Buddhist Cults and the Hwaŏm Synthesis in Silla Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008) and of several articles on the *Hwarang segi* manuscripts, the *Samguk yusa*, and Korean and Chinese Buddhism; and he is the editor of State and *Society in Middle and Late Silla* (Cambridge, Mass.: Early Korea Project, Korea Institute, Harvard University, 2010).

Editorial Consultants

Jung, Byung-Sam is a graduate of the Department of Korean History at Seoul National University. He has been a professor in the Department of History and Culture at Sookmyung Women's University, in Seoul since 1991. Previously he was a Senior Researcher at the Kansong Art Museum (1983–1991). He was a former Vice Chairman (2000–2004) and Editor (2004–2006) of the Korean Association for Buddhist Studies. He is the author of *The Traditional Currents of Korean Buddhism as for Belief and Thought* (Seoul: Dusandonga Press, 2007); *Buddhist Stories with* Paintings (Seoul: Bulbit Press, 2000); *A Study of Uisang's Hwaeom Thought* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1998); and several other works.

Ven. Misan (Kim, Wan-Doo), who currently teaches at Joong-Ang Sangha University, has been a monk in the Korean Seon tradition for thirty-two years. After his formal training in Buddhist meditation in Korean monasteries, he pursued the study of the theoretical aspects of the Buddhist teaching at postgraduate level, spending more than ten years studying early Buddhism along with Pali and Sanskrit in Sri Lanka, India, and finally at Oxford University. He has worked as a senior fellow at the Center for the Study of World Religions at Harvard University and as Director of the Social Affairs Department of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. He is a director of the Sangdo Meditation Center.

Ven. Chongdok (Park, Cheong-Hwan) is Assistant Professor at the Department of Buddhist Scripture Translation at Joong-ang Sangha University in Korea. He received his DPhil degree in Buddhist Studies at the University of Oxford in 2005, based on his dissertation entitled *A Translation and Study of Selected Avadānas of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (MSV)*. His main research interest is Buddhist narratives. He has published "An analysis on the image of women in the *Mallikāvadāna* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya Ksudrakavastu (MSVKv)*" (2006); "A Study of the Avadāna Literature" (2006); "A Study of the Concept of the Buddha through the Idea of the *Pubbakammapiloti* in Theravāda Buddhism (I)" (2006); "A Study on the Buddhist Folktale, Two Nāgas and King Bimbisāra" (2008).

Members of the English Translation Editorial Board
The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism

Members of the Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought
韓國傳統思想書 刊行委員會 刊行委員

Ven. Haeju (海住): Professor, Dongguk University

Dr. Kim Young-Wook (金榮旭): Chief of Research, Kasan Institute of Buddhist Culture

Jung Byung-Sam (鄭炳三): Professor, Sookmyung Women's University

Lee Jin-Oh (李晉吾): Professor, Pusan National University

Ven. Woncheol (圓徹): Former Director of the Research Institute of Buddhism Studies, The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

Ven. Go-Ok (古玉): Director, Kasan Institute of Buddhist Culture

Ven. Misan (彌山): Professor, Joong-Ang Sangha University

Ven. Chongdok (正德): Assistant Professor, Joong-Ang Sangha University

Kim Jae-Sung (金宰晟): Senior Researcher

Kwon Ki-Chan (權奇燦): Researcher

In Memoriam
The Most Venerable Kasan Jikwan (1932–2012)

The heart and soul of this monumental publication project from its conception to its completion was the late Most Venerable Kasan Jikwan, Daejongsa, the 32nd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Throughout his illustrious career as a scholar-monk, his cherished wish was to aid the study of Korean Buddhism overseas and to enable its legacy, which reaches back some seventeen hundred years, to become a part of the common cultural heritage of humankind. After years of prayer and planning, Ven. Kasan Jikwan was able to bring this vision to life by procuring a major grant from the Korean government. He launched the publication project shortly after taking office as president of the Jogye Order. After presiding over the publication of the complete vernacular Korean edition, Ven. Kasan Jikwan entered nirvāṇa as the English version of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* was in final manuscript stage. With the publication of the English version, we bring this project to completion and commemorate the teacher whose great passion for propagation conceived it, and whose loving and selfless devotion gave it form.

Ven. Kasan Jikwan was founder of the Kasan Institute of Buddhist Culture, President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, and President of the Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought. A graduate of Haeinsa Saṅgha College, he received his doctorate in philosophy from Dongguk University in 1976. He led Haeinsa as the monastery's head lecturer and abbot, and Dongguk University as Professor and the 11th President. After assuming the title of *Daejongsa*, the highest monastic rank within the Jogye Order, he became the 32nd President of the Jogye Order.

The leading scholar-monk of his generation, Ven. Kasan Jikwan published over a hundred articles and books, ranging from commentaries on Buddhist classics to comparative analyses of northern and southern *Vinayas*. A pioneer in the field of metal and stone inscriptions, he published *A Critical Edition of Translated and Annotated Epitaphs of Eminent Monk*s and also composed over fifty commemorative stele inscriptions and epitaphs. He compiled the Kasan Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, thirteen volumes of which have so far been published. He was the recipient of the Silver Crown Medal of Honor, the Manhae Prize for Scholarship, and the Gold Crown Medal of Honor for Outstanding Achievement in Culture, which was awarded posthumously.

On January 2, 2012, Jikwan Sunim severed all ties to this world and entered quiescence

at Gyeongguk Temple in Jeongneung-dong, Seongbuk-gu, Seoul. He left behind these words as he departed from this world: “With this ephemeral body of flesh, I made a lotus blossom bloom in this Sahā world. With this phantom, hollow body, I reveal the dharma body in the calm quiescence of nirvāṇa.” Jikwan Sunim’s life spanned eighty years, sixty-six of which he spent in the Buddhist monastic order.

Executive Members of the Steering Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought
韓國傳統思想書 運營委員會 運營委員

The Late Ven. Kasan Jikwan (伽山 智冠): 32nd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, Former President, Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought

Ven. Haebong Jaseung (海峰 慈乘): 33rd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, President, Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought

Ven. Jihyun (智玄): Director, Department of General Affairs 總務部長

Ven. Neungdo (能度): Director, Department of Planning 企劃室長

Ven. Ilgam (日鑑): Director, Department of Financial Affairs 財務部長

Ven. Jinmyung (眞明): Director, Department of Cultural Affairs 文化部長

Ven. Beopgwang (法光): Director, Department of Social Affairs 社會部長

Ven. Heojung (虛淨): Director, Research Institute of Buddhist Studies 佛學研究所長

Ven. Popchin (法眞): Director, Cultural Corps of Korean Buddhism 文化事業團長

Ven. Subul (修弗): President, *The Buddhist Newspaper* 佛敎新聞社長

Ven. Dohgyeon (道見): Deputy Director, Department of Planning 企劃局長

Collected Works of Korean Buddhism
韓國傳統思想叢書

No.		Title	Edited by	Translated by
1	元曉	Wonhyo: Selected Works	A. Charles Muller	A. Charles Muller Jin Y. Park Sem Vermeersch
2	知訥	Chinul: Selected Works	Robert E. Buswell, Jr.	Robert E. Buswell, Jr.
3	休靜	Hyujeong: Selected Works	John Jorgensen	John Jorgensen
4	華嚴 I	Hwaŏm I: The Mainstream Tradition	Richard D. McBride II	Richard D. McBride II Sem Vermeersch
5	華嚴 II	Hwaŏm II: Selected Works	Richard D. McBride II	Richard D. McBride II
6	諸教學	Doctrinal Treatises: Selected Works	A. Charles Muller	A. Charles Muller Richard D. McBride II
7-1	公案集 I	Gongan Collections I	John Jorgensen	Juhn Y. Ahn
7-2	公案集 II	Gongan Collections II	John Jorgensen	John Jorgensen
8	禪語錄	Seon Dialogues	John Jorgensen	John Jorgensen
9	詩選集	Seon Poems: Selected Works	Roderick Whitfield	Roderick Whitfield Young-Eui Park
10	文化	Korean Buddhist Culture: Accounts of a Pilgrimage, Monuments, and Eminent Monks	Roderick Whitfield	Matty Wegehaupt Michael Finch Sem Vermeersch
11	梵網經古迹記	Exposition of the Sutra of Brahma's Net	A. Charles Muller	A. Charles Muller
12	韓國高僧碑文	Anthology of Stele Inscriptions of Eminent Korean Buddhist Monks	John Jorgensen	Patrick R. Uhlmann